





1.14.21.

LIBRARY OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY  
PRINCETON. N. J.

---

PURCHASED BY THE  
MRS. ROBERT LENOX KENNEDY CHURCH HISTORY FUND.

---

Division BX7150

Section B704

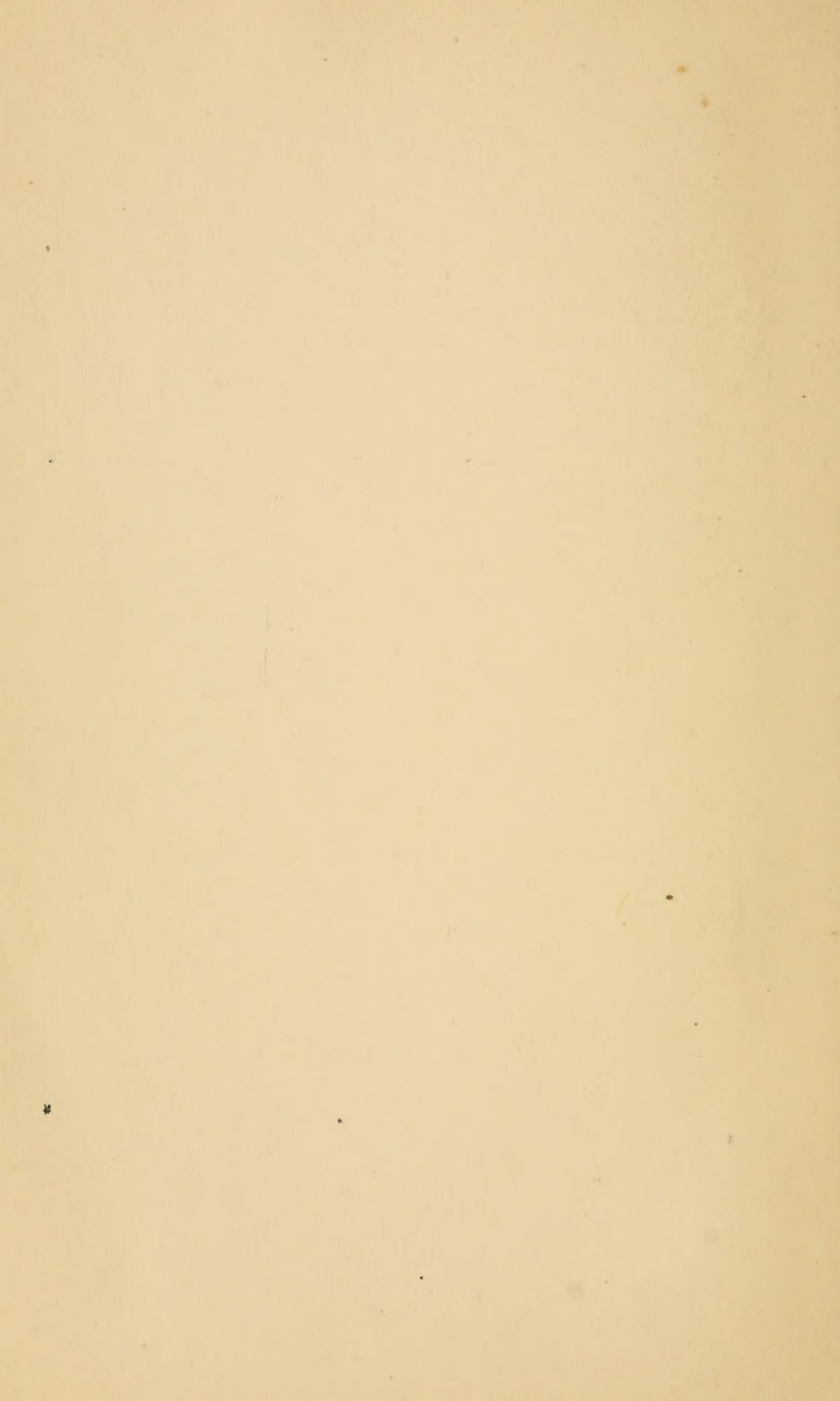
H6

V.2











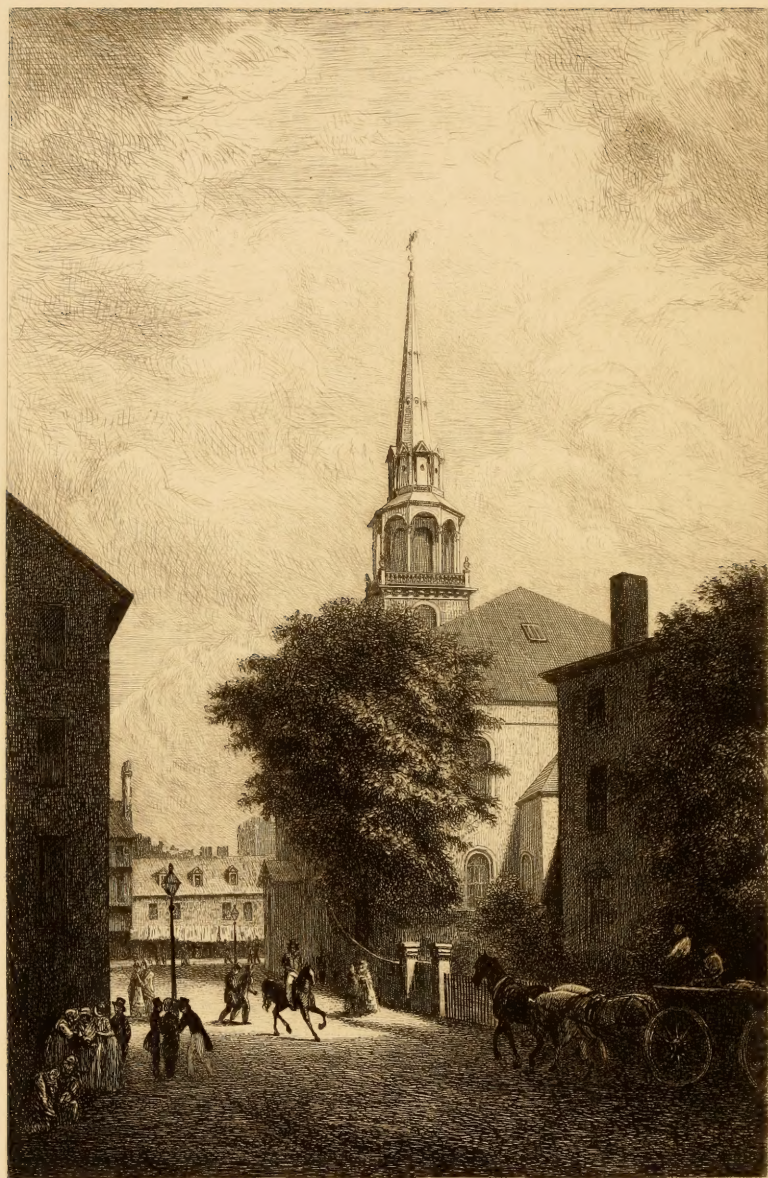












S. L. S.

*Old Milk Street.*

HISTORY  
OF THE  
OLD SOUTH CHURCH  
(Third Church)

BOSTON

1669—1884

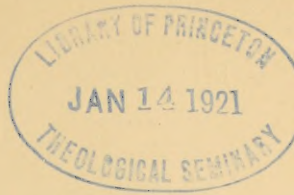
BY  
HAMILTON ANDREWS HILL

IN TWO VOLUMES  
VOLUME II.



BOSTON AND NEW YORK  
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY  
The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass.

1890





Copyright, 1889  
By HAMILTON ANDREWS HILL

*All rights reserved.*

*The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.*  
Electrotyped and Printed by H. O. Houghton & Company.

“ And these all, having had witness borne to them through their faith, received not the promise, God having provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect.”





# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

## CHAPTER I.

1750-1758.

A NEW PSALM BOOK.—THE END OF A LONG CO-PASTORATE.—THE PRINCE  
LIBRARY.

PAGES

Thanksgiving Collection.—The Rev. Jonathan Edwards.—Preface to his  
“Humble Inquiry.”—Troubles at Northampton.—A Council.—Old and  
New Style.—Death of Edward Winslow.—King’s Chapel rebuilt.—The  
Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton.—The Bay Psalm Book.—The Earthquake of  
1755.—Mr. Prince’s Discourse.—Death of Edward Bromfield.—Triumphs  
of the British Arms.—Death of Josiah Willard.—Trinitarian Controversy.  
—Mr. Prince’s Version of the Psalms.—Deacon Henschman.—Death of  
Mr. Prince.—His Position as an Historian.—His Library . . . 1-44

## CHAPTER II.

1758-1767.

TWO INSTALLATIONS.—POLITICAL DISTURBANCES.

Anthony Brackett.—Supplies for the Pulpit.—The Rev. Alexander Cum-  
ming.—The Fire of 1760.—Mr. Cumming’s Installation.—The Installa-  
tion Dinner.—Mr. Cumming’s Preaching.—The Doctrine of Shepard and  
Hooker.—Missionary Zeal.—Deacon Samuel Sewall.—David Jeffries.—  
Mr. Cumming’s Death.—William Phillips.—The Rev. Samuel Blair.—An-  
drew Oliver.—The Stamp Act.—Mr. Blair’s Installation.—Retrenchment  
at Funerals.—The Colleges and the Churches.—Dr. Sewall’s Last Entry 45-89

## CHAPTER III.

1768-1771.

CHANGES IN THE PASTORATE.—TOWN MEETINGS.

The Rev. John Lathrop.—Town Meeting at the Old South.—Gawen Brown’s  
Clock.—A New Form of Admission to the Church.—Richard Gridley and  
Shippie Townsend.—Dr. Sewall’s Death.—Tributes by Dr. Chauncy and  
Phillis Wheatley.—Mr. Blair’s Resignation.—Correspondence between Mr.  
Blair and the Church.—Terms of Admission again changed.—The Boston  
Massacre.—Deacon Sewall’s Resignation.—A Case of Discipline.—Mr.  
Whitefield’s Last Visit.—His Death.—Jonathan Mason.—A Solemn Ad-  
monition.—The Rev. John Hunt and the Rev. John Bacon.—A Question of  
Precedence.—Thomas Dawes’s Plan of the Church’s Real Estate.—Testi-  
monial to Mr. Blair.—Death of Mrs. Gill.—A Double Installation . . 90-145

## CHAPTER IV.

1771-1775.

MORE TROUBLE IN THE PASTORATE. — THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. — THE SIEGE OF BOSTON.

An Unpopular Proclamation. — Death of Thomas Hubbard. — Town Meetings. — Destruction of the Tea. — Death of Andrew Oliver. — The Boston Port Bill. — Report on Mr. Bacon's Preaching. — Action on the Report. — Mr. Bacon's Reply. — The Fifth of March, 1775. — Joseph Warren's Oration. — Lexington and Concord. — William Dawes's Ride. — The Siege of Boston. — The Old South Meeting-House occupied. — The Old Parsonage torn down. — Death of Mr. Hunt. — Mr. Hooker's Sermon. — "The Hope of Man Destroyed" . . . . . 146-183

## CHAPTER V.

1776-1799.

REHABILITATION.

A Scene of Desolation. — The Second Church. — King's Chapel opened to the Old South Congregation. — The Rev. Joseph Eckley. — Oral or Written Relations. — Mr. Eckley's Letter of Acceptance. — His Ordination. — John Hancock and Thomas Cushing. — Samuel Adams to John Scollay. — Testimonial to Mr. Bacon. — The Old State House. — Restoration of the Meeting-House. — A Generous Appeal. — The Rev. James Freeman. — The Rev. John Murray. — The Doctrine of Restoration. — Mr. Eckley's Pamphlet. — Dr. Chauncy's Answer. — Mr. Eckley's "Appendix." — First Services in the Restored Meeting-House. — Tenure of Pew Property. — The Treaty of Peace. — The Rev. Peter Thacher. — Death of Deacon Jeffries. — Thomas Dawes. — A New Baptismal Covenant. — Death of Dr. Chauncy. — The Rev. Jeremy Belknap. — A Fire at the South End. — Hollis Street Meeting-House. — A New Missionary Society. — Death of Thomas Cushing. — The Rev. Jedidiah Morse. — Samuel Adams. — The Vice-Presidency. — Mr. Adams joins the Old South. — Installation at Concord, N. H. — Presbyterian Tendencies. — Death of John Scollay. — Mr. Eckley's Thanksgiving Sermon, 1791. — The Rev. Thomas Gray. — Death of John Hancock. — Samuel Salisbury and William Phillips, Jr. — Fire near Fort Hill. — Concerted Prayer. — Death of Jonathan Mason. — The Meeting-House repaired. — Dr. Eckley's Thanksgiving Sermon, 1798. — Death of Dr. Belknap . . . . . 184-270

## CHAPTER VI.

1800-1808.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE OLD SOUTH PROPERTY. — THE RIGHTS OF THE CHURCH THEREIN.

Proposal to build Stores in Milk Street. — Opinion of Theophilus Parsons. — Provision for letting Pews. — Death of John Sweetser. — Chandelier presented in his Behalf. — The General Association. — The Rev. William E. Channing. — Death of Samuel Adams. — Death of William Phillips, Senr. — A Paper by Dr. Eckley on the Rights of the Church. — Tuesday Evening Services. — Parish Business. — Incorporation proposed. — A Missionary Sermon. — The Rev. Charles Lowell. — His Ordination. — The West Church. — Dr. Eckley's Dudleian Lecture. — A Notice not read by Dr. Eckley. — Protest of Eighteen Church Members. — Adjustment of the Difficulty. —

The Rev. Joshua Huntington. — A New Pulpit. — Mr. Huntington's Ordination. — Mr. Channing's Address. — Removal of the First Church. — The Second Church in Dorchester. — The Rev. John Pierce's Sermon. — The Rev. John Codman. — His Ordination. — Mr. Channing's Sermon. — The Embargo Act . . . . . 271-335

## CHAPTER VII.

1809-1815.

## A WIDENING BREACH AMONG THE CHURCHES. — ANOTHER WAR.

Death of Thomas Dawes. — The Rev. Henry Kollock. — Park Street Church gathered. — Its Meeting-House. — Mr. Huntington's Marriage. — New Parsonage Houses. — A Report on the Funds. — The American Board of Missions. — The Old South Meeting-House in Danger. — Isaac Harris. — Death of Dr. Eckley. — His Funeral. — Dr. Lathrop's Sermon. — Anniversary Week. — Fire at Newburyport. — The Rev. Edward D. Griffin. — State of the Churches in 1811. — Letter of the Rev. Francis Parkman. — Ordination of Foreign Missionaries. — The Missionary Spirit. — Another Embargo Act. — The Prince Library. — The War of 1812. — Two Ordinations. — Parish Affairs. — The Proposals of 1705 revived. — A Bank Defalcation. — The Treaty of Ghent. — The September Gale, 1815. — Absent Members . . . 336-389

## CHAPTER VIII.

1816-1820.

## BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES.

Death of Dr. Lathrop. — A New Bell. — Abigail Waters. — An Historic Prayer Meeting. — A Vestry to be built. — Josiah Salisbury and Edward Phillips. — The Rev. Sereno E. Dwight. — Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor. — Education Society. — Samuel Hall Walley. — Christmas Day, 1817. — Parish Affairs. — Death of Samuel Salisbury. — Concert of Prayer. — Ordination of Missionaries. — Mr. Huntington's Address on Missions. — Essex Street Church. — The Rev. James Sabine. — Old South Charity School. — Ordination of the Rev. John Pierpont. — Old South and Hollis Street Churches. — Death of Mr. Huntington. — Mr. Dwight's Sermon. — Mr. Codman's Sermon. — An Elegy. — A Committee of Inquiry. — A Mission to Palestine. — A Farewell Missionary Service. — Death of John Winslow. — Death of Mrs. Mason. — The Rev. Matthias Bruen. — Sundry Expenditures. — A Letter from Mrs. Huntington. — The Rev. Benjamin B. Wisner. — His Call to the Pastorate. — The Church and the Parish. — The Dedham Case . . . . . 390-456

## CHAPTER IX.

1821-1836.

## THE SPIRIT OF PARTY. — CHURCH EXTENSION.

Mr. Wisner's Acceptance of the Call. — Arrangements for the Ordination. — The Council. — Mr. Lowell not allowed to give the Right Hand of Fellowship. — Letter to Mr. Lowell. — The Rev. Ebenezer Burgess. — Divisions in the Essex Street Church. — The Union Church gathered. — An Organ imported. — Death of Mrs. Phillips. — The Church in Green Street. — Ordination of Missionaries. — A Church gathered for Liberia. — Death of Josiah Salisbury. — Thomas Vose and Pliny Cutler. — Death of Edward and William Phillips. — Salem Street and Pine Street Churches. — Communion Sabbath. — Dr. Wisner's Resignation and Death. — The Rev. Samuel H. Stearns. — His Brief Ministry and Resignation. — His Death. — His Theological Position . . . . . 457-498



## CHAPTER X.

1836-1884.

## THE CIVIL WAR. — THE REMOVAL TO THE BACK BAY.

The Rev. George W. Blagden called and settled. — The New Brick Meeting-House. — Proprietors of Pews in the Old South Meeting-House incorporated. — Old South Block. — Opinion of Jeremiah Mason. — A Branch Chapel. — Proposal for a Co-Pastorate. — The Rev. Jacob M. Manning called. — His Installation. — The Uprising of the People in 1861. — Flag-raising at the Old South. — Enlistments in the Yard of the Old South. — Mr. Manning goes to the War as a Chaplain. — His Sickness. — The Close of the War. — The Death of Abraham Lincoln. — The National Council of 1865. — Convened at the Old South. — A Congregational House desired, but not a House of Bishops. — The Burial Hill Confession. — Freeman Place Chapel. — Dr. Manning's Bi-Centennial Sermon. — Purchase of Land in Boylston Street. — Dr. Blagden's Resignation. — The Fire of 1872. — The Meeting-House vacated. — It is leased to the U. S. Government. — A Proposal to the Massachusetts Historical Society. — The Issue between the Old South Society and the Public. — The Case of the Minority. — The Position of the Majority. — Charles Stoddard. — The Spiritual and the Material. — Questionable Zeal. — Fellowship and Dictation. — Mrs. Norton's Intentions. — As to the Rights of the Public. — A Private Trust. — Decision by the Supreme Court. — Hearing before Mr. Justice Colt. — The Final Decree. — Sale of the Meeting-House. — Subsequent Attempt to annul the Contract. — Resignation of Dr. Manning. — His Last Illness and Death. — Death of Dr. Blagden . . . . . 499-550

## CHAPTER XI.

1884.

## PARTISANSHIP DEFEATED.

Dr. Manning's Preaching. — The Rev. George A. Gordon called. — The Rev. William J. Tucker, D. D. — Mr. Gordon accepts. — He joins the Old South Church. — The Letter-Missive. — Partisanship. — Council for Dismission at Greenwich. — Installation Council at the Old South. — Mr. Gordon's Paper. — The Letter-Missive "condoned." — Cross-Examination. — Dr. Webb's Questions. — Dr. Withrow called upon for a Proof-Text. — Dr. Plumb's Questions. — Embarrassment of the Opposition. — The Installation Supper. — The Installation Services. — The Conscience Ecclesiastical. — Vicarious Suffering. — From Age to Age. — Conclusion . . . . . 551-580

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Of the Old South Church, Society, and Meeting-House. — Of the Ministers of the Old South. — John Bacon. — George W. Blagden. — Samuel Blair. — Alexander Cumming. — Joseph Eckley. — George A. Gordon. — John Hunt. — Joshua Huntington. — Mrs. Susan Huntington. — Jacob M. Manning. — Ebenezer Pemberton. — Thomas Prince. — Joseph Sewall. — Samuel H. Stearns. — Thomas Thacher. — Samuel Willard. — Benjamin B. Wisner . . . 581

INDEX . . . . . 657

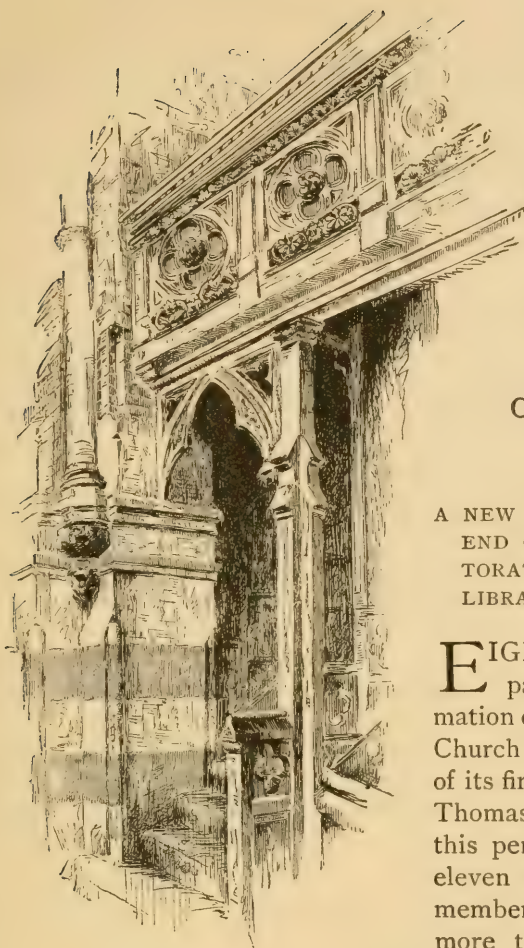
## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

---

|   | PAGE                |
|---|---------------------|
| OLD MILK STREET. ( <i>Etched by Sidney L. Smith</i> ) . . . . . | <i>Frontispiece</i> |
| GALLERY STAIRCASE . . . . .                                     | I                   |
| CUP GIVEN BY MR. PRINCE . . . . .                               | 44                  |
| CUP GIVEN BY ANTHONY BRACKETT . . . . .                         | 46                  |
| PORTRAIT OF ANDREW OLIVER . . . . .                             | 80                  |
| DR. SEWALL'S LAST ENTRY . . . . .                               | 89                  |
| SACRAMENTAL SILVER . . . . .                                    | 90                  |
| PORTRAIT OF DR. SEWALL, 1764 . . . . .                          | 99                  |
| PLAN OF THE OLD SOUTH PROPERTY . . . . .                        | 135                 |
| MONUMENT OF JOHN HUNT . . . . .                                 | 146                 |
| DOOR IN THE OLD SOUTH CELLAR, MILK STREET . . . . .             | 183                 |
| KING'S CHAPEL PULPIT . . . . .                                  | 184                 |
| OLD STATE HOUSE . . . . .                                       | 211                 |
| PORTRAIT OF SAMUEL ADAMS . . . . .                              | 246                 |
| PORTRAIT OF SAMUEL SALISBURY . . . . .                          | 258                 |
| CHANDELIER . . . . .  | 271                 |
| PORTRAIT OF JOSHUA HUNTINGTON . . . . .                         | 316                 |
| MEMORIAL TABLET OF SAMUEL ADAMS . . . . .                       | 335                 |
| OLD SOUTH PULPIT . . . . .                                      | 336                 |
| GIFT TO ISAAC HARRIS . . . . .                                  | 353                 |
| PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM PHILLIPS . . . . .                          | 372                 |
| SOUNDING BOARD, OLD SOUTH PULPIT . . . . .                      | 389                 |
| THE FANEUIL-PHILLIPS MANSION . . . . .                          | 390                 |
| PORTRAIT OF JOSIAH SALISBURY . . . . .                          | 401                 |
| OLD SOUTH TOMB . . . . .  | 456                 |
| OLD SOUTH CHAPEL . . . . .                                      | 457                 |
| MARLBORO' HOTEL . . . . .                                       | 466                 |
| PORTRAIT OF BENJAMIN B. WISNER . . . . .                        | 474                 |
| OLD SOUTH TOWER, BOYLSTON STREET . . . . .                      | 499                 |
| PORTRAIT OF GEORGE W. BLAGDEN . . . . .                         | 500                 |
| CUP GIVEN BY THE SECOND CHURCH . . . . .                        | 503                 |
| PORTRAIT OF JACOB M. MANNING . . . . .                          | 508                 |
| PORCH, BOYLSTON STREET . . . . .                                | 580                 |







## CHAPTER I.

1750-1758.

A NEW PSALM BOOK. — THE  
END OF A LONG CO-PAS-  
TORATE. — THE PRINCE  
LIBRARY.

**E**IGHTY years had passed since the formation of the Third or South Church and the installation of its first minister, the Rev. Thomas Thacher. During this period, it had received eleven or twelve hundred members into its fellowship, more than eight hundred persons had owned the cove-

nant in the presence of its congregation, and more than five thousand children had received the ordinance of baptism from its pastors. Emerging from the storm of strife in which it had been organized, it had taken its place immediately as one of the leading forces in the moral, social, and religious life of the town, and at the middle of the eighteenth century it was second to no church in New England in its Christian activity and usefulness. Another quarter of a century of great prosperity lay before it, and then, at the beginning of the American Revolution, with many other interests and institutions, it was to enter upon an experience of depression and loss.

We return now to the records of the church:—

Lord's Day March 4. 1749-50

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed, and Voted

That twenty pounds be laid out in Bibles, and given to the Poor of this Church and Congregation ; and that the Remainder of the last Collection be given to the Poor of this Church and Congregation in Wood and other Necessaries of life, by the Deacons according to their best Discretion.

J. SEWALL.

The Rev. John Webb died, April 16, after a pastorate at the New North Church of thirty-six years.<sup>1</sup> His surviving colleague, the Rev. Andrew Eliot, said of him, "I cannot but think him one of the best of Christians, and one of the best ministers." Mr. Eliot now became sole pastor, and so continued until the close of his ministry.

Lord's Day Augt. 26. and by adjournment Sepr 2. and 9. 1750.

The Brethren of the Church stay'd : And the Hon. Josiah Willard, Deacon Henchman, Mr. Jonathan Loring, Mr. Isaac Walker, and Mr. John Kneeland were chosen to be the Church-Committee for the year ensuing.

J. SEWALL.

Lord's Day Octr 21. 1750

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stay'd, and Voted

That there be a Collection for Charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving Novr. 1. next, and that the Rest of the Congregation be notified of this vote next Lord's Day, and be desir'd to assist in said Collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Thanksgiving Nov. 1. 1750.

Collected,

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| For the pious and Char. Fund . . . .         | £10. 0. 0  |
| For the Rev. Mr. Cambell of Tiverton . . . . | 6. 0. 0    |
| Mr. Brett of Freetown . . . .                | 4. 0. 0    |
| For several other persons . . . .            | 14. 0. 0   |
|  | <hr/>      |
|  | 34. 0. 0   |
| Unappropriated . . . . .                     | 160. 15. 5 |
|  | <hr/>      |
|  | 194. 15. 5 |

O. T.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Edwards, writing from Northampton, July 6, 1750, to the Rev. William McCulloch, of Cambuslang, said: "Some of our main pillars are broken; one of which was Mr. Webb of Boston, who died in the latter part of last April. Much of the glory of the town of Boston is gone with him; and if the bereave-

ments of that town should be added to, by the death of two or three more of their remaining elder ministers, that place would be in a very sorrowful state indeed, like a city whose walls are broken down, and like a large flock without a shepherd, encompassed with wolves, and many in the midst of it."

Lord's Day March 10 1750-1

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed, and Voted

That £160. 15. 5 O. T. out of the last collection be given to the Poor of this Church and Congregation in Wood, and other Necessaries of life, by the Deacons according to their best Discretion.

Then the Meeting was adjourn'd to Monday, come Fortnight 11. cl. A. M. JOSEPH SEWALL.

March 25. 1751

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation met and

Voted — That Messrs Oxenb : Thacher junr.<sup>1</sup> Benj : Dolbeare and Joseph Jackson be a committee to consider and inquire what are the deficiencies in the weekly contributions, whence they arise, and what may be the best method to make them up, and report to the adjournment of this Meeting ; and to receive any money which may be offered to make good the deficiencies : And that the same Gentlemen be a committee to audit the Deacons Accounts.

Voted Unanimously, That the Contributors mark their money, and that those of the Church and Congregation who are now absent, be acquainted that every Person present in this very full meeting vocally express'd themselves desirous that all the contribution-money should be marked.

Voted, That the Deacons be desir'd to put to interest the Donation of Mr. Nathl. Cunningham deceas'd, being £500 O. T. ; to keep good the Principall, and distribute the Interest among the poor of this Church and Congregation annually, according to their best discretion.

Voted, That this Meeting be adjourned to Monday April 22 next at 11. o. cl. A. M. JOSEPH SEWALL.

April 21. The Meeting was further adjourned to the 29 this Instant 11. o. cl. A. M.

Lord's Day April 28. 1751

The Church stayed, when Letters were communicated from several Brethren of the first Church in Northampton and from the Rev'd Mr.

<sup>1</sup> [Oxenbridge Thacher, Jr., great-grandson of the Rev. Thomas Thacher, represented the fourth generation of this estimable family in the South Church and congregation. He graduated at Harvard College in 1738; he was "a lawyer of fine abilities, an unassuming gentleman and scholar, and a man of the most admirable character in all the relations of life. In 1764, his publications in support of the colonial liberties had been widely circulated; and though of a feeble constitution, which demanded a

penalty of suffering for every exertion at the bar, or in the legislature, of which he was a member, he entered into the struggle for liberty with an earnest heart, and his life was shortened by his anxiety and efforts in the cause. He died of disease of the lungs at the age of forty-five, equally conspicuous for his unaffected piety and sterling patriotism." Samuel Adams was elected to the legislature in 1765, to take the place made vacant by Mr. Thacher's death. — *Wells's Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. i. p. 70.]

Edwards, desiring our Assistance in Council. Voted. Messengers chosen, One of the Deacons, Messrs. Joseph Jackson, David Jeffries and John Kneeland.

Mr. Edwards had aroused violent opposition in his church and parish, first, in 1744, by an endeavor to call some of the young people to account for improprieties of conduct which had become the occasion of public scandal; and, later, and more especially, by the views entertained by him — contrary to those which had been taught and practised by his predecessor, Mr. Stoddard — on the proper qualifications for approach to the Lord's Table. On this subject he wished to preach a course of sermons to his congregation, explaining and defending his position; but the church-committee, with which he had consulted, objected, because of the intense feeling which existed and which was already dividing the town into two hostile parties. Reluctantly the committee consented to his giving his views to the public through the press, and agreed to await the publication before having recourse to a council, which the church had been anxious to call, and which the pastor was willing to accept, after all other methods of reconciliation should have been exhausted. In 1749 he published *An Humble Inquiry Into the Rules of the Word of God Concerning the Qualifications Requisite to Full Communion in the Church*, a quarto, of about a hundred and fifty pages.<sup>1</sup> A long and learned letter from Mr. Foxcroft to

<sup>1</sup> The great authority of Jonathan Edwards is sometimes quoted in self-justification, by those who would anchor the present irremovably to the traditions of the past. Mr. Edwards had no sympathy with this false conservatism. In the preface to his *Inquiry* referred to in the text, he quotes and makes his own the following words of the Rev. Solomon Stoddard: —

“All Protestants agree, that there is no infallibility at Rome; and I know no Body else pretends to any, since the Apostles Days.”

Again:

“It may possibly be a fault to depart from the ways of our Fathers: But it may also be a virtue, and an eminent act of obedience, to depart from them in some things. Men are wont to make a great noise, that we are bringing in innovations, and depart from the old way: But it is beyond me, to find out wherein

the iniquity does lie. We may see cause to alter some practices of our fathers, without despising of them, without priding ourselves in our wisdom, without apostacy, without abusing the advantages God has given us, without a spirit of compliance with corrupt men, without inclinations to superstition, without making disturbance in the church of God: And there is no reason, that it should be turned as a reproach upon us. Surely 'tis commendable for us to examine the practices of our fathers, we have no sufficient reason to take practices upon trust from them. Let them have as high a character as belongs to them; yet we may not look upon their principles as oracles. Nathan himself miss'd it in his conjecture about building the House of God. He that believes principles because they affirm them, makes idols of them. And it would be no humility, but baseness of spirit, for us to judge our-



Mr. Edwards, in support of the principles laid down in the book, was printed as an appendix; and there was a second preface, dated Boston, August 11, 1749, and signed by Thomas Prince, John Webb, Thomas Foxcroft, and Mather Byles, which we quote in full:—

Tho' the Doctrine here maintained by our dear and Rev'd Brother was bro't over hither by the pious and judicious Fathers of this Country from the Puritans in England, and held by them and their Successors in our Churches above Threescore Years without Dissention; yet some good and learned Men have since gone into another Way of thinking in this Matter. And as the Word of God is our only Rule of judging, and this only can bind the Conscience in Religion; it must needs concern every Man to search the Scriptures, that he may come to as satisfying a Knowledge as may be, whether he has a Right to the Lord's Supper, and whether it be his immediate Duty to partake of it, or admit of others. And for all that we had hitherto read on this subject, it seem'd to us, there wanted further Searchings and Discoveries.

And tho' we have not all had Opportunity to read the Composure following; yet we apprehend the Reverend Author singularly qualified to manage this important Argument, from his great Acquaintance with the Scriptures, and diligent Application to the study of them with a special Aim to find the Mind of Christ and settle his Judgment in this particular; both to get more Light himself, and communicate the same to others. And we have this peculiar Motive to excite Attention to what he writes; that he is so far from arguing from the Prejudice or Influence of Education, that being bro't up in the contrary Way of Thinking, and more inclin'd thereto from a special Veneration of his Reverend Grandfather; yet on careful searching the sacred Volumes he was obliged to yield to those Convictions they produced in him and change his Judgment.

The following Treatise contains the substance of those Convictions, or the particular Reasons of this Alteration. And if those who are now in his former Way of Thinking would with due Seriousness, Humility, Calmness, Diligence and Impartiality, search the Scriptures, and consider his arguments derived from them, looking up to God thro' Christ, and subjecting their Minds intirely to Him; they may either see and yield to the same Convictions, and find Cause to

selves incapable to examine the principles that have been handed down to us. If we be by any means fit to open the mysteries of the Gospel, we are capable to judge of these matters: And it would ill become us, so to indulge ourselves in ease, as to neglect the examina-

tion of received principles. If the practices of our fathers in any particulars were mistaken, it is fit they should be rejected; if they be not, they will bear examination. If we be forbidden to examine their practice, that will cut off all hopes of reformation."



change their Judgments also, or will at least continue their fraternal Affection to the worthy Author and Others in the same Sentiments with him.

We heartily pray that the Rev'd Author and his Flock may for a long Time be happy together ; that their cordial Love and Tenderness to each other may continue and operate in mutual and all lawful Condescensions and Forbearances under different Sentiments in these Particulars ; that every One may be open to Light, and guard against all Prejudice, Precipitance and Passion ; that they may be very watchful against the Devices of Satan to disunite or disaffect them ; that they may study the Things that make for Peace and Edification. — And the God of Light, Love and Peace will continue with them.

This paper, no doubt, was written by Mr. Prince, and the spirit of Christian kindness and conciliation which it breathes is eminently characteristic of the man. If he had been a mere partisan, he would have placed himself on one side or the other in the controversy between the Northampton church and its minister, and so would have widened the breach still more, had this been possible. His own convictions were more in harmony with the views of Mr. Stoddard than with those of Mr. Edwards ;<sup>1</sup> but nothing could be more tender and affectionate than his commendation of the learning, piety, and judicial fairness of the latter, and his prayer for the renewal of peaceful and happy relations between him and his flock. If anything could have brought them together upon the old basis of mutual confidence and love, this hearty appeal would have produced its due effect.

Mr. Edwards again sought to preach to his people upon the question in controversy, but they strenuously objected ; he then, in the months of February and March, 1750, made it the subject of a course of week-day lectures, which were attended by large numbers from the neighboring towns, but by few of the residents of Northampton. The breach was too wide to be healed ; and a council met on the 19th of June, and sat for three days, which decided by a majority vote that the pastoral relation between Mr. Edwards and his parish ought to be dissolved.<sup>2</sup> He preached his farewell sermon July 1, and this

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 520, note.

<sup>2</sup> "No intelligent Congregationalist will doubt for a moment that Mr. Edwards's idea of bringing it first before the church was the true one. Perhaps they could settle the matter among them-

selves, and then no council would be needed. According to Scripture, — certainly according to the Cambridge Platform, — this was the way to begin ; and, beginning thus, the first regular step would be for the pastor to state the rea-

closed his regular ministry there; but he supplied the pulpit from time to time, until those who were opposed to him began

sons on which his proposal was founded; and then for the church to consider them, and act upon them by a formal vote of acceptance or rejection. If, after due consideration, it appeared that he and they could not walk together, it would be best for them to part. But before taking this final step, they should seek advice,—not a judicial decision, but *advice*; and here a council would properly come in. Mr. Edwards had all along proposed this measure, when, after taking the preliminary steps, their ‘affairs were sufficiently ripe’ for it. But a false view of the appropriate functions of an ecclesiastical council had become prevalent at that time, which has not been entirely corrected since. With all their repugnance to Mr. Edwards’s principles, together with their manifest reluctance to be convinced that he was right and they were wrong, they would hardly have refused him a hearing on the subject but for the mischievous notion that a Congregational council is a sort of church court, to which they could appeal and get a swift decision, without the hazard of encountering arguments. They knew very well that only two churches and three ministers throughout the county (then comprising the present counties of Franklin, Hampshire, and Hampden) were in sympathy with Mr. Edwards in the existing controversy about church qualifications. His condemnation, therefore, seemed almost certain, if the case should come before a council; and to make it quite certain, a vote was passed restricting both parties to that county in the selection of the members. This cruel and unconstitutional vote, at the remonstrance of the pastor, was so far modified as to allow him liberty to go out of the county for two of his half. In accounting for these tyrannical proceedings, it may here be stated that from beginning to end *the parish took the lead*, contrary to all rule and precedent. Yet the council, representing nine churches, when they came together, found no difficulty in proceed-

ing to business, and bringing in the following result: first, ‘it is necessary that the relation between pastor and people be dissolved;’ second, ‘it is expedient that this relation be immediately dissolved.’ No wonder that Mr. Edwards, in a letter soon after to Mr. Erskine, of Scotland, who kindly inquired whether he could accept of a pastorate there under Presbyterian rule, expressed himself ‘perfectly out of conceit of our unsettled, independent, confused way of church-government in this land.’ Nothing could have been better adapted to create disgust for the whole system of Congregationalism, if this was indeed the ‘way’ of it. But it was not; it was a perversion of that way,—as much so as the jugglery of Elymas, the sorcerer, was a perversion of ‘the right ways of the Lord,’ and was instigated by motives hardly less sinister. It was an ebullition of party prejudice, seeking vent through an ecclesiastical council. That event could never have happened, even under the blinding influence of party strife, had not ministers and churches, by looking at precedents more than principles, come to regard the functions of a council as *judiciary* rather than *advisory*. Edwards himself had lent his sanction to this mischief-making notion, in a controversy, about sixteen years before, respecting the settlement of Mr. Breck at Springfield. A council was called ‘to advise,’ and, if thought proper, ‘to assist’ in his ordination. They advised not to settle him, as, with their views of the case, they ought to have done. Here their responsibility ended, and they went home. The church and society saw fit to reject that advice, as they had a right to do, and called a second council, who ordained him. This was complained of by the first, as trampling on constituted authority,—which complaint only showed an existing usurpation of authority. With such views pervading the community, and gaining additional force by every new development of them, we ought not to wonder

to be uneasy, and a town meeting was called, at which it was voted that it was not agreeable to the people that he should preach to them any more.

"A small number of his people who opposed his dismissal from the beginning, and some who acted on neither side, but after his dismissal adhered to him, under the influence of their great esteem and love of Mr. Edwards, were willing, and thought themselves able to maintain him: And insisted upon it that it was his duty to stay among them, as a distinct and separate congregation from the body of the town, who had rejected him. Mr. Edwards could not see it to be his duty to stay among them, as this would probably be a means of perpetuating an unhappy division in the town; and there was to him no prospect of doing the good there, which would counterbalance the evil. However, that he might do all he could to satisfy his tender and afflicted friends; he consented to ask the advice of an ecclesiastical council. Accordingly, a council was called, and met at Northampton on the 15th of May, 1751. [This is the council to which the South Church voted to send messengers.] The town on this occasion was put into a great tumult. They who were active in Mr. Edwards's dismissal supposed, though without any good ground, that he was contriving with his friends again to introduce himself at Northampton. They drew up a remonstrance against their proceedings, and laid it before the council, (though they would not acknowledge them to be an ecclesiastical council), containing many heavy though groundless charges against Mr. Edwards, and bitter accusations of the party who

at the eagerness shown by Mr. Edwards's opposers to trust the decision of a council rather than to encounter his logic. A court of appeal will never want business. But the deplorable result in this case should admonish us to keep these advisory bodies to their appropriate functions, and, as far as possible, to settle our ecclesiastical disputes before the only tribunal recognized in the New Testament or known to Congregationalists,—*the church*."—*Hist. Sketch*, by Joseph S. Clark, D. D., pp. 188–190.

Mr. Breck, to whom Dr. Clark refers above, laid before the council which ordained him a paper, in which it was said: "These may certify that on the 8th day of May 1735, we discours'd with him [Mr. Breck] to our good satisfaction concern-

ing his Orthodoxy in the great Doctrines of Christianity, as believ'd and profess'd in the Churches of Christ in New England, agreeable to the Westminster Confession of Faith. And so recommend him to the Grace of God, and are his Brethren in Christ, Benjamin Colman, Joseph Sewall, John Webb, William Cooper, Thomas Foxcroft, Samuel Checkley, Joshua Gee, Mather Byles."

The churches outside the county, invited by Mr. Edwards to sit in the council, were the First Church, Boston, of which Mr. Foxcroft was senior pastor, and those of Mr. Parkman at Westborough, Mr. Wigglesworth at Ipswich, and Mr. Hobby at Reading,—the last two provisionally. Of these, only the Reading church was represented.



had adhered to him : But refused to appear and support any of their charges, or so much as to give the gentlemen of the council any opportunity to confer with them about the affair depending, though it was diligently sought. The council, having heard what Mr. Edwards and they who adhered to him had to say, advised, agreeably to Mr. Edwards's judgment, that he should leave Northampton, and accept of the mission to which he was invited at Stockbridge."<sup>1</sup>

One of the most able and influential of Mr. Edwards's opponents, Mr. Joseph Hawley, afterward wrote a letter to the Rev. David Hall, of Sutton, a member of the council of 1750, and a friend of Mr. Edwards, in which, in most humble and touching terms, he made acknowledgment of the bitter injustice done by him to Mr. Edwards during all this controversy. In reference to the council of 1751 he said :—

Nor do I think that the church's conduct in refusing to appear, and attend before that council to support the charges and allegations in the said remonstrance against Mr. Edwards and the said brethren, which they demanded, was ever vindicated by all the subtle answers that were given to the said demand ; nor do I think that our conduct in that instance was capable of a defence. For it appears to me, that by making such charges against them before the said council, we necessarily so far gave that council jurisdiction ; and I own with sorrow and regret that I zealously endeavoured that the Church should perseveringly refuse to appear before the said council for the purpose aforesaid ; which I humbly pray God to forgive.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of President Edwards*, vol. i. pp. 72, 73.

"There seem to have been two causes of his dismissal,—first, his rejection of the doctrine of Mr. Stoddard and of the church concerning admissions to the Lord's Supper ; and secondly, some of his movements as to matters of discipline, to which the church had not been accustomed, and which they regarded as rigid and severe. It may be that his people were in the wrong, and that their treatment of him is worthy of indignant reprehension ; yet some allowance may be made for the force of prejudice, for the strength of old customs and habits of thought, for family pride, and for the reverence felt for the venerable name of Mr. Stoddard, whose principles had been opposed by his successor."—*An Address at Northampton*, 1854, by Wm. Allen.

"Of course, he held the theology that was then and there orthodox,—that ganglion of heroic, acute, and appalling dogmas commonly named after John Calvin. To the defence of that theology, in all its rigors, in all its horrors, Jonathan Edwards brought his unsurpassed abilities as a dialectician."—Tyler's *History of Amer. Lit.*, vol. ii. p. 188.

It may be that the revulsion in the minds of many of his people, caused by the remembrance of some of his merciless sermons, had much to do with their bitter feeling against him in the day of his trial, although it did not excuse their unfairness and misrepresentation.

<sup>2</sup> [*The Works of President Edwards*, vol. i. pp. 74–81. Mr. Hawley was a family connection of Mr. Edwards. His letter was published by his desire in a Boston weekly paper May 19.]

Mr. Edwards removed to Stockbridge, to take up the work there among the Indians, which had been interrupted by the death of the Rev. John Sergeant, under the direction of the commissioners in Boston of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians.

April 29, 1751.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation met, and Voted ; Inasmuch as it appears in the Representation made to this Meeting by a Committee appointed to inquire ; That sundry Persons have been deficient in their contributions for some time past, whereby a difficulty ariseth in supporting the public Worship, and other necessary expences, that, Therefore there be a Contribution on Lord's Day, the 12 of May next, wherein it is expected that such Persons as have not heretofore contributed their Proportion, should make it up ; and that others would also give their helping Hand as their hearts and circumstances shall incline and enable them, besides the weekly charge ; and that this vote be publicly read by one of the Deacons, the next Lord's Day.

Lord's Day Sept. 8. 1751.

The Brethren of the Church stay'd, and Voted that Deacon Simpson, Mr. Isaac Walker, Mr. John Kneeland, Mr. Samuel Bass and Mr. David Jeffries be the Church-Committee for the year ensuing.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed Lord's Day Oct. 27. 1751, and Voted

That there be a collection for Charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving Novr. 7. next : And that the rest of the Congregation be notified of this Vote next Lord's Day, and be desir'd to assist in said Collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Thanksgiving Novr 7. 1751

Collected for Charitable and pious uses.

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| For the Fund . . . . .                  | 5. 0. 0    |
| For the Rev'd Mr. Campbell . . . . .    | 3. 10. 0   |
| Mr. Brett . . . . .                     | 3. 0. 0    |
| For several of our own people . . . . . | 16. 6. 0   |
|   | <hr/>      |
|   | 27. 16. 0  |
| Unappropriated . . . . .                | 166. 10. 0 |
|   | <hr/>      |
| Total . . . . .                         | 194. 6. 0  |

Novr 24. 1751. Lord's Day.

The Brethren of the Church staid by Adjournment. A letter was readd again from sundry Brethren of the Westerly Church in Sud-



bury, desiring our Help in Council under their present Difficulties : Voted. Messengers, the Hon. S. Welles and Mess'rs Symmes and Scollay.

The Rev. Israel Loring became pastor of the church in Sudbury November 20, 1706. Upon the formation of a church on the west side of the river, in or about 1722, Mr. Loring, who had been settled over the whole town, and had been preaching on the east side, moved to the west side, and became the minister of the church there.<sup>1</sup>

It will be noticed that the next entry in the records is dated March 15, 1752, and not March 15, 1751-2. Until now, the year had begun on the 25th of March, and all legal documents and records had borne date accordingly ; but by an act of Parliament passed in 1751 the year 1752 began for all purposes on the 1st of January. By the same act it was ordered that eleven days should be struck out of the following September (the 3d was to be called the 14th), so that the equinoxes and solstices should fall on the same days as at the time of the Council at Nicæa in the year 325. This change in the style of dating occasioned the use of the terms Old Style and New Style.

Lord's Day March 15 1752

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed and Voted

That £166. 10. of the last collection be given to the poor of this church and congregation by the Deacons, according to their best Discretion.

And whereas there is danger of the small-Pox spreading in this Town, and that many of the poor of this church and congregation will be brought under great difficulties : Voted that there be a Collection on the Anniversary Fast, 26. March Instant, for their relief, in case said distemper should spread among us ; or if otherwise, that the collection be dispos'd of as this church and congregation shall determine : And that the rest of the Congregation be notified of this Vote next Lord's Day, and be desired to assist in said collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Anniversary Fast March 26. 1752

Collected . . . . . £188. 16. 3

The small-pox had been brought to Boston several months before this, by a vessel from London. Eighteen hundred people are said to have fled from the town, while the disease was

<sup>1</sup> See *Sudbury Records, MSS.*, in the library of the Hist. Gen. Society.

raging, and four or five hundred deaths took place. The population was then about sixteen thousand.<sup>1</sup>

General Fast July 2. 1752

Upon a Brief emitted with the Proclamation, in which it is recommended to all Charitable Persons to contribute on said Day for the relief of the Poor of the Town of Boston under their present distressed circumstances of the small Pox,

Collected . . . . . 188. 16. 1

Augt. 30 1752. Lord's Day.

The church was stay'd; And Frances B—— was Admonish'd and suspended for a course of gross intemperance in drinking Strong Drink. J. SEWALL.

Lord's Day Sept. 24 N. S. 1752

The Brethren of the Church were stay'd, and Voted, that the Hon. Josiah Willard, Andrew Oliver, Messrs. Samuel Bass, Isaac Walker and David Jeffries be the Church-Committee for the year ensuing.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Novr 26. 1752 Church stay'd. Letter read from several Brethren of the 1st Church in Braintree desiring our help in Council, under their present Difficulties. Voted. Messengers, Hon. Sam. Welles Esq. Deacon Henchman, Mr. Jackson.

The Rev. Lemuel Bryant was minister of Braintree at this time. He was out of sympathy with the prevailing theology, so much so, that John Adams, when ex-president, spoke of him as having been an Unitarian. He was dismissed at his own request, on account of ill-health, in the autumn of 1753, and died at Hingham in 1754.

[There is no record of the collection on Thanksgiving Day in 1752 or on Fast Day in 1753.]

Lord's Day April 8, 1753.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stay'd.

Voted, That the remainder of the money in the Treasury for Charitable and pious uses, be dispos'd of by the Pastors and Deacons of this church according to their best Discretion. J. SEWALL.

Augt. 26. 1753 The Church was stay'd: And Richard S—— was admonish'd and Suspended — for a course of gross Intemperance in drinking strong drink. J. SEWALL.

The Rev. Andrew Eliot, in a Fast Day sermon preached this year, deplored the state of religion in the town, lamented over the general apathy which prevailed in reference to joining the

<sup>1</sup> Drake's *Hist. and Antiq. of Boston*, p. 632.

church and participating in the Lord's Supper, and rebuked the prevailing intemperance. More than a million, he said, of the old currency had been spent in this province in a single year for spirituous liquors.

Lord's day Sept. 2. 1753.

The Church was stay'd, and a Letter read from the 1st Church in Roxbury desiring our Assistance in Council at the Ordination of Mr. Amos Adams.<sup>1</sup> Granted. Messengers, Our Brethren that are or have been of the [Governor's] Council ; the Deacons, and Messrs. Edward Bromfield and Isaac Walker.

J. SEWALL.

The Rev. Nehemiah Walter, of Roxbury, died September 17, 1750. The Rev. Oliver Peabody, who had been settled over the little missionary church in Natick, was installed as his successor on the 7th of November of the same year, and died May 29, 1752. Mr. Adams was ordained September 12, 1753, and preached there until his death in 1775.

Lord's Day, Oct. 7. 1753.

The Brethren stay'd, and Voted, that Deacon Henschman, Messrs. Isaac Walker, Joseph Jackson, David Jeffries and John Scollay be the Church-Committee for this year.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Lord's Day Oct. 21. 1753.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed and Voted, That there be a Collection for Charitable and pious uses, on the Anniversary Thanksgiving Novr. 1 next: And that the rest of the Congregation be notified of this Vote next Lord's Day, and be desir'd to assist in said collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Thanksgiving Novr. 1. Collected as follows,

| Appropriated                      | Old Tenor. |
|-----------------------------------|------------|
| To the Rev. Mr. Cambell . . . . . | 37. 17. 6  |
| To the Rev. Mr. Brett . . . . .   | 9. 12. 6   |
| To a Widow . . . . .              | 2. 5. 0    |
|                                   | <hr/>      |
|                                   | 49. 15. 0  |
| Unappropriated . . . . .          | 114. 16. 0 |
|                                   | <hr/>      |
| Totall . . . . .                  | 164. 11. 0 |

Lords Day Novr. 11. 1753

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stay'd, and Voted, That the sum appropriated to the Rev. Mr.

Othniel Campbell in the late collection be made up . 40. 0. 0

That the sum appropriated to the Rev. Mr. Silas

Brett, be made up . . . . . 20. 0. 0

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Adams married Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Charles Chauncy.]

That there be given out of the late collection to the  
 Rev. Mr. Ivory Hovey . . . . . 20. 0. 0

That the Remainder of said collection be dispos'd of to Charitable  
 and pious uses by the Pastors and Deacons of this Church, according  
 to their best Discretion. J. SEWALL.

[Two blank pages here follow in the record book.]

Edward Winslow, for many years sheriff of the county of Suffolk until he was promoted to the bench, died in December, in his eighty-fifth year. He was son of Edward Winslow, by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Hutchinson, and grandson of John and Mary (Chilton) Winslow. He was born in 1669,—the year in which the South Church was founded,—and he and his wife Hannah became members in 1692. He was held in high esteem in the town and province. Among other offices which he held at the time of his death was that of treasurer of the county of Suffolk. He was succeeded on the bench by Samuel Welles, also of the South Church.

The use of the South meeting-house was granted to the King's Chapel congregation for the usual service of the Church of England on Christmas Day of this year. In 1687, when Governor Andros took forcible possession of the old building for the services of the English Church on Good Friday and Easter Day, a sense of outrage deepened the prevalent feeling of dislike for liturgical worship. This feeling may not have changed very much in 1753, but the people of the town had become more familiar with forms of worship other than those to which the large majority still adhered; and not only was the right of the minority to the peaceable enjoyment of their own preferences more generally recognized, but there seems to have been a disposition, on the part of some at least, to accommodate them with a place or places of worship in the time of their need. The stone chapel on the corner of Tremont and School streets—now the oldest building in Boston in which divine service is held—was then approaching completion, and the congregation had been holding their week-day services in Mr. Croswell's meeting-house;<sup>1</sup> but for the observance of Christmas

<sup>1</sup> When Mr. Caner and the church-wardens wrote to Mr. Croswell, asking for the use of his meeting-house "on festival and prayer days, and other occasions for performing Divine service," Mr. Croswell replied in behalf of his

church, granting the request, and adding: "This wee looke on to be only doeing as wee would be don by,—a thing highly agreeable to Christianity and Humanity, And therefore, for myselfe and them, I bid you heartily welcome to it."



a larger building was desired, and hence the application to the South Church and its cordial response, which laid only one restriction on the use of the building as proposed, namely, that it should not be decorated. The records of the South Church are silent upon this incident, but the Rev. Henry W. Foote has given us the following from the records of King's Chapel :—

31st October 1753 Voted, That Doctr John Gibbins and Doctr. Silvester Gardiner make Enquirey whether Doctr. Sewalls Meeting house Can be Obtained for the Chappel Congregation to Assemble in on Christmass Day ; and if to be don, the Church Wardens to make Proper Application for Liberty of the Same.

Voted, Unanimously, That the Vote of the Vestry the 31st October, Relating to Meeting at Dr. Sewalls on Christmass day, be continued, and that the Church Wardens write to the Gentlemen proprietors of said Meeting house for Liberty of the same, which was don Accordingly, and the letter delivered to Thomas Hubbard Esqr.

5th December 1753

To the Honble Ezekiel Lewis, and the Gentlemen Seaters of the South Brick Church in Boston :

SIRS, — By a Vote of the Vestry of Kings Chappel, we are desired to Ask the favour of the use of your Church for our Congregation to Assemble in for Divine Service, on Tuseday, the 25th of this Instant December, being Christmass Day.

Your Compliance with which Request will greatly Oblidge the Members of said Community, as also,

Gentlemen

Your most humble Servants

JOHN BOX } Wardens  
JAMES FOREES }

To the above letter We Received on the 14th a Verbal Answer, that our Request was Granted, and their Church was at our Service for the time desired ; only they Expected that wee would not decorate it with Spruce etc.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [We are indebted also to Mr. Foote for the following, in advance of the publication of the second volume of his *Annals* :—

Mr. Prince wrote to Dr. Avery 31 Dec. 1753 : " When, two or three years ago, the people of their Chappel again wanted to rebuild and enlarge their said Chappel in a grand manner, all of hewn stone, at their desire, our people, at a Publick Town Meeting warn'd on purpose, gave them even several Graves of their

sleeping friends to make room for the said enlargement. . . . And no longer than last Tuesday, Decr 25th, while their said Chappel is a building, and tho' they now have two other Commodious Churches in the Town, yet desiring the use of our own large South Brick Church, of near one hundred feet long and near seventy feet broad, on that day to keep their Christmas, as being more spacious and commodious, our Congregation almost universally and freely let them use



The two pastors of the New Brick Church died suddenly early in 1753, of the same disease, palsy, both on the Sabbath, and both on the communion Sabbath, — Mr. Gray on the 7th of January, and Mr. Welsted on the 29th of April.<sup>1</sup> On the last day of the year, the church, by an unanimous vote, called the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, of New York, to its vacant pulpit, and he soon after accepted the call. Mr. Pemberton was a baptized child of the South Church,<sup>2</sup> and a son of its third minister, who did not live to see him complete his college course and enter upon the work of the ministry. He graduated in 1721, in the same class with Charles Chauncy, Ebenezer Turell, Thomas Hubbard, John Lowell, Ebenezer Parkman, and Oliver Peabody. He became a member of the South Church in 1725, and for a time was chaplain at Castle William. In 1727 he received an invitation from the First Presbyterian Church, New York, to settle as its minister, with the request that he should be ordained in Boston. On the 9th of August of that year his ordination took place in his father's meeting-house, his father's old college friend, Mr. Colman, preaching the sermon. "He was a man of polite breeding, pure morals, and warm devotion," and his ministry in New York was exceptionally successful for a course of years; but at length, "on account of trifling contentions, kindled by the bigotry and ignorance of the lower sort of people," he requested his dismissal. He was one of the founders of the College of New Jersey, and was a member of its Board of Trustees from 1748 to 1754.<sup>3</sup> The Boston church

it. And one of our Churches nearest the Chappel has been all last Summer and Fall and this winter freely open on every Wednesday and Friday for their reading Prayers: Tho' Mr. Brockwell, one of their clergymen, will not put his head into it, tho' with his own People and Colleague, because unconsecrated."]

<sup>1</sup> Robbins's *History of the Second Church*, p. 185. Dr. Robbins adds that each preached his last sermon on the text, "Redeeming the time, because the days are evil."

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 328, for the mention of his baptism, and of his father's sermon on that occasion.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Edwards, in a letter to the Rev. John Erskine, dated Stockbridge, July 7, 1752, writes: "I suppose there has been a trial before now, whether a na-

tional collection can be obtained in Scotland, for New Jersey College: unless it has been thought prudent, by such as are friends of the affair, to put it off a year longer; as some things I have seen, seem to argue. There was a design of Mr. Pemberton's going to England and Scotland. He was desired by the Trustees, and it was his settled purpose to have gone the last year; but his people, and his colleague, Mr. Cumming, hindered it. His intention of going occasioned great uneasiness among his people, and created some dissatisfaction towards him, in the minds of some of them."

Mr. Pemberton received the degree of D. D. from the College of New Jersey in 1770. His son, Ebenezer Pemberton, graduated there in 1765, and received a

eagerly sought his services as soon as it was known that he was to leave New York. He received honorable dismissal from his Presbytery, of which the Rev. Aaron Burr was moderator, and was recommended as "a regular minister, of an exemplary, pious conversation, who has to an uncommon degree maintained the dignity of the ministerial character;—eminently endowed with ministerial abilities, whose labours have been acceptable and highly esteemed throughout these churches." The installation took place at the New Brick March 6, 1754; the First, Third or South, and the New North churches assisted in the services, but, says Dr. Ware, by whom the several parts were performed is not known.

Lord's Day June 23. 1754.

A Letter was read again from several Brethren of the West Church in Sudbury, desiring our Assistance in Council under their present Difficulties. Voted by the Brethren. Messengers, Messrs. David Jeffries, John Scollay and Samuel Bass.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Lord's Day Novr. 17. 1754.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed, and

Voted, That there be a collection for Charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving Novr. 28. Instant: And that the rest of the Congregation be notified of this Vote next Lord's Day, and be desir'd to assist in said Collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Lord's Day, Nov. 24. 1754

The Brethren stay'd, and Voted, that Deacon Henschman, Capt. Jackson, Mr. John Scollay, Mr. David Jeffries and Capt. John Symmes be the Church-Committee for this year.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Thanksgiving Novr. 28. 1754.

Collected as follows—O Tenor

Appropriated,

|                                |            |
|--------------------------------|------------|
| To Rev. Mr. Campbell . . . . . | 22. 18. 11 |
| Mr. Brett . . . . .            | 10. 7. 9   |
| Mr. Crocker . . . . .          | 10. 10. 0  |
| To two Widows . . . . .        | 18. 0. 0   |
| To the pious Fund . . . . .    | 4. 10. 0   |
|                                | <hr/>      |
|                                | 66. 6. 8   |
| At large . . . . .             | 131. 4. 1  |
|                                | <hr/>      |
|                                | 197. 10. 9 |

Master's degree from Harvard College in 1787.

In 1754 Mr. Tennent and Mr. Davies (afterward President Davies) went to

England and Scotland in behalf of the young college, and a collection in its behalf, in the Presbyterian churches, was appointed by the General Assembly.

Lord's Day Jany 26. 1755

The Church stay'd. A Letter was read from the first Church in Braintree desiring our Assistance at the Ordination of Mr. A. Wibird. Voted. Messengers, One or more of the Deacons, and Mr. Samuel Bass.

Mr. Anthony Wibird graduated at Harvard College in 1747, and was settled as the successor of Mr. Bryant at Braintree February 5, 1755. Neither Dr. Sewall nor Mr. Prince took part in the service. Mr. Appleton, of Cambridge, preached the sermon; Mr. Gay, of Hingham, gave the charge; and Mr. Dunbar, of Stoughton, gave the right hand of fellowship.<sup>1</sup> (Mr. Bass, one of the messengers of the South Church, belonged, as we suppose, to the Braintree family of that name.)

Mrs. Hannah Fayerweather died January 27, and Mr. Prince preached her funeral sermon on the Sunday following, from Hebrews vi. 12.<sup>2</sup> She was the widow of Thomas Fayerweather, who died in 1733.<sup>3</sup> Her name does not appear on the list of members of the South Church, but she and her family were members of the congregation, and her daughter Ann joined the church a few months later. Mrs. Fayerweather was a daughter of Jonathan and Hannah Waldo, and joined the Second Church (probably) in her youth. Her husband's mother, Hannah Eliot, was a daughter of one of the founders and first deacons of the South Church, and became a member of it in 1688.<sup>4</sup>

Lord's Day Feby. 2. 1755

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stay'd, and Voted,

1. That fifty pounds O. T. of the late Collection be equally divided between the Rev. Othniel Cambell and Silas Brett.

2. That the remainder of said collection be dispos'd of to charitable and pious uses by the Pastors and Deacons of this Church, according to their best Discretion.

J. SEWALL.

March 4, 1755. The Brethren met and adjourned to the 7th Instant.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wibird's salary was fixed at £100. lawful money and no sum at settlement.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. of this sermon is before us. It bears this note: "Funeral Sermon on my Dear Mother who Deceas'd at Middleboro Apr. 25. 1736." It was repeated on several occasions, and after having been preached for Mrs. Fayerweather was printed.

<sup>3</sup> On the 26th [November, 1733] Mr.

Fayrweather was buried (age about 41), my next Neighbour. (J. Sewall.)

<sup>4</sup> Hannah (Eliot) Fayerweather was married the second time, June 23, 1698, by Mr. Willard, to Samuel Clark, a neighbor of Judge Sewall, by whom he is frequently mentioned. She died in February, 1716-17, and among the bearers at her funeral were Wait Winthrop, Samuel Sewall, Thomas Fitch, and Daniel Oliver.

March 7. 1755. The Brethren of the Church and Congregation met and voted,

That a Committee be chosen to consider a motion made by several of the Brethren for the alteration or change of the version of the Psalms at present in use among us, and give their Report to the Church and Congregation the first Tuesday in May next.

Voted, That Twenty-five of the church and congregation be chosen to be of this Committee including our Rev'd Pastors.

The persons chosen are as follows, viz. The Hon. John Osborne, Josiah Willard, Thomas Hubbard, Andrew Oliver, Esqrs. Deacon Henchman, Capt. Greenwood, Mr. Isaac Walker, Mr. Joshua Winslow, Mr. Bromfield, Mr. Fitch, Mr. Benjamin Hallowel, Francis Borland Esq. Mr. Cushing, Capt. Jackson, Mr. David Jeffries, Mr. John Scollay, Mr. William Phillips, Mr. Thacher, Mr. Dolbear, Mr. Andrew Oliver junr. Mr. Tyng, Mr. Arnold Welles, and Mr. Holbrook.

The Bay Psalm Book is believed to have been the first book in English that issued from a printing-press in this part of America. It was the work of "the chief divines of the country," particularly of Thomas Weld, John Eliot, and Richard Mather, and it was printed at Cambridge in 1640. A second edition, somewhat amended, was published in 1647, after which the work was revised by President Dunster and Richard Lyon. This revision was first published in 1650, with the addition of some Spiritual Songs by Mr. Lyon, who was an English university man, and it went through numerous editions in America. It was reprinted in England and Scotland, and came into use in many of the Nonconformist churches in the former country, and of the Presbyterian churches in the latter.<sup>1</sup> To a critic of our day, the Bay Psalm Book appears "a sort of prodigy in that kind, — a poetic phenomenon, happily unique, we may hope, in all the literature of English speech;" but it was dear to the early generations of New England, and to many, even in the middle of the eighteenth century, it seemed almost sacrilegious to attempt to revise it, and altogether irreligious to propose to supersede it. A strong desire for a change, however, was manifesting itself in many of the congregations. At the West Church, Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms had been in use from the beginning. Watts's Psalms and Hymns were introduced at the New Brick in 1751;<sup>2</sup> and at the New North a proposition was at this time under consideration for substituting

<sup>1</sup> See the catalogue of the Prince Library published by the Boston Public Library, to which we are indebted for valuable information used in the preparation of this and other chapters.

<sup>2</sup> Tate and Brady's version seems to



either Tate and Brady or Watts for the New England version, which was decided in favor of the former.<sup>1</sup> At the South Church, as the brethren were not agreed among themselves, they wisely postponed the matter for the present. Mr. Prince entered upon the work of revising the accepted version, but whether by formal request of the church does not appear from the records.<sup>2</sup>

May 6. 1755. The Brethren met and accepted the Report of said Committee, viz: That considering the Diversity of Opinions, it will best subserve the Peace of the Society to suspend their determination a few months; and in the mean time to continue in the use of the present version.

J. SEWALL.

have been used at the New Brick at the first. Soon after its organization and the ordination of Mr. Waldron, there was a service of which we have the following account in Bumstead's journal, September 21, 1722: "A sing lecture att the north Brick. Mr. Coleman preached from those words 'They sung a new Song,' Revelations 5 and 9. Sung Tate and Brady four Psalms, namely 108 first, 147 next, 89 next, 98 last, noted by titles in that psalm book."

<sup>1</sup> New North Church: "A proposal was made at a meeting on the 14th of April, 1755, to exchange the New England version of Psalms, which had always been used in singing, for one more modern. It was opposed at several meetings, and caused much debate before the church would consent to it. But on the 27th of May, it was voted to exchange; and on counting the votes, there were forty-six for Tate and Brady's version, and eight for that of Dr. Watts." — *Hist. Notes of the New North Religious Society*, by Ephraim Eliot, p. 22.

First Church, Roxbury: "In a letter to the Rev. Amos Adams, dated September 11, 1757, and signed by James Bowdoin and other influential parishioners, it was said that the New England version of the Psalms, however useful it may formerly have been, 'is now become, through the natural variableness of language, not only very uncouth but in many places unintelligible,' and it recommended that the version of Tate and Brady be substituted. The change was

made July 9, 1758; 'some people,' says the church record, being 'much offended at the same.'" — *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. ii. pp. 347, 348.

First Church, Boston: "August 9, 1761, it was voted to introduce the version of the Psalms called Tate and Brady, with such supplement of Dr. Watts' hymns as our pastors shall think proper." — *Ellis's History*, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Prince says in his preface to the new version: —

"Having begun this work on April 29, 1755, and being encouraged to proceed by the Respectable Brethren of the Congregation I belong to, I desire to Praise the Most High for carrying me on, thro' Multitudes of Avocations, Interruptions and Infirmities, to the End of the Psalms by the Last of August 1756, and to the End of the other Scripture-Songs by the 20th of March 1757: And to His Glory and Blessing, and the Edification of his People, I humbly resign it. Rendering my hearty Thanks to the ingenious Gentlemen, who generously helped me with their acute Corrections; I close with my earnest Prayers in the Terms of the Final Clause of the Authors of the ancient Preface to the New England version, expressed in their usual beautiful Simplicity of Language; 'That we may sing in Zion the Lord's Songs of Praise according to his own Will, until he take us hence, and wipe away all our Tears, and bid us enter into our Master's Joy, to sing eternal Hallelujahs there!'"

Lord's Day Octr. 5. 1755.

The above nam'd church-committee [see November 24. 1754] were again chosen by the Brethren for this year JOSEPH SEWALL.

Lords Day Novr. 9, 1755 The church stay'd. A Letter was read from the Church in Brookline, desiring our Assistance at the Ordination of Mr. Nathl. Potter. Voted. Messengers — The Deacons, The Hon. Saml. Welles and Andrew Oliver Esqrs. J. SEWALL.

The Rev. Robert Rogerson had been called to the Brookline church and had accepted, but there was a division in the parish in reference to his coming, and the arrangement was cancelled, the town voting to pay him £20 lawful money. Mr. Potter was ordained November 19. He came from Elizabeth Town, and graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1753. Dr. Pierce intimates that he was called and settled on a brief and imperfect acquaintance; at all events, his pastorate lasted only four years. He was only in his twenty-third year when he was ordained, and this may have had something to do with his want of success.

Early in the morning of Tuesday, November 18, the town was shaken by an earthquake, the most violent ever known in New England. Many buildings were injured, chimneys tottered and fell, clocks stopped, and the vane of the market-house fell into the street. Had it continued a minute longer, hardly a building would have been left standing. People "shrieked with the apprehension of its being the Day of Judgment; some thought they heard the last trump sounding, and cried out for mercy; others fainted away with the fright, and those of the most composed temper, that were sensible of these tremendous shakings, expected instantly to be swallowed up and buried in the ruins." Mr. Byles, in a sermon preached on the following Lord's Day, said: "It was a terrible night, the most so, perhaps, that ever New England saw. When we remember it, we are afraid, and trembling taketh hold of our flesh."

Nov. 1755. At a quarter after four in the morning of the 18th day there was a terrible earthquake which shattered the whole Town very much and threw down a great many chimneys and parts of many houses. Another small shock took place about six the same morning. Dr. Sewall preached at 11 o'clock in the forenoon to a very crowded audience from the words in Mark, chap. 13. verse 36. Lest coming suddenly he find you sleeping.

Thursday was kept as a day of Fast. (Fleet.<sup>1</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> [Mary Fleet, daughter of Thomas journal, extracts from which were printed and Elizabeth (Goose) Fleet, kept a in the *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register* (1865),

Mr. Prince republished his discourse on Earthquakes the Works of God, and Tokens of his Just Displeasure, which he preached and printed in 1727, with an appendix, in which he says that since the sermon was first published, "the sagacious Mr. Franklin, born and brought up in Boston, but now living in Philadelphia, has greatly surpriz'd and oblig'd the world with his discoveries of the electrical substance as one great and main instrument of lightning and thunder." Mr. Prince also published a tract, entitled *An Improvement of the Doctrine of Earthquakes*, in which he gave an historical summary of the most remarkable earthquakes known in New England and in other parts of the world since 1666. Like all his printed papers and discourses, it shows painstaking research and careful composition, and illustrates the great variety and exactness of his knowledge.

Nov 23. 1755

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stay'd, and

Voted, That there be a collection for Charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving Decr 4. next: And that the rest of the Congregation be notified of this Vote next Lord's Day, and desir'd to assist in said collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Dec 4. Being Thanksgiving day Mr. Prince preached from Psalm the 2. verse 2. Rejoice with trembling. (Fleet.)

Thanksgiving Decr. 4. 1755.

Collected

Appropriated

|                          |           |   |   |      |     |            |
|--------------------------|-----------|---|---|------|-----|------------|
| To the Rev. Mr. Cambell  | old Tenor | . | . | 28.  | 5.  | 5          |
| Mr. Brett                | .         | . | . | 14.  | 4.  | 5          |
| To the Pious Fund        | .         | . | . | 7.   | 10. | 0          |
| Mr. Wheelock             | .         | . | . | 10.  | 10. | 0          |
| To the prisoners in Goal | .         | . | . | 10.  | 10. | 0          |
| To three Widows          | .         | . | . | 24.  | 0.  | 0          |
|                          |           |   |   |      |     | 94. 19. 10 |
| At large                 | .         | . | . | 158. | 5.  | 5          |

253. 5. 3

JOSEPH SEWALL.<sup>1</sup>

vol. xix. pp. 59-61. She joined the South Church, of which her grandmother and mother were members before her, January 25, 1756.]

<sup>1</sup> [We suppose that Mr. Wheelock, to

whom an appropriation of ten guineas was made at this time, was the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, founder and first president of Dartmouth College. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 525.]

At a town meeting held in Faneuil Hall, on Monday, the 8th of March, 1756, the citizens took into consideration the following article, which had appeared in the warrant: "Whether any more effectual Method than is always prescribed by Law can be taken, for promoting a more general Reformation of Manners." It was voted, "That the Honble Judge [Stephen] Sewall, the Honble Thomas Hubbard Esqr. Abiel Walley Esqr. John Phillips Esqr. and Mr. William Cooper, be and they hereby are Appointed a Committee upon this Affair, and they are desired in the most particular manner to Consider of the same, and Report to the Town at their Meeting in May next, what Methods they shall judge best to be taken for a more general Reformation of Manners."

The church and society met with a great loss this spring, in the death of Edward Bromfield, which took place April 10. He was sixty-one years of age, and had been a member of the church since 1729. He was a merchant, had served his fellow-citizens as selectman, overseer of the poor, and representative, and was much respected and beloved for his public spirit and for the general uprightness of his character. He was unfitted by temperament and by the state of his health for public life, so that he declined a reelection, after two or three years, to the house of representatives, and did not desire further political preferment. It was more in accordance with his feelings to serve as one of the overseers of the poor, which he did for twenty-one years, and until his death. Mr. Prince, in preaching his funeral sermon, said:—

You know he was born of godly parents. His father one of the most amiable men, for sweetness innocence and pleasancy of temper and conversation; sincerity and openness of heart; beneficence, a publick spirit, activity and delight in doing good, as I ever saw. His pious mother being elder daughter to the Reverend and excellent Mr. Danforth of Roxbury, by a daughter of the Reverend and famous Mr. Wilson, the first minister of Boston. So that by the mother he descended from two families eminent for piety in our New English Israel. By the lively instructions and example of his father, mother, and mother's extraordinary pious mother, who all happily lived together, he from his childhood received strong impressions of religion, and by our elderly people, has been observed to have feared the Lord, like Obadiah, from his youth. . . . He early join'd to a society of youths in a private meeting to promote vital piety among them. The eyes of good people were turn'd to him, and as he grew in years, he increased in their esteem and answered their expectations.



But he was self-distrustful and morbidly conscientious. His fears kept him from the Lord's Table until he was more than thirty years of age, and long after his son Edward was born. "At length he came to be so irresistibly impressed with a sense of his indispensable duty, that he determined to come and there cast himself at the feet of Christ, striving to yield obedience to him, though there he should perish." But for him there was to be but slight experience of joy, in his religious life; he had to walk by faith, and not at all by sight. Nor could he rise above the depression which was natural to him, and which threw almost the shadow of an eclipse over his pathway, even to the grave. From the death of his son, a young man of promise, he never recovered.<sup>1</sup> His mental sufferings are mentioned with great tenderness by Mr. Prince in his funeral sermon, from which we have already quoted, and which was preached from Psalm lxxxviii. 15: "I am afflicted and ready to die from my youth up: while I suffer thy terrors I am distracted." The preacher began by quoting the remark of Ainsworth, that this is "the most doleful psalm in all the Bible, full of lamentation, mourning and woe," and then considered the character of its author, Heman the Ezrahite, as revealed by it. In the delineation of Mr. Bromfield's character, he said:—

All who intimately knew him, could not but apprehend he maintained a close walk with God continually. And yet he saw so much deficiency and corruption in himself, and was so dreadfully worried with horrible suggestions and temptations, that though he feared the Lord, yet he almost always walked in darkness and could see no light, — was like Heman, much afflicted with soul-perplexities, even from his youth; and as he advanc'd in age they seem'd, especially of late, to grow till the terrors of God at times in some degree distracted him. . . . Yet in all his distracting darkness he ever justified the Holy God: He continually express'd his reverential apprehensions of him: and even while his intellectual powers were so greatly clouded and disordered, we could hear no murmurings against him, but earnest cryings to him through Christ for mercy, while he condemned himself as utterly unworthy of it. . . . A few days before he died, he seem'd in a great measure to be relieved of them, [his complaints and fears] and to grow more compos'd and quiet. But as death approached, his intellectuals failed, and hindered us from knowing his final sentiments. Yet we cannot but be fully persuaded that his departing spirit, with

<sup>1</sup> Edward Bromfield, third of the name in the annals of the South Church, died August 18, 1746, four years after his graduation. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 581. For his portrait see *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. iv. p. 509.

amazement on a sudden opened into glorious light and holiness, and liberty, and joy and blessedness.<sup>1</sup>

The reader will be reminded of Cowper in this account of Mr. Bromfield's mental and spiritual sufferings, and of his wonderful faith in a similar experience. Only a few years after this, the poet sang of himself:—

But I am silent, seeing what I see—  
And fear, with cause, that I am self-deceived;  
Not e'en my faith is from suspicion free,  
And, that I love, seems not to be believed.

Live thou, and reign forever, glorious Lord!  
My last, least offering, I present thee now—  
Renounce me, leave me, and be still adored!  
Slay me, my God, and I applaud the blow.

April 18. 1756. The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed, and Voted

1. That thirty pounds be given out of the late collection, in Bibles and other Books of piety to proper objects at the Discretion of the Pastors.

2. That the remainder of said Collection be dispos'd of to charitable and pious uses, by the Pastors and Deacons of this Church, according to their best Discretion.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

[There is no record of the Fast Day Collection this season.]

May 18. 1756 The Brethren of the Church and Congregation met, and Voted

1. That there be seven Seaters chosen, to stand for one year, or till farther order.

The following Persons were chosen by written votes; viz.

The Hon. Thomas Hubbard, Francis Borland, Joshua Winslow Esqrs. Mr. David Jeffries, the Hon. Andrew Oliver Esq. Mr. Isaac Walker, and Mr. Joseph Jackson.

2. That there be a public Collection for the raising of eighty pounds L. M. to defray the necessary expences of this Society.

3. That there be a Committee chosen to audit the Deacons accounts, and that they make their report at the next Meeting.

Messrs. Thomas Cushing, David Jeffries and William Phillips were chosen of said Committee.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Bromfield left a widow, Abigail, daughter of John Coney, goldsmith, and two sons, Thomas and John. The latter married Ann Roberts, and had son John, a prominent merchant in Boston, who died in 1849, and made large bequests to

the Boston Athenæum and for various charitable purposes. Edward Bromfield also left three daughters, one of whom, Abigail, married the first Deacon William Phillips. Mrs. Bromfield died October 5, 1777, in her seventy-seventh year.]

1756. July 1. At the desire of our ministers was kept as a day of humiliation for our Brethren who have gone against Crown Point. Present the Rev. Mr. Prince and the Rev. Mr. Pemberton. (Fleet.)

July 17. Early to Boston about 10 o'clock; with wife at Mr. Oliver's: P. M. to Judge Sewall's, and at Paddock's about pole for carriage.

July 18. Mr. Prince; Sacrament. Dr. Sewall. Talked of Governor Pownall. (Lynde.)

Thursday July 22. Being a day of Public fasting and prayer for the soldiers who have gone against Crown Point, Mr. Prince preached from those words in Psalm 50, verse 15. And call upon me in the day of trouble. I will deliver thee and thou shalt glorify me.<sup>1</sup> (Fleet.)

The great powers in Europe had just entered upon the long struggle known in history as the Seven Years' War. The American provinces were also engaged in the last of the French and Indian wars which, for more than three quarters of a century, had kept them in almost perpetual turmoil. The earlier campaigns in this war were disastrous. Braddock suffered a humiliating defeat on the banks of the Ohio, and Montcalm for a time carried all before him on the shores of Lake George. In the spring of 1755, an expedition under John Winslow, a general of militia,<sup>2</sup> had sailed from Boston harbor for the Bay of Fundy, and in coöperation with some regular troops under Colonel Monckton, had taken some forts recently erected by the French; but elsewhere than in Acadia the English cause had met with almost no success. The distress and gloom were the greatest in the winter of 1756-57. In January the Earl of Loudoun, who had been sent from England as commander-in-chief, arrived in Boston to confer with the authorities, and on the 15th, we are told, he was at the South Church, and heard Dr. Sewall preach.<sup>3</sup> The commissioners appointed to confer with him were, Thomas Hutchinson and William Brattle, on the part of the council, and Samuel Welles, Thomas Hubbard, and James Otis, on the part of the representatives. When at length the tide turned, victory followed victory in brilliant

<sup>1</sup> [Judge Lynde was holding court at Plymouth during a part of this week, and says of the Fast Day: "22d. Fast on account of Expeditions; three deacons prayed in the afternoon."]

<sup>2</sup> John Winslow was a grandson of Governor Josiah Winslow, and great-grandson of Governor Edward Winslow,

of Plymouth. He joined the South Church in 1742.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Loudoun was accompanied by Christopher Kilby, resident agent of the province in London, whose father, John Kilby, had been a member of the South Church, and some of whose near friends were now connected with it.

succession, the crowning triumphs being at Quebec in 1759 and Montreal in 1760.<sup>1</sup>

Novr. 14. 1756 The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed, and Voted,

That there be a Collection for Charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving Novr. 25. Instant: And that the rest of the Congregation be notified next Lord's Day, and desir'd to assist in said Collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Thanksgiving Novr. 25. 1756

Collected

| Appropriated                      | Old Tenor   |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| To the Rev. Mr. Cambell . . . . . | 16. 16. 0   |
| Mr. Brett . . . . .               | 15. 11. 0   |
| To the pious Fund . . . . .       | 10. 0. 0    |
| Rev. Mr. Crocker . . . . .        | 2. 5. 0     |
| Rev. Mr. Carpenter . . . . .      | 10. 10. 0   |
| For the Prisoners . . . . .       | 10. 2. 6    |
| For two Widows . . . . .          | 15. 15. 0   |
| Wood for two Widows . . . . .     | 5. 10. 0    |
|                                   | <hr/>       |
|                                   | £86. 9. 6   |
| Collected at large . . . . .      | 135. 5. 10  |
| Since received . . . . .          | 4. 2. 6     |
|                                   | <hr/>       |
|                                   | 139. 8. 4   |
|                                   | <hr/>       |
| Total . . . . .                   | 225. 17. 10 |

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Dec. 5. 1756 The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stay'd: and Voted,

1. That twenty pounds be given out of the late collection in Bibles and other Books of piety to proper objects of such a charity.

2. That the remainder of said Collection be distributed by the Deacons to the poor of this Church and Congregation in Wood and other Necessaries of life, according to their best Discretion.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the year 1759, Mr. Green remarks: "It is no exaggeration to say that three of its many victories determined for ages to come the destinies of the world. With that of Rossbach began the recreation of Germany, its intellectual supremacy over Europe, its political union under the leadership of Prussia and its kings. With that of Plassey the influence of Europe told for the first

time since the days of Alexander on the nations of the East. The world, in Burke's gorgeous phrase, saw 'one of the races of the northeast cast into the heart of Asia new manners, new doctrines, new institutions.' With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States of America."—*Short History of the English People*, pp. 737, 738.



On the day following, one of the most distinguished and venerated members of the church, Josiah Willard, was taken to his rest. Seventy-five years before, he was baptized by his father in the old meeting-house, and fifty-five years before, he was received, also by his father, into the fellowship of the church. He was a man of majestic presence, and of rare mental endowments. He was secretary of the province from 1717 until his death, judge of probate from 1731 to 1745, and a member of the honorable council, from 1734 to May, 1756.<sup>1</sup> "He discharged the duties of these important offices," said Dr. Sewall, "with a laudable capacity, great diligence and integrity, as a good and faithful servant of God, his King and country;" and he added: "This flock of Christ, of which his excellent father was an able and faithful pastor, is bereaved of an exemplary and faithful Christian, who walk'd humbly and closely with God, in a firm adherence to the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel: One that was zealous for the day and house of the Lord, and constant in his attendance on the public worship, even when his bodily infirmities might urge him to spare himself." Both his ministers preached upon his death. From Dr. Sewall we have already quoted. Mr. Prince took the character of Caleb as an illustration of that of Mr. Willard, and said of the latter:—

But it was his distinguishing, unaffected and yet shining piety, which spread a pleasing lustre on all his other endowments, and rendered him so exceedingly amiable and delightful to us. And without preferring him to many others, I may freely say that among his brethren and fathers, in place of civil dignity, I dont remember that I ever saw any man, in whom so many accomplishments, with the unaffected gentleman and the eminent Christian, were more happily united.

Lords Day Decr. 12. 1756 The Brethren of the Church stayed, and Voted,

That Deacon Hubbard, Capt. Jackson, Mr. David Jeffries, Mr. John Scollay and Capt. Symmes be the Church-Committee for this year.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The admissions to the church in 1756 were forty-four; including eight on the 28th of December, 1755, we may call them fifty-two. This was a larger number than had been added in any year since the great revival, and it was not to be equalled

<sup>1</sup> 1756. "May 26th. Election. I chose a counsellor. Secretary Willard resigned his seat at the Board, and Colo. Pickard chose a counsellor." 1757. "Secretary Willard died, and Andrew Oliver Esq. secretary." — Lynde *Diaries*.

in the time to come until far into the nineteenth century. Most of these admissions were in the first three months of the year. On the 28th of December, as we have said, there were eight; on the 25th of January, there were nine; on the 22d of February, there were fourteen; on the 29th of February, there were two; and on the 21st of March, there were seven: in all forty. Among these were members of the Belknap, Prout, Wiswall, Fleet, Welles, Salisbury,<sup>1</sup> Oliver, Hubbard, and Bromfield families. William Phillips,<sup>2</sup> afterward deacon, and his wife Abigail (Bromfield) made a profession of their faith February 29. A larger number than usual also owned the covenant in 1756, — eleven, — among whom were James Otis, the great orator, advocate, and patriot, and his wife Ruth (Cunningham). Mrs. Otis became a communicant in 1764.

We have no means of knowing what circumstances especially led to the revival of religious interest in the congregation at this time, but we may suppose that the earthquake shocks of November, 1755, as similar visitations had done before, deepened religious impressions already made, and brought men and women to a decision. Under the solemn admonitions of their faithful ministers, they came to estimate at their proportionate value "those things that are shaken, as of things that have been made," and "those things which are not shaken," and which are to remain.

Dr. Mayhew had recently published a book in which he attacked the doctrine of the Trinity, and an English work on the same side of the controversy, Emlyn's Inquiry, had been reprinted here, with a preface by an anonymous writer calling himself a layman. These publications caused much uneasiness among conservative men, and Mr. Edwards wrote a letter from Stockbridge, February 11, 1757, to Dr. Wigglesworth, professor of divinity in Harvard College,<sup>3</sup> in which he said:—

<sup>1</sup> Rebecca Salisbury, who joined February 22, 1756, was a daughter of Nicholas and Martha Salisbury. She married, May 3, 1757, Daniel Waldo, a merchant of Boston. Griselda, daughter of Andrew and Mary Oliver, who joined on the same day, married Samuel Waldo, and died soon after at Casco Bay.

<sup>2</sup> William Phillips owned the covenant at his father's church in Andover, December 5, 1736, before leaving home for Boston. He was then in his fifteenth year.

<sup>3</sup> The Rev. Edward Wigglesworth was a son of the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, of Malden. After leaving college, in 1710, he taught for a time in Boston, and was then a member of the South Church. In 1722, he was elected as the first professor of theology at Cambridge, on the Hollis foundation; and at his installation the oaths were administered to him by Judge Sewall and Colonel Penn Townsend. He received the degree of D. D. from Edinburgh in 1730.

I only write as a subject and friend of the same Lord, and a follower and fellow-disciple of the same Jesus. A regard to his interests has made me uneasy ever since I read Dr. Mayhew's late book, some time the last year, and saw that marginal note of his, wherein he ridicules the doctrine of the Trinity. And my uneasiness was increased after I had wrote to Mr. Foxcroft upon it, and fully expressed my sentiments to him concerning the call of God to ministers that way, or others whose business it was to teach the doctrines of Christianity, to appear publicly on this occasion in defence of this doctrine ; and he, in reply, informed me that the same affair had been proposed and considered at the board of overseers ; and in the issue nothing concluded to be done. Very lately, Mr. Emlyn's book has fallen into my hands, published in New England by one that calls himself a layman ; who, in his dedication to the ministers of the country, gives them an open and bold (though a very subtle and artful) challenge to answer that book, and defend the proper deity of Christ, if they can. Since I have read this book I am abundantly confirmed that my opinion, signified to Mr. Foxcroft, was right ; and that the call of God that some one should appear in open defence of this doctrine, is very loud and plain ; and that an universal neglect of it in the churches of New England on this occasion, will be imputed by the Head of the church, whose glory is so struck at, as a lukewarmness that will be very displeasing.

Mr. Edwards then urged Professor Wigglesworth, as one "set for the instruction of our youth in divinity in the principal seminary of learning," to engage in this cause. Professor Wigglesworth replied at length, and said : —

Among many things exceptionable in the marginal notes [of Dr. Mayhew's book] I at length met one which seemed to insinuate that the canon of the Old Testament was compiled according to the humor and caprice of the people ; that some books were admitted and others left out of the canon, according as the people relished or disrelished the contents of them. I immediately thought that this was the first thing which demanded my attention. For if the divine authority of the books of the Old Testament be once shaken, besides all the other mischiefs (too many to be mentioned) we shall be deprived of the weight of that evidence which might be drawn from them for the true and proper Godhead of our Saviour. I, therefore, at my very next lecture, delivered the inclosed discourse, which I ask your candid acceptance of, [published at the] request of almost every student in the college.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Wigglesworth added that, at the lectures in Boston during

<sup>1</sup> ["Some Evidences of the Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, From the testimony of Jesus Christ and his Apostles in the New : Briefly considered at the Lecture in Harvard-College, June 24th. 1755."]

the vacation following the publication of his views, "the worthy ministers of that town were generally vindicating the divinity of Christ;" and he said further:—

At length came out a catholic and judicious discourse of Mr. Pemberton<sup>1</sup> upon that subject, prefaced by Dr. Sewall and Mr. Prince, the two oldest ministers of the town. I thought it was now time to have done, and wait in silence till we saw whether anything would be replied to Mr. Pemberton or to me. And I believe (for more than one reason) that if no further stir had been made, we should have met with no more trouble. But the printers, who live very much by disputes, observing that the people's passions were up, that anything on that subject would fetch a penny, and that everything was supposed to be pointed at Dr. Mayhew, continued printing little things with pompous advertisements about them in the newspapers, week after week. If it had not been for these repeated and long continued provocations, I don't think we should ever have seen the "Layman's" new edition of "Emlyn's Inquiry."

Dr. Wigglesworth did not think it desirable to "publish a new answer to a book that hath been answered over and over again on the other side of the water;" but if anything of the kind were to be done, he recommended "the reprinting the best answer to Mr. Emlyn which hath been written abroad; and perhaps some other 'layman' may usher it on to the stage with as much address as Mr. Emlyn hath been introduced with before it."<sup>2</sup>

April the 10th. being the Sabbath after the Honble Spencer Phips died, Dr. Sewall preached from Isaiah the 2nd verse 22 ["Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of?"] (Fleet.)

Mr. Phips<sup>3</sup> became acting-governor, on the departure for England of William Shirley. The council now governed the province, and the command of the castle was given to Sir William Pepperrell, until the arrival of the next governor, Thomas Pownall.

Augt. 7. 1757. The Church was stayed;

R. S's confession of the hainous sin of Fornication was read, and Shee was restored to the charity and communion of the Church.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

<sup>1</sup> ["All power in Heaven, And in Earth Given unto Christ. A Sermon in Boston, Jan. 29th 1756. With a Preface by the Reverend Dr. Sewall, Mr. Prince, and Mr. Foxcroft. Boston 1756."]

<sup>2</sup> We have taken this correspondence

from Dr. Clark's *Hist. Sketch*, pp. 180-184.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer Bennett was a nephew of Lady Phips, and being made her heir he took her name. He died April 4, 1757, aged seventy-three years.



The Church was stayed Octr 16. 1757.

And a Letter was read from the Church in Chelsea, desiring our Assistance at the Ordination of Mr. Phillips Pason: Voted. Messengers, the Deacons, Hon John Osborne, Andrew Oliver Esq. and Mr. Isaac Walker.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The Rev. Phillips Payson graduated at Harvard College in 1754, and was ordained at Chelsea, October 26, 1757, in his twenty-second year. He was a scholarly man, and he became very active and influential during the stirring times of the Revolution. He participated in the events of April 19, 1775, by leading a party of his parishioners to West Cambridge, against Lord Percy's relief expedition, and was soon after named in a commission to raise a company of minute-men.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Prince had been engaged for two years on the work of revising the Psalm Book, or, to speak more exactly, upon a new metrical version of the Psalms. With the various versions then in use before him, and by a careful study of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Septuagint, the Chaldee, the ancient Latin, and the Latin versions of the Syriac and Arabic, he had aimed first to gain the precise meaning or nearest sense of the original, and then to paraphrase it as far as possible in Bible language. Restrained by these rigid rules, there could be no poetic freedom and no spontaneity of expression. As compared with the 18th Psalm of Sternhold and Hopkins, or the 42d, 103d, and 149th Psalms of Tate and Brady, or the best of Watts's psalmody, Mr. Prince's metrical work is versification rather than poetry; but, for that very reason, it was just what the majority of worshippers in New England at that time preferred.<sup>2</sup> The reader

<sup>1</sup> *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. ii. p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> After writing the above sentences, just as they now stand, the author asked his excellent friend, the Rev. I. N. Tarbox, D. D., a man of fine poetic taste, to give him in a few lines a critical judgment of Mr. Prince's work, and he received the following in a note dated December 23, 1885:—

"For more than a hundred years President Dunster's Revision of what is now technically called the Old Bay Psalm Book had been in use, and was pretty rough. Mr. Prince softened it,—rubbed off the asperities very considerably. But Mr. Prince did his work under the bondage of the old idea, that one, in

such labors, should depart as little as possible from the exact words of Scripture. Isaac Watts had finished his great work as a writer of Psalms and Hymns, and had gone to his rest before Mr. Prince revised the New England Psalm Book. Watts died in 1748. Mr. Prince did not copy Watts's style, in this business, but was simply trying to improve the old New England style.

"But Watts was destined to conquer in New England as he had conquered in Old England. He wrote in the freedom of a poet, and not in bondage to words, which were only such English words as the translators of the Bible had thought would best stand to represent the origi-

can judge of the work as a whole by the following examples, which we quote, not as being the best, but as versions of Psalms with which all are familiar : —

## PSALM I.

- 1 O Blessed man who walks not in  
The counsel of ungodly men,  
Nor stands within the sinner's way,  
Nor will the scoffers seat sit in.
- 2 But in Jehovah's written law  
He takes exceeding great delight ;  
And in his law he meditates  
With pious pleasure day and night.
- 3 For he is like a goodly tree  
To streams of waters<sup>1</sup> planted near ;  
Which in due season yields its fruit,  
Whose leaf shall ever green appear ;  
And all he does shall prosper still.
- 4 But the ungodly are not so :  
For they are like the chaff which by  
The wind is driven to and fro.
- 5 Therefore in judgment shall not stand,  
Such as ungodly are, as clear ;  
Nor in th' assembly of the just  
Shall sinners in that day appear
- 6 Because the way of righteous men  
The Lord with approbation knows ;  
Whereas the way of evil men  
To their entire destruction goes.

## PSALM XXIII.

- 1 The Lord himself my shepherd is,  
want therefore shall not I :
- 2 He in the folds<sup>2</sup> of tender grass  
soft makes me down to lie :

nal Hebrew. Prince, by his culture and grace, might easily have stepped into something like the same liberty. But the time had not then come in New England to make that way seem *natural* or even *allowable*. So, though his revision was a great improvement on Dunster's, it was destined to a much shorter career."

Dr. Tarbox died suddenly at his home in West Newton, May 3, 1888, and his memory is cherished by all who had the privilege of his friendship.

<sup>1</sup> "So it is exactly, and most properly, in the Hebrew." [We give Mr. Prince's foot-notes with these quotations.]

<sup>2</sup> "I. e. Enclosures for Flocks of Sheep."

- He leads me to the waters still :  
 3 Restore my soul does He :  
 In paths of righteousness He will  
 for his namesake lead me.
- 4 Tho' in death's gloomy vale I walk,  
 yet I will fear no ill ;  
 For Thou art with me ; and thy rod  
 and staff me comfort will.
- 5 Thou hast for me a table spread  
 in presence of my foes :  
 Thou dost my head with oil anoint,  
 and my cup overflows.
- 6 Goodness and mercy all my days  
 shall surely follow me ;  
 And in the Lord's house I shall dwell  
 as long as days <sup>1</sup> shall be.

## PSALM XLVI.

- 1 God is our refuge, strength and shield,  
 When num'rous evils us surround ;  
 In troubles great a present help,  
 And always ready to be found.
- 2 Therefore we will not be afraid,  
 Altho' the earth removed be,  
 Altho' the mountains should be hurl'd  
 Into the center of the sea.
- 3 Nor tho' the seas tempestuous waves  
 Should all disturb'd a roaring make,  
 Nor tho' her waters swelling rage  
 Should make the lofty mountains quake. (*Selah.*)
- 4 There is a river whose pure streams  
 The city of our God make glad ;  
 The holy place which the most high  
 Hath happily his dwelling made.
- 5 For God is in the midst of her ;  
 Therefore be moved shall not she ;  
 As early morning doth appear  
 God will her mighty helper be.

<sup>1</sup> "So the Hebrew and all the ancient Versions."

- 6 The nations make tumultuous noise,  
The kingdoms greatly moved are ;  
He utters forth his thund'ring voice,  
And all the earth dissolves with fear.
- 7 The Lord of armies is with us,  
Who firmly upon Him rely ;  
The God of Jacob is for us  
A refuge safe and sure on high. (*Selah.*)
- 8 O come, behold what wondrous works  
The mighty Lord around hath wrought ;  
What fearful desolations He  
Upon the earth hath justly brought.
- 9 But yet throughout the wearied earth  
Wars into peace he kindly turns,  
The spear he cuts, the bow he breaks,  
In fire the martial chariot burns.
- 10 Be still and know that I am God !  
I will o'er all exalted be ;  
The nations shall exalt my name,  
The earth supremely honour me.
- 11 The Lord of armies is with us,  
Who firmly upon Him rely ;  
The God of Jacob is for us  
A refuge safe and sure on high. (*Selah.*)

## PSALM C.

- 1 Shout to Jehovah all the earth :  
2 With joyfulness the Lord serve ye :  
Before his presence come with mirth,  
And with exulting melody.
- 3 Know ye, the Lord is God alone ;  
Without our aid He did us make ;  
We are the people He does own,  
And for his pasture-sheep does take.
- 4 O enter then his gates with praise ;  
And in his courts aloud proclaim,  
Your thankfulness to Him always,  
And ever bless his holy name.
- 5 Because the Lord is ever good ;  
His mercy is for ever sure ;



His truth has through all ages stood,  
And will eternally endure.

There were added a few paraphrases of passages from the Song of Songs,<sup>1</sup> Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, and the New Testament, and about fifty Hymns, "which are not versions of the Scriptures, but pious songs derived from them," by Dr. Watts and others. We give one example of the paraphrases : —

ISAI. LV.

[*The Call of God in Christ to perishing Sinners.*]

- 1 Ho ! ev'ry thirsty, longing soul !  
Come where the living waters flow ;  
Come, buy, eat, drink my wine and milk ;  
Tho' nothing ye, of worth, can show.
- 2 Why do ye spend your cost and toil,  
For what cannot content the soul ?  
Hear Me, and feed on solid good,  
Your souls with fatness shall be full.
- 3 Incline your ear and come to Me,  
Hear, and your soul shall ever live ;  
I'll an eternal covenant  
And David's certain mercies give.
- 4 Lo ! I have Him a witness giv'n,  
For all the people to observe ;  
A leader and commander made,  
That all the people should him serve.<sup>2</sup>
- 5 The gentile nations Thou shalt call ;  
And they shall run to Thee with joy ;  
The Lord thy God, the Holy One  
Of Isr'el, Thee will glorify.
- 6 O seek ye for the Lord, while ye  
To your great joy may find him here ;  
And call upon Him earnestly,  
While in his mercy He is near.
- 7 Let wicked men forsake their ways,  
Their tho'ts let the unrighteous leave ;

A metrical version of the Song of Songs was appended to the revision of Henry Dunster and Richard Lyon. hundred years, tis plain that Christ the promised Seed of David must be here intended : so Christ is called David, Jer.

<sup>2</sup> "David being now dead about three xxx. 9. Ezek. xxiv 23. 24. Hos. iii. 5."

And to the Lord let them return ;  
 And mercy on them He will have.  
 Let them remember He 's our God,  
 So wondrous for benignity ;  
 O let them then return to Him,  
 And He 'll forgive abundantly.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation in Boston, Octr 31, 1757, Voted,

1. That the thanks of the Brethren be given to our Pastor, the Rev'd Mr. Prince, for the Pains he has taken in revising the N. England Version of the Psalms.

2. That the printing of said revisal be encourag'd by a subscription.

3. That there be a Committee to confer with Mr. Prince, and some suitable Persons about undertaking the Printing of said revisal, and make report at the Adjournment of this Meeting.

4. That the Hon. Andrew Oliver, Esq., Mr. Isaac Walker and Mr. Thomas Cushing be of this Committee.

And then the meeting was adjourn'd to next Monday half after nine o'clock A. M.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Novr. 6. 1757 The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed, and Voted,

That there be a Collection for Charitable and pious uses, on the Anniversary Thanksgiving, Novr. 17. Instant : And that the rest of the Congregation be notified next Lord's Day, and desir'd to assist in said Collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The Meeting of Octr. 31. 1757, was adjourned to this day, Novr. 7. Then met and Voted ;

1. That there be an addition to the Committee then voted.

2. That Messrs. David Jeffries, William Phillips and Oxenbridge Thacher be added to said Committee : And that they confer with our Rev'd Pastors, with respect to the Appendix.

3. That there be a Committee to ask Subscriptions of the absent Brethren.

4. That Messrs. William Whitwell, Joseph Belknap, John Comrin, William Homes and Jonathan Mason be of this Committee.

5. That Mr. John Kneeland be desir'd to collect the sums assign'd to the Pews of such as have been deficient in their contributions.

6. That the thanks of the Brethren be given to Mr. Samuel Bass for the pains he has taken in said affair.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The printing and publication of the new Psalm Book was undertaken by Daniel Henchman and Samuel Kneeland, both of

the South Church. Deacon Henchman was a bookseller, and his place of business was on the corner of Cornhill and King Street, now Washington and State streets.<sup>1</sup> He is called by Thomas the most eminent and enterprising bookseller that appeared in Boston, or indeed in all British North America, before 1775. Books were printed for him in London as well as in Boston; and it is alleged that the first Bible in the English language printed in America was printed for him. Samuel Kneeland, "the ancient and respectable printer," was an apprentice of Bartholomew Green. He was for a long time printer to the governor and council; and he was interested in the publication of two or three newspapers, one after the other. He died December 14, 1769, aged seventy-three, "sustaining to the end the character of an upright man and a good Christian." He brought up four sons to his own craft.

Thursday Nov. 17 1757 Being a day of Public Thanksgiving in the morning Dr. Sewall preached from Gen. Chap 32, verse 10. ["I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies, and of all the truth, which thou has shewed unto thy servant: for with my staff I passed over this Jordan; and now I am become two bands."] (Fleet.)

Thanksgiving Novr. 17. 1757

| Collected; Appropriated,         |           | O. Tenor |     |   |
|----------------------------------|-----------|----------|-----|---|
| To the pious Fund                | . . . . . | 10.      | 0.  | 0 |
| To the Revd Mr. Othniel Campbell | . . . . . | 15.      | 18. | 4 |
| Mr. Brett                        | . . . . . | 19.      | 10. | 0 |
| Mr. Crocker                      | . . . . . | 3.       | 0.  | 0 |
| To the Prisoners                 | . . . . . | 3.       | 0.  | 0 |
| To two Widows                    | . . . . . | 6.       | 15. | 0 |
| To the Ministers                 | . . . . . | 10.      | 10. | 0 |
|                                  |           | 68.      | 13. | 4 |
| At large                         | . . . . . | 212.     | 10. | 7 |

281. 3. 11

Novr. 27. 1757 The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed; and Voted

That the unappropriated Collection be distributed to Charitable and pious uses, by the Pastors and Deacons, according to their best Discretion.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Hancock served his apprenticeship with him, and afterward married his daughter and heiress, Lydia. Henry Knox also was an apprentice of Daniel Henchman. In 1728 Daniel Henchman, Gillam Phillips, Thomas Hancock, and others received a patent from the General Court, under which they erected, at Milton Lower Falls, the first paper-mill in New England.

Lord's Day Decr 25. 1757 The Brethren of the Church were stayed, and Voted,

That the Hon Thomas Hubbard Esq. Capt Joseph Jackson, Mr. John Scollay, Mr. David Jeffries, and Mr. William Phillips, be the Church-Committee for this year.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The preface of Mr. Prince's Psalm Book is dated May 26, 1758, and the time soon came for the church to take formal and final action upon the substitution of the new version for the old.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation met Sept. 11, 1758, And the Meeting was adjourned to Oct. 9. 1758.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation Oct. 9. 1758.

Voted, 1. That the Revisal and Improvement of the New England Version of the Psalms by our Pastor the Rev'd Mr. Prince; together with the Hymns annexed be used in this church and Congregation as our Psalm-Book.

2. That these Psalms be sung without reading line by line, as has been usual; except on evening Lectures, and on extraordinary occasions when the Assembly can't be generally furnished with Books.<sup>1</sup>

3. That we begin to sing the said Version of the Psalms, on the last Lord's Day in this month.

4. That the Subscribers and others be desir'd to furnish themselves with the Psalm-Books, as soon as may be.

5. That the Subscribers be desir'd to send in the Books they do not need for their Families to our Pastor Dr. Sewall, to be disposed of to such of the Congregation as are not able to purchase them.

Bishop Ken is said to have made the remark that he believed it would add to his joy in heaven could he know that his Morning and Evening Hymns were still sung upon the earth. Mr. Prince did not have the happiness of seeing his new version introduced into the worship of the South Church, for on the day of its introduction there his own funeral sermon was preached by his colleague. We cannot help thinking, however, that he may have known something of the joy which the good Bishop of Bath and Wells longed for, and that while himself singing "the new song" before the throne, he may have felt himself to be holding communion with his brethren on the earth, who with faltering voices, it may be, were worshipping God in words and para-

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Ware says that the reading of the psalms, line by line, was dropped at the New Brick Church in 1729, the year after the ordination of Mr. Welsted. At the Old North this custom continued until 1771.]



phrases which he had arranged for their use.<sup>1</sup> A day of prayer to God in his behalf, in view of his serious illness, was observed by the congregation on Wednesday, September 27; but the Head of the Church had other purposes with reference both to him and the people of his pastoral love.

Sunday, between 5 and 6 o'clock in the afternoon, the Rev'd Mr. Prince departed this life after a month's languishment to the inexpressible sorrow of his Church and Congregation over whom he had been ordained Pastor forty years the first day the month on which he died, which was Oct. 22. 1758, his Funeral was attended the Saturday following at the expense of his Church, who have a just sense of his worth and of their own irreparable loss in his death. (Fleet.)

Forty years before, when entering upon his ministry in Boston, Mr. Prince preached from the words of the Psalmist: "But I will hope continually, and will yet praise thee more and more. My mouth shall show forth thy righteousness and thy salvation all the day, for I know not the numbers thereof. I will go in the strength of the Lord God: I will make mention of thy righteousness, even of thine only. O God, thou hast taught me from my youth: and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous works."<sup>2</sup> He was in the strength of his early manhood, just installed in a position of commanding influence, and with a career of honor and usefulness, bright with promise, yet of course all uncertain, lying before him. Could he have preached a sermon to his people in his declining years in anticipation of the close at no distant day of his pastoral work among them, he might well have made reference to that first sermon, and then have taken for his text the remainder of the passage, which would have been inappropriate in 1718, but most appropriate in 1758: "Now also, when I am old and greyheaded, O God, for-

<sup>1</sup> In his ordination sermon, speaking of the account rendered by a faithful pastor at the close of his ministry, he seems to have anticipated something of the joy referred to in the text. "The Fruit of our Labours," he said, "indeed may follow Us, and by Angelick Messengers may bring Us every Day a surprising and fresh Revenue and Increase of Joy and Happiness in the Separate State: which seems to Me to be the Meaning of that Expression in Rev. 14. 13, *Blessed are the Dead which die in the Lord; From henceforth, Yea, saith the*

*Spirit, that They may rest from Their Labours, and their Works do follow [with] Them.* But our Watching for Your Souls is at an End, when we leave the present Life, and We then resign our Commission and Charge to Christ from Whom we deriv'd it." It will be observed that in his use of the passage quoted from the Book of Revelation Mr. Prince anticipated, almost exactly, the words of the Revised Version of 1881.

<sup>2</sup> Psalm lxxi. 14-17. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 395. The sermon was preached October 12, 1718.

sake me not, until I have showed thy strength unto this generation, and thy power to every one that is to come."

On Sunday, the 29th of October, Dr. Sewall preached an appropriate discourse from Rom. xiv. 8 : "For whether we live, we live unto the Lord ; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord : whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's." The following sentences will show the tender and appreciative and affectionate spirit in which it was written : —

I confess, my talent doth not lie in drawing characters, and giving personal encomiums : However, seeing it hath pleas'd a sovereign God to take from our head your late pious and excellent pastor, who was also my classmate and the pleasant companion of my youth, and since my fellow-helper in the gospel for forty years ; I would ask leave to mention a few things, that we may give glory to the God of all grace, who bestows such gifts upon men ; and that sensible of the publick loss, and our peculiar share therein, we may humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, and cry to him for help ; and that he would be the repairer of the breach. Help Lord, for the godly man ceaseth ; for the faithful fail from among the children of men.

The relations of these two men in their joint pastoral work had been most fraternal. Each was in many respects the complement of the other ; and their united ministry had been the means of maintaining for the church a place in the very front rank of influence and spiritual power.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Prince's character, personal and ministerial, and his opinions have been set forth and illustrated in the record we have endeavored to give in these volumes of his life and labors

<sup>1</sup> "Forty years," says Dr. Wisner, "were these excellent men, Sewall and Prince, associated in the responsibilities and labors of the pastoral office in this congregation ; furnishing an example of mutual affection and union of purpose and pursuit, to which the annals of collegiate charges will be searched for a parallel, I fear, almost in vain. The journals and other documents that have come down to us lay open before us the most secret history of these men ; and not a solitary instance appears of unpleasant difference of opinion, or of the slightest interruption, in any form, of confidence and affection. Is the cause of this uninterrupted and delightful harmony, in a situation so peculiarly liable to beget jealousy and contention, in-

quired for? Something is, doubtless, due to their remarkably amiable natural temper and their early and intimate friendship ; still more to their ardent piety ; but most of all to a fact which thus presents itself in the journal of the excellent Sewall. '1721, 2, January 5, Mr. Prince and I prayed together, as is usual before the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Lord, hear our prayers!' '1722, Nov. 2, Mr. Prince and I met together, and prayed to God for direction and assistance relating to the *fast* to be kept by the church we stand related to.' '1728, 9, January 13. The Church being to meet relating to the affairs of the new building, Mr. Prince and I prayed together. O Lord, hear ; guide and govern our affairs in mercy!' A portion of Friday

in Boston, and no close analysis of them need be attempted. In the Dedication of his Chronological History, he thus speaks of himself, in words to which, we feel sure, the church to which he ministered will, through all the generations, delight to recur : —

For myself, I own I am on the side of pure Christianity ; as also of civil and religious liberty, and this for the low as well as high, for the laity as well as the clergy ; I am for leaving every one to the freedom of worshipping according to the light of his conscience ; and for extending charity to every one who receives the gospel as the rule of his faith and life ; I am on the side of meekness, patience, gentleness and innocence.

Professor Tyler says of him : —

He had prepared himself for the public service by diligent study at home, and by eight years of observation abroad ; he was a man of most tolerant and brotherly spirit ; his days were filled by gentle and gracious and laborious deeds ; he was a great scholar ; he magnified his office and edified the brethren by publishing a large number of judicious and nutritious sermons ; . . . he took a special interest in physical science, and formed quite definite opinions about earthquakes, comets, "the electrical substance," and so forth. For all these things he was deeply honored in his own time, and would have been deeply forgotten in ours had he not added to them very unique performances as an historian. No American writer before Thomas Prince qualified himself for the service of history by so much conscious and specific preparation ; and though others did more work in that service, none did better work than he.<sup>1</sup>

We are indebted to Mr. Prince not only for his historical writings, which furnish the basis for much of our local history in New England, but also for the invaluable collection of books, pamphlets, and MSS. which he bequeathed to the South

afternoon before every communion, and a season preceding the transaction of any important business in the church, was habitually spent in this manner by these faithful servants of Christ ; and occasionally, they spent portions of a day, mutually devoted to private humiliation, in united prayer. Men who live together thus will, of course, maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." — Wisner's *History of the Old South Church*, pp. 24, 25.

<sup>1</sup> [*Hist. of Am. Literature*, vol. ii. p. 144. Of the value of Mr. Prince's historical labors we have this estimate by

another writer, whose attainments and sympathies made him a competent judge : "The 22d of October [1758] will be remembered as a remarkable day in the history of the town, and not only of Boston, but of New England ; for on that day died the Rev. Mr. Thomas Prince, a benefactor to his country ; leaving a name which will be venerated to the remotest ages, if literature shall then be valued ; a name which may with pride be emulated by the inquirers after historical knowledge, and the admirers of precision and accuracy in the paths of history." — Drake's *Hist. and Antiq.*, p. 646.]

Church, and which will stand for all time as a monument to his name and scholarship. This collection he began to form even in his boyhood. One book shows that it was given to him by his mother in 1697, when he was ten years old; another bears date of possession, Harwich, 1701. The purpose to collect seems to have become a settled one with him upon his entering college in 1703, his object being the illustration of the history of New England.

It was, therefore, at the time of his matriculation, in the sixteenth year of his age, that Prince systematically laid the foundation of a collection of books and manuscripts, a large share of which relate to the civil and religious history of New England, and which, with unflinching zeal and under the most favorable circumstances, in this country and in Europe, he cherished and enriched during his long life. At the time of his death, the New England Library [as he called it], we may well believe, was the most extensive of its kind that had ever been formed. . . . During the period of our colonial history, the Mather family and Governor Hutchinson are alone to be compared with Prince as collectors of books and manuscripts. Their labors in this direction avail us little now, for the governor's collection was scattered by a mob, while the Mathers' has been gradually dispersed.<sup>1</sup>

Lord's Day, Nov 12. 1758. The Church stay'd, and Voted,

That the Pastor and Deacons with the Hon Andrew Oliver Esq. [then secretary of the province,] be a committee to receive the Books &c. bequeathed to this Church by our late Pastor, the Rev'd Mr. Thomas Prince, in his last Will.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

This instrument was dated October 2, twenty days before his death. He provides for the manufacture of a sacramental cup for the church,<sup>2</sup> and he gives his Hebrew Bible in two volumes, and his Greek Testament to his colleague. He then disposes of his library in two parts, — his books in Latin, Greek, and the Oriental languages, to be kept for the use of the ministers of the church; and the collection which he designates as the New England Library, to be preserved apart and intact, as a reference library, under the control of the pastors and deacons of the church.<sup>3</sup> This collection was in the "steeple chamber," which

<sup>1</sup> [From the Introduction to the *Catalogue of the Prince Library*, published by the City of Boston in 1870, upon the deposit of the library with the city for safe-keeping and convenient reference. To this Introduction we refer the reader for much valuable information.]

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Prince describes the church in his will, as "the old South Church." It does not bear this name in the records until after Dr. Sewall's death, but Jeremiah Bumstead and Mary Fleet in their diaries speak of the Old South Church.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Prince's widow survived until



he had probably used as his study, and here it remained for many years. The vicissitudes through which it has passed are



too painful to contemplate. It undoubtedly suffered severely, during the British occupation of the town and desecration of the meeting-house. It afterward suffered from neglect, and from a want of appreciation on the part of its custodians of its intrinsic value.<sup>1</sup> Many of its treasures have drifted away from it, and are now among the chief attractions of other collections; but despoiled as it has been by time, and by ravagers less impersonal than time, it is a splendid fragment, and as such, under existing arrangements for its care and preservation, it is now safe.

As Michael Angelo, in his blind old age, was led to the Torso Belvedere in the Vatican, that he might pass his hands over it, and enjoy through touch the grandeur of its lines, so will scholars come and continue to come from all parts of the land, to what remains of the New England Library, that they may gather knowledge and inspiration from its treasures.

June 1, 1766. He left one child, Sarah, who became the first wife of Moses Gill, lieutenant governor and acting governor of Massachusetts. The town of Princeton in this Commonwealth was named for Thomas Prince. He owned lands there. It was then a part of Rutland. See Drake's *Hist. and Antiq.*, p. 646.

<sup>1</sup> A fragment of the letter-book of Governor Bradford of Plymouth Colony was found in the latter part of the last century in a grocer's shop in Halifax, N. S., and the contents were printed in 1794, in the third volume of the Collections of the Mass. Hist. Society. It was sent to the Rev. Jeremy Belknap by Mr. James Clarke, of Halifax. Four copies

of the Bay Psalm Book have been lost to the library; of these one, annotated by Mr. Prince, and used by him when he was engaged upon the revision, which Dr. Wisner had before him in 1830, has disappeared from view. The manuscript history of Plymouth Colony, written by its governor, William Bradford, was discovered, in 1853, in the library of the Bishop of London at Fulham; at Mr. Prince's request the grandson of the governor had lodged it in the New England Library, on the condition "only that he might have the perusal of it while he lived," and, of course, it will come back to this collection, should it ever be restored to New England.

## CHAPTER II.

1758-1767.

### TWO INSTALLATIONS. — POLITICAL DISTURBANCES.

**I**NDIVIDUALS die, but institutions survive. Ministers and members are promoted from the church militant to the church triumphant and glorified; but God's work on the earth must be carried forward without pause or hindrance. Love for leaders and associates who have been called up to their heavenly reward, as well as loyalty to the Lord and Head of the Church, should impel those who remain below to renewed consecration, and to redoubled effort in the cause still dear to them and evermore dear to Him. The long ministry of Mr. Prince was ended, but the bereaved congregation went on with its work in unbroken routine. Thanksgiving days were observed, collections were taken, and money was disbursed as before. More than this, the vacancy in the pastorate would have to be filled; and new relations would have to be formed, not so much to supersede as to succeed those which had been dissolved by death.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stay'd Novr. 12. 1758.

Voted, That there be a Collection for Charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving Novr 23. Instant; And that the Rest of the Congregation be notified the next Lord's Day and desir'd to assist in said collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Thanksgiving, Novr 23. 1758

Collected, Appropriated

|                                   | Old Tenor.      |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| To the pious Fund . . . . .       | £15. 0. 0       |
| To the Rev Mr. Campbell . . . . . | 9. 2. 9         |
| Mr. Brett . . . . .               | 6. 3. 0         |
| Mr. Crocker . . . . .             | 4. 10. 0        |
| To four Widows . . . . .          | 25. 13. 0       |
|                                   | <hr/> 60. 8. 9  |
| At large . . . . .                | 153. 17. 4      |
| Totall . . . . .                  | <hr/> 214. 6. 1 |

## Lord's Day Decr 10. 1758

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stay'd and Voted, That the unappropriated Part of the last Collection be disposed of to charitable and pious uses, by the Pastor and Deacons of this church according to their best Discretion.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Anthony Brackett, who joined the South Church January 21, 1727-8, and died in 1758, gave the church a chalice of which we show a cut. Mr. Brackett was the landlord of the Cromwell's Head, in School Street, a somewhat famous hostelry during the provincial period. Here George Washington lodged when, in 1756, he came for the first time to Boston, to confer with Governor Shirley upon business connected with the French war.



Jany. 1. 1759

The Brethren of the South Church and Congregation met (by adjournment) and after seeking to God by Prayer, for His Direction and Help under the great Breach He has made upon us in the death of our late Worthy Pastor, the Rev'd Mr. Thomas Prince; by written votes chose the Revd Mr. Alexander Cumming, Mr. Joseph Jackson and Mr. Samuel Locke, to help our Pastor by preaching one part of the Lord's Day, each one for six weeks successively.

Voted, That there be allowed to said Persons, ten pounds O. T. pr. Sabbath, or 1. 6. 8 L. M. for their Service.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Mr. Cumming was a native of Freehold, New Jersey. He received his academical training chiefly under the direction of his uncle, the Rev. Samuel Blair, of Fogg's Manor, Pennsylvania, a man greatly distinguished for his learning and piety, and he studied theology under the celebrated William Tennent. He had been colleague pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, New York,<sup>1</sup> with the Rev. Mr. Pemberton, at this time pastor of

<sup>1</sup> This church consisted of Scotch Presbyterians and Congregationalists from England and New England, and the two elements were more or less at variance with each other. Mr. Pemberton and Mr. Cumming sympathized rather with the latter than with the former. They were complained of by the stricter party in their congregation "for various minor

departures from the authorized standards of the church," but were acquitted by the Synod. They then resigned, and although urged to remain persisted in their resignation. Their pulpit was the only one in New York open to Mr. Whitefield on his first visit there.

Before his settlement there, Mr. Cumming "labored much in Augusta County,

the New Brick Church, Boston, at whose instance, no doubt, he was invited to come to the town. Mr. Jackson graduated at Harvard College in 1753. His family belonged to the South Church, and he became a member of it soon after leaving college. Mr. Locke graduated at Harvard College in 1755, with John Wentworth, David Sewall, Tristram Dalton, and John Adams. He was settled at Sherburn, Massachusetts, November 7, 1759, and, soon after, married the daughter of his predecessor, the Rev. Samuel Porter. In December, 1769, he was called to the presidency of Harvard College as the successor of Mr. Holyoke. The Rev. Andrew Eliot, writing of him to Mr. Thomas Hollis, of Lincoln's Inn, said that he was a clergyman "of fine talents — a close thinker — having when at college the character of a first-rate scholar, — of an excellent spirit, and generous, catholic sentiments — a friend to liberty — his greatest defect, a want of knowledge of the world, having lived in retirement, and perhaps not a general acquaintance with books." His administration at Cambridge was not a success, and at the end of four years he vacated the chair. President Quincy says: "His official relations are marked on the records of the seminary by no act indicating his influence or special agency, and for his resignation, which was sudden and voluntary, they assign no motive, and express no regret."<sup>1</sup>

Jany. 7. 1759. The Brethren stayed and Voted, that the same Persons be the Church Committee for this Year whose names are mentioned above. [See December 25, 1757.] JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation, June 5, 1759.

Voted; 1. That there be a Committee to provide for further Help for one part of the day the three next Sabbaths.

2. That the Deacons of the Church, with Mr. David Jeffries, Mr. William Phillips and Mr. Thomas Cushing be of this Committee.

3. That there be allowed for the service ten Pounds O. T. or 1. 6. 8. L. M.

Virginia, and in North Carolina, and was the first of our ministers who preached in Tennessee." — Webster's *Hist. of the Presby. Ch.* p. 243.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Locke returned to Sherburn, and died there in 1778, at the age of forty-seven. The Hon. John Welles, who had been his pupil, said of him that he was the most learned man in America;

and President John Adams told the Rev. John Pierce, of Brookline, that he considered him the best scholar in his class, with the exception of Moses Hemenway, and that he excelled in prayer all with whom he had been acquainted. See *Genealogy of the Locke Family*. Mr. Locke received the degree of S. T. D. from Harvard College in 1773.



4. That one be chosen to collect the sums assign'd to the Pews of such as have been deficient in their Contributions : And that five pr. ct. be allow'd him for his labour : To stand till further Order.

Upon counting the Votes it appear'd that Mr. Josiah Torrey was unanimously chosen to this service.

5. That the Committee appointed to Audit the Deacons Accounts May 18. 1756, be desir'd to attend that service till June current, and make their Report as soon as may be.

J. SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation June 26 1759, by adjournment.

Voted, That the Rev'd Mr. Nathaniel Potter, who, we understand is dismiss'd from his Pastoral Relation to the Church of Christ in Brookline, be desired to help our Pastor six Lords Days after the two next Sabbaths : And that there be allow'd him for his service ten pounds o. Tenour, each sabbath.

2. That the Committee appointed June 5. be continued, and that they be desir'd to acquaint Mr. Potter with the above Vote ; and also to provide help for the public Fast this Week, and for the two next Sabbaths : And that the reward above mentioned, be given to the Ministers who shall help us.

3. That with God's leave we purpose to observe this Day fortnight which will be July 10. next as a Day of Prayer with fasting, to humble ourselves under the afflictive Hand of God, in removing from us by death our late worthy Pastor the Revd Mr. Prince ; and to ask God's gracious Presence and Direction under our present bereaved Circumstances.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

N. B. The Day of Prayer was accordingly observ'd July 10. 1759.

Mr. Potter had been settled at Brookline less than four years. From the records of that town it would seem that there was a serious misunderstanding between him and his parishioners upon money matters ;<sup>1</sup> and probably there were other causes of trouble. In the spring of 1758 he wished to join the expedition against Canada, but the town voted against his doing so. He was a very young man ; and having been born and educated beyond the limits of New England, he may have been unable to adapt himself to the circumstances in which he found him-

<sup>1</sup> When Mr. Potter was installed he received £133. 6. 8 as settlement money, and his annual stipend was to be £80. with sixteen cords of wood. At a town meeting in 1759, he asked for an addition of £26. 13. 4. and six cords of wood. The town refused to grant the money, but proposed to make the annual supply

of wood twenty cords, and to give him four contributions in the year. This proposition Mr. Potter promptly declined, and sent in his resignation, which was accepted by the town June 13, and by the church on the following Lord's Day evening, June 17. He was succeeded by the Rev. Joseph Jackson.

self. That there was nothing radically wrong about him is evident from his being invited by those who must have known all the facts in the case to supply their pulpit for a series of Sundays, which, of course, involved the possibility at least of a permanent settlement.<sup>1</sup>

At a Meeting of the Brethren Aug't. 19. 1759.

Voted, That Mr. William Adams be desir'd to help our Pastor by Preaching six next Sabbaths, and the Allowance above mention'd be continued.

J. SEWALL.

If we are right in our identification of the gentleman here referred to, he was a descendant of the Rev. William Adams, of Dedham, and a son of the Rev. Eliphalet Adams (Harvard College, 1694), for forty-three years minister of New London, Connecticut. He graduated at Yale College in 1730; he supplied various pulpits in Connecticut from time to time, but was never settled or ordained.<sup>2</sup>

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation Octr. 22. 1759.

Voted that one be first chosen to preach as an assistant to our Pastor for four months. Upon counting the votes it appear'd that Mr. Joseph Jackson was chosen.

Then the Rev'd Mr. Alexander Cumming was also chosen by written votes to preach four months more as an Assistant to our Pastor.

The Pastor wrote to Them and, signified that the Reward above mention'd was Voted.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

From this record it would seem that Mr. Jackson stood first in the preferences of the church; but he accepted a call from Brookline, as successor to Mr. Potter, and he was installed there April 9, 1760.<sup>3</sup> The choice of the South Church, as we shall see, finally fell upon Mr. Cumming.

<sup>1</sup> From a newspaper correspondence to which we shall shortly refer more particularly, we judge that when the Fast was held in July, 1759, the church had serious thoughts of calling Mr. Potter. An anonymous writer in the *Boston Gazette*, in March, 1761, speaking of this fast, said: "It was, I am told, near two years ago, when that church were on the point of choosing the *famous*, and very *orthodox* Mr. Potter for their pastor, and preparatory to that."

Mr. Potter died in 1768, aged about thirty-five.

<sup>2</sup> President Stiles described him as leading "a retired philosophic life." His name appears among the subscribers to Prince's Chronological History.

<sup>3</sup> At the ordination, Mr. Cooper preached the sermon; Mr. Pemberton prayed; Mr. Appleton gave the charge, and Mr. Checkley the right hand of fellowship. Mr. Checkley died soon after this occasion. His son, of the same name, minister of the Old North Church, died in 1768. Mr. Jackson was to receive the same salary as Mr. Potter, £80. *per annum*, with twenty cords of wood, and

Thursday, the 25th of October, was observed as a day of general thanksgiving for the reduction of Quebec. The news had been received in Boston with great enthusiasm, and the public manifestations of joy included the burning of much gunpowder, and bonfires on Copps and Fort Hills.

On the 14th of November "a fire occurred at Oliver's Dock, by which about fifteen families were rendered houseless. It began a little to the southward of Oliver's Bridge, and extended to the lower end of Water and Milk Streets, to Hallowell's shipyard. It continued to rage about two hours. Governor Pownall was present during the whole time, encouraging the people in their exertions against the flames, at the same time exhibiting much sympathy for the distressed."<sup>1</sup>

Sunday, Nov. 18. Dr. Sewall preached an excellent Sermon on the uncertainty of Riches it being the Sabbath after a most terrible fire at the bottom of Milk Street, in which about twelve houses were consumed. (Fleet.)

Novr 18. 1759. Lord's Day, A. M. a Letter was read to the Congregation from the Select men of Boston, Proposing that there might be a Collection in the several Congregations through this Town for the Relief of the Sufferers in the late Fire, who need our charitable Help. Consented to — Collected P. M. £742. 8. 7 O. T.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed, and Voted, That there be a collection for charitable and pious uses, on the Anniversary Thanksgiving Novr. 29. Instant; And that the Rest of the Congregation be notified the next Lords Day, and desir'd to assist in said Collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Thanksgiving Novr. 29. 1759.

Collected

|                                   |            |
|-----------------------------------|------------|
| For the Charitable Fund . . . . . | £15. 0. 0  |
| For Rev'd Mr. Campbel . . . . .   | 18. 0. 0   |
| Mr. Brett . . . . .               | 19. 0. 0   |
| Mr. Crocker . . . . .             | 4. 10. 0   |
| W[idow] Bodman . . . . .          | 1. 2. 6    |
| For the Minister . . . . .        | 18. 0. 0   |
|                                   | <hr/>      |
|                                   | 75. 12. 6  |
| At Large . . . . .                | 209. 10. 0 |
|                                   | <hr/>      |
| Total . . . . .                   | 285. 2. 6  |

four "contributions," guaranteed to be equal to £13. 6. 8. He died in 1796, and was succeeded by the Rev. John

Pierce, whose benignant face is remembered by many now living.

<sup>1</sup> Drake's *Hist. and Antiq.*, p. 648.

Dec. 9. 1759 Brethren met, and Voted ;

That the unappropriated part of the last Collection be dispos'd of to charitable and pious uses by the Pastor and Deacons of this Church, according to their best Discretion.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation Decr. 23. 1759.

Voted, That an Answer be given to the Revd. Mr. Cumming's Letter, and that He be desired to make us the Visit propos'd in our Letter of 22 October last, as early as the season of the year will allow ; And that he be desir'd to send an answer as soon as may be.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Lord's Day Jan'y 27. 1760

The Brethren of the Church stay'd, and Voted, That the Hon Thomas Hubbard Esq., Major Joseph Jackson, Mr. John Scollay, Mr. William Phillips and Mr. Samuel Kneeland be the Church-Committee for this year.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

During the night of the 19th and 20th of March, the most terrible fire broke out that the town had ever known. Until then, the fire of October 2, 1711, had been called "the great fire," but this was a much greater calamity. William Cooper, the famous town clerk says, in a newspaper article written at the time : "It began about Two o'clock in the Morning in the Dwelling-House of Mrs. Mary Jackson and Son, at the Brazen-Head in Cornhill, but the Accident which occasioned it is yet uncertain. . . . From Pudding Lane [Devonshire Street] to the Water's Edge, there is not a Building to be seen, excepting those on the side of King Street, and those mention'd above, all being in Ashes. . . . We have thus mark'd the Course of those Flames which in their Progress consumed near four hundred Dwelling Houses, Stores, Shops Shipping &c. together with Goods and merchandizes of almost every kind to an incredible Value ; — but it is not easy to describe the terrors of that fatal Morning, in which the Imaginations of the most calm and steady, received Impressions that will not easily be effaced." This calamity pressed heavily on the town, "exhausted" as it had been, says Mr. Cooper, "by the great Proportion this Town has borne of the extraordinary Expences of the War, and by a demand upon our Charity, to relieve a Number of Sufferers by a Fire not many Months past." The loss was estimated at from one to three hundred thousand pounds sterling. Two hundred families were burnt out, "three-quarters of whom," wrote Mr. Secretary



Oliver, "are by this misfortune rendered incapable of subsisting themselves, and a great number of them are reduced to extreme poverty, and require immediate relief."<sup>1</sup>

We notice the names of the following members of the Old South congregation among the sufferers: Jonathan Mason, John Osborne, Daniel Henchman, Benjamin Salisbury, Andrew Oliver, Jr.,<sup>2</sup> William Studley, Benjamin Hallowell, and Oliver Wiswall. All these lost buildings; many more, of course, suffered from the destruction of property in other forms, but we have no record of their names. The congregation was ready to do its part, however, in response to the appeal of the governor, accompanying his proclamation for a General Fast.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation March 30. 1760. A. M.

Upon reading the Brief emitted by his Excellency, our Governour, earnestly recommending to our Christian compassion the distressed State of the Sufferers by the great Fire in Boston, 20. Instant,

Voted, that there be a Collection on the General Fast, next Thursday P. M. for the relief of such Sufferers as need our Charitable Help: said collection to be remitted to the Select Men and Overseers of the Poor of the Town of Boston, as the Brief directs; And that the rest of the congregation be notified P. M. and desir'd to assist in said collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Sunday March 20 [? 30.] Rev. Mr. Walley of Ipswich preached in the afternoon, he was a sufferer by the late fire, losing a dwelling house that was left him by his Father. (Fleet.)

General Fast [April] 3. 1760

Collected . . . . . 1862. 9. 4

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation, May 12. 1760.

Voted, That it is the Desire of this Society that a Colleague-Pastor may be settled among us. Then adjourned to next Wednesday, 10 a'clock A. M.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church May 12 1760

Whereas the Revd. Mr. A. Cumming has been Preaching with us eleven Sabbaths as an Assistant to our Rev'd Pastor, at the desire of

<sup>1</sup> See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, vol. xxxiv. pp. 288-293.

<sup>2</sup> "March 19th. A great fire at Boston consumed near 200 houses, and damage computed [at] £100.000 sterling. My son Oliver lost his house and with dam-

age of goods; he accounted his loss £10,000. but thro' God's goodness no lives lost. For this, contributions in this and neighbouring Governments, and in England." (Lynde.) Andrew Oliver, Jr., married Mary Lynde May 28, 1752.

the Brethren of the Church and Congregation, and said Brethren have desired that a Colleague Pastor may be settled among us: Voted Unanimously,

That said Mr. Cumming be desir'd further to Preach with us for one month with a view to his settlement.

Then Voted, That the Hon John Osborne, Samuel Welles, Andrew Oliver Esqrs. Messrs. Benjamin Pemberton, Isaac Walker, David Jeffries, John Scollay and William Phillips, be a Committee to deliver this message to Mr. Cumming.

Return — That his affairs will not suffer him to tarry.

Adjourned to next Wednesday 8 aclock A. M.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the South Church in Boston, May 14 1760.

After Prayer to God, (as usual)

Voted, that it is the mind of the church to proceed to the choice of a Colleague-Pastor at this time.

Voted, (by written votes) That the Rev. Mr. Alexander Cumming be chosen Colleague-Pastor with the Rev. Dr. Sewall. There was a great majority.

Then Voted that this choice which the Church have made, be laid before the Brethren of the Congregation for their concurrence:

The Congregation met (i. e. the Brethren of the Church and Congregation united) and by a very general Vote of hand concurr'd with the Choice which the Church had made of the Rev'd Mr. Cumming.

The Committee appointed by the Church to deliver these votes to the Rev'd Mr. Cumming were, the Pastor of the Church, the Hon. Samuel Welles, Deacon Simpson, Messrs. Benjamin Pemberton,<sup>1</sup> Samuel Bass and Thomas Cushing.

The Committee of the Congregation, the Hon. Joseph Pyncheon,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Benjamin Pemberton was appointed naval officer in 1734. His first wife was a daughter of Adam Winthrop. His second wife, Susanna, was a sister of George Bethune. The Rev. Dr. Gray said: "The third or Jamaica Plain Parish in Roxbury had its origin in the piety of an amiable female. I refer to Mrs. Susanna, wife of Benjamin Pemberton."]

<sup>2</sup> [Mary, "the virtuous and amiable consort of the Hon. Joseph Pyncheon," died June 26, 1765, aged forty-eight. Mr. Pyncheon died October 27, in the same year, aged sixty-one. Their daughter, Mary, married, July, 1774, the Rev. Andrew Eliot, of Fairfield, Conn., a son of the Rev. Andrew Eliot, of Boston.

Benjamin Dolbeare owned the cov-

enant February 21, 1741-2. A month later, March 21, his son Benjamin was baptized. This son graduated at Cambridge in 1763, and went to England in 1766. The Rev. Andrew Eliot sent a letter by him to Thomas Hollis, in which he was described as "a modest young gentleman, educated at Harvard College, but who chose to enter into business, rather than to follow his studies." On the return voyage from London to Boston, in the spring of 1767, in the packet ship Pratt, Capt. Jonathan Freeman, he was lost overboard. A stone has recently been uncovered on the building 16 and 17 Dock Square, with the inscription "Rebuilt 1746 by B. Dolbeare."

Mr. Dolbeare's first wife, Hannah,

Francis Borland, Joshua Winslow Esqrs Messrs. Benjamin Dolbeare, Nathaniel Greenwood, Stephen Boutineau, and James Otis Esq.

The Committees waited on Mr. Cumming. The Pastor was desir'd to supply the Pulpit, and the reward before given was allowed for further Help ; viz £10. O. T. pr. Sabbath. JOSEPH SEWALL.

The church had made no great haste in fixing its choice upon Mr. Cumming, and he was equally deliberate in sending his reply, which was not given to the congregation until the following December. The state of his health may have had something to do with this delay. He was not installed until February 25 ; but he seems to have supplied the pulpit after the 14th of November, from which date his salary began.

Novr. 16 1760. The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed, and

Voted there be a collection for Charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving Novr. 27. Instant : And that the Rest of the Congregation be notified the next Lords Day, and desir'd to assist in said Collection. JOSEPH SEWALL.

Thanksgiving, Novr. 27. 1760.

| Collected,             | o. Tenour  |
|------------------------|------------|
| At large . . . . .     | 280. 8. 6  |
| Appropriated . . . . . | 15. 1. 6   |
|                        | <hr/>      |
|                        | 295. 10. 0 |

Novr. 30. The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed, and Voted, that the unappropriated Part of the last Collection be dispos'd of to charitable and pious uses by the Pastors and Deacons of this Church, according to their best Discretion. JOSEPH SEWALL.

The Rev. Mr. Cumming's Answer, accepting the Call of this Church, was read before the Congregation, Decr. 7. 1760.

At a church Meeting Febr'y 3. 1761.

After Prayer to God, The Rev. Mr. Cumming's Dismission, and Testimonials were read. He was sent for, and exhibited the Confession of Faith consented to by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches conven'd May 12 1680, as a summary of Christian Doctrine which he apprehended was agreeable to the Holy Scriptures ; and that would make no Alteration in our Church Discipline.

died in 1771 ; his second wife and widow, Elizabeth, in 1789.

Stephen Boutineau was a merchant, and a prominent member of the Huguenot community in Boston. He had been elder in the French Church in School

Street, which was dissolved about the year 1748. The *News-Letter* records his death on the 16th of May, 1761, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. For an account of the French Protestants in Boston, see *Mem. Hist.*, vol. ii. pp. 249-268.]

Voted, That the Day for his Instalment be God willing on the 25th of this Instant, February.

Voted, That these Churches be sent to ; viz : the old Church, the North Church, the Church in Brattle Street, the new North, the new South, the Rev. Mr. Pemberton's, Mr. Mather's Mr. Byles's Churches in this town ; And the first Church in Cambridge : And that these Churches be desir'd to Assist by their Elders and Messengers, at the Instalment.

Voted, That our Pastor be desir'd to give the Charge.

And that the Elders and Messengers be desir'd to meet at the Pastor's House by half after nine, A. M.

Voted, That the Brethren of the Church sit together in the Front Gallerys ; And that such of our Brethren as constantly sit down with us at the Lords-Table be desir'd to sit with them.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation, Feby. 9. 1761.

After Prayer as usual,

Voted, That there be an Entertainment, provided for the Rev'd Elders and Messengers that shall convene on the Day of the Instalment ; and that other Ministers who shall attend that Solemnity be also invited.

Voted, That the expence of said Entertainment be taken out of the Society's monies which are in the Hands of the Deacons.

Voted, That the Deacons, with the Hon John Osborne, Mr. Isaac Walker, Mr. Ezekiel Lewis, Major Symmes, Mr. Henderson Inches, Mr. Benjamin Dolbear, Mr. John Hunt, Joshua Winslow Esq. and Mr. Thomas Fairweather, be a committee to make Provision for said Entertainment.

Voted, That Mr. Cumming's salary be made equal to our Present Pastor's, viz : £2. 13. 4 L. M. pr week, from his return to us on 14. Novr. last ; to be continued till further order.

Voted, That there be an allowance of six pounds L. M. to Mr. Cumming, for expence in wood hitherto ; and that for the future, his wood be provided for him by the Deacons.

Voted, That there be a Committee to Audit the Deacons accounts : And that the Hon Andrew Oliver, Mr. Isaac Walker,<sup>1</sup> and Joshua Winslow Esq. be of this Committee.

Pending the preparations for the installation of Mr. Cumming, two attendants upon Dr. Sewall's ministry were called by

<sup>1</sup> [“ Thursday Evening last [8th] departed this Life of a Parylitic Disorder, after Two Days Illness, Mr. Isaac Walker of this Town Merchant, in the 58th Year of his Age, who for several Years past has gone thro' the Office of an Overseer

of the Poor of this Town to the universal Approbation of its Inhabitants.” — *News Letter*, April 15, 1762. Mr. William Whitwell of the South Church was chosen Overseer of the Poor in Mr. Walker's place.]



their fellow citizens to the performance of a difficult and responsible but most patriotic duty. To assist in meeting the enormous expenses of the French war, the British government proposed to raise a revenue from the colonies, without their action or consent. As part of the machinery for enforcing this taxation, writs of assistance were issued, which enabled the officers of the customs forcibly to enter stores and dwellings at any and all times, to search for contraband goods. Great excitement and indignation among the people of the province were the result; and at the February term of the Superior Court the question of the validity of the writs was to be argued. Oxenbridge Thacher and James Otis were retained for the people. Of Mr. Thacher Mr. Tudor says, in his *Life of Otis*: "Unassuming and affable in his deportment, of strict morality, punctual in his religious duties, and with sectarian attachments that made him, like a large majority of the people, look with jealousy and enmity on the meditated encroachments of the English hierarchy, he was in all these respects fitted to be popular. To these qualities he joined the most pure and ardent patriotism and a quick perception of the views of those in power." Mr. Otis had resigned a position as advocate-general for the crown, and found himself, in this celebrated cause, in antagonism to Jeremiah Gridley, the attorney-general, with whom he had studied law, and for whom he had a high respect and regard.<sup>1</sup> The occasion is historic, and need not be enlarged upon in these pages; nor need we recall the fiery eloquence of James Otis, in denunciation

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Otis never was a communicant at the Old South; his wife became a member in 1764. Mr. Tudor says that when Mr. Otis was a candidate for the legislature in 1761, he met a gentleman of great shrewdness and capacity, who had served as a representative from Boston, and "a friendly conversation took place between them, in which the satire, if it bears a little hard on the character of those times, is perhaps not wholly inapplicable to most others. Otis observed, 'They talk of sending me to the next General Court.' 'You will never succeed in the General Court.' 'Not succeed! And why not, pray?' 'Why, Mr. Otis, you have ten times the learning and much greater ability than I have, but you know nothing of human nature.' 'Indeed! I wish you would give me some

lessons.' 'Be patient, and I will do so with pleasure. In the first place, what meeting do you go to?' 'Dr. Sewall's.' 'Very well, you must stand up in sermon time, you must look devout and deeply attentive. Do you have family prayers?' 'No.' 'It were well if you did: what does your family consist of?' 'Why, only four or five commonly, but at this time I have in addition one of Dr. Sewall's saints, who is a nurse of my wife.' 'Ah! that is the very thing: you must talk religion with her in a serious manner; you must have family prayers at least once while she is in your house: that woman can do you more harm or more good than any other person: she will spread your fame through the congregation.'"—*Life of James Otis*, pp. 91, 92.

of the writs, which placed him at once in the front rank of patriots and orators. It will be enough to quote a few words from the account of the trial given by John Adams: "Every man of a crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance. Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child Independence was born."

The day of installation came,—the first that had been seen at the Old South by that generation, to be followed by two others in less than ten years. The services were opened with prayer by Mr. Appleton, of Cambridge. Mr. Cumming preached the sermon from 1 Tim. iv. 16: "Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine; continue in them: for in doing this thou shalt both save thyself, and them that hear thee." The charge was given by Dr. Sewall, with prayer before and after; and the right hand of fellowship by Mr. Pemberton, whose colleague Mr. Cumming had been in New York.

Cotton Mather, in prescribing the method of procedure on such occasions, says that after the public religious exercises "the Council, with other strangers of note retire, according to a direction given; where (to use the words of the Bohemian Discipline) *Cœnatur modeste, cum Timore Domini, piis et amicis Colloquiis.*" A committee had been appointed two or three weeks before, as we have seen, to provide the usual entertainment on this occasion, and adequate and appropriate preparation, no doubt, had been made. The attendance of guests was large; many distinguished personages, including the governor, the lieutenant-governor, and the judges of the Superior Court had been invited; and it was necessary to lay tables in two or three houses. The greatest concourse was at Dr. Sewall's, where the governor dined. All this was set forth somewhat sensationally in the newspapers. The entertainment was described as "very sumptuous and elegant;" at Dr. Sewall's house, it was said to have been "grand," and large quantities of what remained were reported to have been given to the poor. There was exaggeration in these statements. The entertainment had been in all respects worthy of the congregation by which it had been prepared; but the character of the congregation itself, no less than that of the respectable committee of arrangements to whose hands the matter had been confided, would give assurance that there had been no extravagance, and that nothing had been

proposed in a spirit of ostentation. It is not strange, however, that there should have been some comment and criticism on the part of those who did not know all the facts of the case; and if there were any one on the watch for an opportunity to find fault with the church and its venerable pastor, we may well suppose that he would not allow the occasion to pass without notice. That there was such an one we think we shall be able to show.

It would seem that in the country towns, particularly, there had been such frequent irregularities and disorders in connection with ordination services as had created a public scandal. The days for such services had been made general holidays, and people had been in the habit of gathering together, some of them coming many miles, to indulge in festivity and frivolity. In January, 1759, the subject had been brought to the notice of the council of the province, and by it had been referred to the convention of ministers for consideration, and for such action as might seem advisable. At the convention in May, a report was agreed to, recommending the discontinuance of feasts upon ordination days, and the following vote was adopted:—

That the resolve of the Honourable Council, together with the preceding answer thereto, and declaration thereon, be recommended to be read by one of the ministers assisting at any fast preparatory to an ordination, to the church and society wherein such ordination is proposed, and by all ministers who shall assist at any ordination, to their respective assemblies (provided they are in the same vicinity) the Lord's day preceding the ordination; and also by all other ministers in the neighbourhood, to their several congregations, at the same time; they adding such exhortations as they may think proper for accomplishing this so much desired reformation.

Dr. Sewall was moderator in the convention this year, and the report and recommendation, of course, bore his attestation, although he and others questioned the expediency of the action taken. The end in view was a good one, and the means proposed may have accomplished something in the right direction; but attempts at sumptuary legislation, whether in church or state, are seldom permanently successful, and the present instance was no exception to the rule. Now if, as has been intimated, there were some one in the town who was on the lookout for an opportunity to attack Dr. Sewall,—some one who was jealous of his personal and clerical influence, and of the prominence of his church; some one, especially, who was not in

accord with him in all his theological opinions, — such an one would be very likely, under such circumstances, to put in an appearance in the newspaper columns of the period. Not that such a person, probably, would write over his own signature ; nor, if a minister, would he necessarily present himself in clerical garb, but in that of a layman ; nor, if he were shrewd, would he make positive assertions, but would limit himself rather to insinuations, and to the repetition of what, as he would claim, had been told to him by others. Precisely this person we find in the Boston Gazette of March 9, 1761, with four columns of criticism upon the entertainment which followed Mr. Cumming's installation. He appears as a countryman, an honest farmer,<sup>1</sup> who is much perplexed by what he has heard, and who is troubled by the apparent inconsistency between the action (which he quotes) of the convention in 1759, with Dr. Sewall's name attached, and the feasting at the parsonage in Milk Street, on the 25th of February, 1761. He says, referring to what he had read in the paper the week before :—

I might perhaps have doubted a little the justness of it, as it seems to reflect so much dishonor on the ministers that attended, had it not been for two things, one is that several of my honest neighbours who go to market, were in Boston that day ; and have since confirmed your account to me. The other is, that these people assured me, the price of provisions was raised a quarter part in Boston, for several days before the late instalment, by reason of the great preparations therefor, and the readiness of the ecclesiastical caterers to give almost any price that was demanded. This they declare ; and farther add, that many Boston people complained, the town had, by this means, in a few days lost a large sum of money ; which was as it were levied on, and extorted from them. If the poor were the *better for what remained of so plentiful and splendid a feast*, I am very glad : but yet think it a pity, the charity was not better timed. And some may perhaps doubt after all, whether the charity of the fragments, were sufficient to atone for the ostentation of the feast : and indeed I have transiently heard, that a considerable and very respectable part of that society, expressed their utter dislike of its proceedings in this respect.

The publishers of the paper, Messrs. Edes and Gill, append a note, in which they offer their columns for any reply to their country correspondent, but make no remarks on his letter further than to contradict his intimation that they belonged to the Old South parish, or that they had sought in their report to

<sup>1</sup> He might have called himself Rusticus. See *The Congregationalist*, April, 1884.



add to its consequence.<sup>1</sup> Our first thought would be that such an impersonal and irresponsible attack was altogether unworthy of notice or answer. We are glad, however, that it was replied to, because from the newspaper controversy that followed we are able to glean some information which otherwise we should not possess.<sup>2</sup> For instance, we gather from the letters on both sides that Dr. Sewall's preference would have been that there should be no entertainment on the occasion, not because he feared anything like excess, but perhaps out of deference to the feeling which had prompted the action of the convention in 1759. We learn, also, that between the time when this action was notified to the churches and the settlement of Mr. Cumming—less than two years—there were twelve ordinations in the country towns at which entertainments were provided, contrary to the recommendation of the convention; and, further, that the entertainment at the Old South installation, which was made the occasion of so much carping and unworthy criticism, was nothing more than a substantial dinner, and on the critic's own estimate cost only about fifty pounds lawful money.<sup>3</sup> And

<sup>1</sup> "Tho' we have complied with the Request or rather Demand of our Country-correspondent, in publishing the long Letter above; yet we must inform him that he is mistaken in thinking we belong'd to the Old South parish; or aim'd at aggrandizing that ancient and respectable Society in the Account we gave of the late Instalment. For we declare, we aim'd only at giving a true and impartial Account of Facts, according to our best Information. As to the justness and pertinency of these Remarks on that Account, we do not think it our Province to say any Thing; but chuse to submit this to the Judgment of our Readers: And we shall readily insert any Thing offered by Way of Answer to them, according to our Profession and Practice." — *Boston Gazette*.

<sup>2</sup> We will quote a few sentences from a reply which appeared in the *Boston Gazette* of April 6, 1761:—

"There is a certain faculty which some men have of blasting the reputation of others, without speaking in direct terms of falsehood. The writer in your paper of the 9th ult. would do well to consider, that even the misconduct of men may be

unfairly represented, and to exhibit the failings of others in more aggravated colours than is strictly just, is real slander, and argues a malevolent heart. . . . He himself concedes that such accounts in common newspapers, are not always authentick, and relies upon the testimony of his honest neighbours who were at market that day, and confirm'd the account: but as these honest marketmen were neither guests nor attendants at the sumptuous entertainment; and as this writer might have been inform'd of the truth, from some worthy minister in the country, who dined with the council, his publishing an account which in his own opinion, seemed to reflect so much dishonor on the ministers who attended the instalment, upon so unsolid grounds as the hear-say of marketmen, was hardly, if at all consistent with the character of a man truly good, who 'taketh not up a report against his neighbour.'"

<sup>3</sup> The *soi-disant* countryman said in his third letter: "There were six tables that held one with another eighteen persons, upon each table a good rich plumb pudding, a dish of boil'd pork and fowls, and a corn'd leg of pork, with sauce proper

yet again, we learn anew from the correspondence before us — and this is why we give so much space to what upon the surface appears to be so utterly insignificant — that religious partisans, especially those who employ the press and write anonymously or under an *alias*, are never at a loss for a pretext, when they desire to attack their brethren, and that when they think they can make a point in favor of themselves they are apt to be as oblivious to the principles of common honesty as they are indifferent to the injunctions of Christian charity.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Cumming was married, soon after his settlement, to Elizabeth, daughter of Ezekiel Goldthwaite, for many years register of deeds for the county of Suffolk. Whether he occupied the old parsonage, when it was vacated by Mrs. Prince, we do not know; in 1766 it had been and then was occupied by the Hon. John Osborne,<sup>2</sup> whose house was burnt in the fire of 1760.

Mr. Cumming's preaching was more metaphysical than that of Dr. Sewall and Mr. Prince. One of his speculations was, that in the work of conversion love comes before faith, — that a man must love God and truly repent of his sins before he believes in Christ. Another was, that a sinner, before he can be

for it, a leg of bacon, a piece of alamode beef, a leg of mutton with caper sauce, a piece of roast beef, a roast line of veal, a roast turkey, a venison pastee, besides chess cakes and tarts, cheese and butter. Half a dozen cooks were employed upon the occasion, upwards of twenty tenders to wait upon the tables; they had the best of old cyder, one barrel of Lisbon wine, punch in plenty before and after dinner, made of old Barbados spirit. The cost of this moderate dinner was upwards of fifty pounds lawful money."

<sup>1</sup> The following paragraph shows the thinly veiled malice of the critic, in his attempt to justify himself against what had been complained of in his attack on the venerable Dr. Sewall: —

"I have said nothing of him, but what was relative to the particular affair of the instalment; and nothing but what was grounded on plain facts. If these are such as to make his character appear 'in an odious light to the world,' I am very sorry for it; tho' I am far from saying, they are sufficient to do this. And so far as age and infirmities may justly plead in

his excuse, I would much sooner become his apologist myself, than endeavour to aggravate his misconduct in this affair; which, after all proper allowance for infirmities, whether bodily or mental, must appear very unjustifiable to any impartial judge."

Three or four generations later, in 1884, another clerical fault-finder wrote some letters, under a pseudonym, to a "religious" paper in another city, about an installation at the Old South, in which the entertainment prepared for the council and invited guests was made the subject of malicious criticism. We shall not refer to these letters again, and only mention them now for the purpose of classing them with the "countryman's" letters in 1761.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Osborne died August 27, 1768, in his eightieth year.

May 30, 1764. "Election at Concord, the small pox being at Boston, I not there. Capt. Osborn and Cushing resigned, Capt. Watts out; I chose a counsellor, and Ruggles, Tyler and Goffe chosen." — Lynde *Diaries*.

accepted, must acknowledge that it would be righteous in God to cast him off forever. Mr. Croswell, who, because of the isolated position which he occupied among the Boston clergy, was able to wield a free lance, attacked this latter position in one of his sermons, in the course of which he made the remark that "a damning God is not an object of love."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cumming heard of this, and in a conversation with the Rev. Joseph Bellamy characterized it as blasphemous. Mr. Croswell, when the criticism came to his knowledge, printed a "Letter," to which Mr. Cumming responded with "Animadversions" on the "Letter."<sup>2</sup> We quote from Mr. Cumming in order that his views may be set forth in his own words:—

In a conversation with Mr. Bellamy, about mens different notions of the Deity, on which they build their systems of virtue and religion, I mentioned, by way of instance, a position delivered in a sermon by Mr. Croswell. It was to the best of my remembrance in the following words: *A damning God is not an object of love.* Mr. Bellamy ask'd, what I thought of it. My answer was, that it was blasphemy: For, if it was true, no wise and good being, could or ought to love God; in as much as it was unquestionable, that he came under this denomination. A few days afterwards Mr. Bellamy, meeting with Mr. Croswell, ask'd him, whether ever he had delivered such a position. He own'd that he had—and ask'd, who inform'd him of it. Mr. Bellamy answered, that I did. He ask'd again, what I said of it—Mr. Bellamy reply'd, "He said, it was blasphemy." Not long after this conversation, meeting Mr. Croswell in the street, he demanded of me, whether I had told Mr. Bellamy that he had preached blasphemy. I answered, that I had heard him deliver the sentiment above recited; and that it appear'd such to me. He reply'd that his meaning was, *that no man can love God while he looks on him as one that will damn him.* Sir, said I, there is no meaning you can put upon it, but what is liable to the same charge. The position appeared so extreemly injurious to the divine character, that it surprized me to find any disposition shewn, much more an attempt made to put a good meaning upon it. This was in effect to maintain and support the position. It supposed that true, at least in some respect, which if it be in any, all foundation of the love and worship of God is destroyed for ever. A position so directly subversive of all the foundations of virtue, seem'd not entitled to the priviledge of being explain'd. It ought to have been absolutely retracted. But to confess the truth, the explanatory

<sup>1</sup> Of course, he used the word not in its old English sense, but in the modern theological sense. Prince Library; also Mr. Croswell's sermon, preached October 17, 1764, "Free Justification Through Christ's

<sup>2</sup> The "Animadversions" are in the Redemption."

position seem'd to me at bottom, just as bad as the original sentiment. The one is blasphemy in the very matter of it ; and the other is equally so in its *spirit* and *import* : The malignancy of the one is obvious and open ; of the other, more latent and involved.<sup>1</sup>

Further on in the pamphlet, Mr. Cumming thus explains his understanding of the doctrine in controversy : —

My doctrine, I own, is the same with Mr. Sheperd's : and with him, Mr. Hooker, I apprehend, agrees ; tho' his expression be not so guarded as to cut off all occasion of exception. The doctrine we maintain, that hath given occasion to the above imputation [that a person must be contented and willing to be damned, or made miserable forever] may be summed up in these particulars. 1. That it is just in God, and consistent with every branch of his character, forever to cast off and destroy all sinners as such. 2. That with respect to every sinner, it is an act of sovereign grace to save him, or to do any thing towards this end. If the former be true, the latter must be so of consequence. All the grace and glory of the gospel, fundamentally depends on the truth of these propositions. There is no glory in the gospel, if either of them be false. No glory can be seen in the gospel, if the truth of them be not clearly seen and felt. And hence, 3. A sinner must see it righteous in God to cast him off for ever : So that if he should never shew him mercy, but destroy him, his mouth may be stopped ; all murmurings and heartrisings against God subdued, as dealing unrighteously or hardly with him ; or in any wise inconsistently with his character, promises, or declarations. And if he be not in effect bro't to this, he will never believe in Christ. The light in which he views things is utterly inconsistent with this act. For a sinner to believe in Christ, while he is not sensible of the justice of God in his destruction, while he is full of heart-risings against God on this account, is impossible. For he doth not admit and feel that to be true, which this act, in it's very nature supposeth, and is built upon, as a fundamental ground. He can't accept salvation as meer grace ; for he doth not see it to be so in it's own nature. And he can't see it to be so in it's nature, while he doth not from real conviction see and acquiesce in it that his destruction is a righteous and becoming act in God.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Cumming was to have brought out a second pamphlet in reply to Mr. Croswell, but he did not live to complete it. Each party sought to show that Dr. Sewall was on his side, but, in

<sup>1</sup> [There was a theory of human government in favor with the Tory statesmen of the time, that answered to this view in theology. "America must fear you before she can love you," said Lord

North to Alderman Beckford, in November, 1768, when the latter was urging a policy of moderation and kindness.]

<sup>2</sup> [*Animadversions on the Rev. Mr. Croswell's Late Letter, etc.*, pp. 1, 2, 7, 8.]



our opinion, the venerable pastor took very little pleasure in discussions of this kind.

At a church Meeting March 24. 1761.

The Paragraphs in the Rev. Mr. Prince's last Will relating to the Libraries were read, and are as follows —

"I give to the old South Church in Boston all my Books which are in Latin, Greek, and in the oriental Languages to be kept and remain in their public Library for ever.

And I hereby desire the said church to make a rule and order that the key of said Library shall always be kept by one of their Pastors.

Item, Whereas I have been many years collecting a Number of Books, Pamphlets, Maps, Papers in Print and manuscript, either publish'd in New England, or pertaining to its History or public-Affairs, to which Collection I have given the name of the New England Library; and have deposited it in the steeple chamber of the old South Church: And as I made the said Collection from a public view and desire that the memory of many important Transactions might be preserv'd, which would otherwise be lost; I hereby bequeath the said Collection to the said South Church for ever. But to the end that the same may be kept entire, I desire that this Collection may be always kept in a different Apartment from the other Books, and that it may be a rule that no Person shall borrow any book or paper therefrom; but that any Person whom the Pastors and Deacons of said Church for the time being, shall approve of, may have access thereto, and take copies thence."

Voted, 1. That the Desires of our late Rev'd Pastor, mention'd in his last Will be complied with.

2 That there be Cases provided in the steeple chamber, with Locks to keep the books &c. contain'd in the New England Library, till the Church shall provide a separate Apartment for them.

3. That there be a Catalogue taken of the Church and New England Libraries: And that Mr. Oxenbridge Thacher be desired to take this catalogue.

4. That there be a committee to draw up Rules and Orders for the regulation of said Church Library: And that the Pastors, Hon. Andrew Oliver, Hon. Thomas Hubbard Esqrs. and Mr. Oxenbridge Thatcher be of this Committee.

5. That said Committee be desir'd to provide Cases for the New England Library.

Lord's Day June 21 1761. The Church was stay'd, and the Brethren Voted as follows —

That Wednesday the 8th of July next, be observed by us as a Day of Prayer with Fasting to humble ourselves before God, and seek to him to revive His work among us by Pouring out his Spirit upon us and our offspring and his people:

And that the Congregation be notified and desir'd to join with us in the religious exercises of said day. JOSEPH SEWALL.

The 8th of July was accordingly observed by us as a Day of Prayer with Fasting.

Novr. 22. 1761. The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed, and Voted that there be a collection for charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving Decr. 3. next; And that the Rest of the Congregation be notified the next Lord's Day, and desir'd to assist in said collection. JOSEPH SEWALL.

Novr 29. The congregation were notified.

Thanksgiving 3. Decr 1761.

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| Collected . . . . .                        | 380. 13. 0 |
| Appropriated                               |            |
| To the Charitable and pious Fund . . . . . | 15. 0. 0   |
| Mr. Eliphalet Parker . . . . .             | 2. 5. 0    |
| Mr. Abijah Adams . . . . .                 | 2. 10. 0   |
| Rev'd Mr. Campbell . . . . .               | 19. 5. 0   |
| Mr. Brett . . . . .                        | 2. 0. 0    |
| Widow Bodman . . . . .                     | 2. 5. 0    |
|  | <hr/>      |
|  | 43. 5. 0   |
| . At large . . . . .                       | 337. 8. 0  |

Decr. 13. 1761. The Brethren of the church and congregation stayed, and Voted, that three dozen of the New England Psalm Book revis'd, be purchas'd from the unappropriated Part of the last Collection for the use of this Society, to be lodg'd with the Pastors and Deacons of this church: And that the remainder of said Collection be dispos'd of to charitable and pious uses by the said Pastors and Deacons according to their best Discretion. JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation Aug. 11. 1762.

The Hon. A. Oliver Esq. Moderator.

Voted 1. That the House in which the Rev'd Dr Sewall dwells be repair'd.

2. That the Front and East end of the House be rough cast, and that there be new windows made, and sash'd.

3. That the Roof be slated, after being first double boarded or the shingling repair'd, as the committee to be chosen shall judge best.

4. That Mr. Oliver, Mr. Hubbard and Mr. Phillips be a committee to see the repairs effected.

5. That in order to raise about one half of the sum that may be needed, and to enable the Committee to procure materials, there be an Assessment on the several Pews in the House as follows — viz :

twenty-four shillings on the pews below ; twelve shillings on the front pews in the Galleries, and six on the back pews in the galleries ; and that the several Pew holders be desir'd to put their respective sums due from them as above into the Contribution Box on Lord's Day 29. Instant, and mark the same : But if any Persons find it inconvenient to pay the said Assessment on that day, that they be desir'd to put it into the Box as soon as they can conveniently, and mark it as aforesaid.

And it is hereby declar'd that this is the whole sum which will be expected to be rais'd by way of Assessments on the Pews ; as it is hoped the remainder will be rais'd by way of Contribution or Subscription. And it is desir'd that other Persons not Pew holders would on the said 29. Instant contribute to the service as their respective circumstances will allow.

Lord's Day Augt. 15. 1762. Church stay'd. A Letter was read from Revd Mr. Barnard of Marblehead desiring our Assistance at the Ordination of Mr. Whitwell. Granted. Messengers chosen, Deacons, Messrs William and Samuel Whitwell, Col. Jackson and Mr. Phillips.

J. SEWALL.

Mr. William Whitwell belonged to an Old South family, and in 1759 became a member of the church in which he had been baptized.<sup>1</sup> He graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1758. Of his ministry at Marblehead, it was said by one of his successors, the Rev. Samuel Dana, in 1816: He "continued, it is believed, in the conscientious, humble and faithful discharge of the important duties of his office, delivering the true gospel, and watching for souls as one who expected to give an account, devoted to the best interests of his people, and highly esteemed and beloved by them, till the eighth of November 1781, when it pleased the great Head of the Church to translate him to a better world, in the midst of his days and usefulness, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and twentieth of his ministry."

The 3d of September was observed throughout the province, as a day of fasting and prayer, on account of the prevailing drought. A few days later, "the joyful news of the reduction of the Havannah" came to hand ; and Dr. Sewall on the 16th of

<sup>1</sup> William, son of William and Rebecca Whitwell, was baptized January 1, 1737-8. He received a Master's degree from Harvard College in 1762. His ordination sermon was preached by the Rev. Thomas Barnard.

A William Whitwell joined the South

Church in 1733 ; another, as above, in 1759 ; and another, in 1762.

In 1767, William Whitwell advertises in the papers as at "the Seven Stars in Ann Street, near the Draw Bridge." Mary Fleet records the death of a Mr. Whitwell, June 9, 1801, aged eighty-four.

September, at the Thursday Lecture, preached a sermon before Governor Bernard and the General Court, from 1 Chron. xxix. 11: "Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine; thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all."<sup>1</sup>

The missionary work of the churches in and near Boston had hitherto been carried on in connection with the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in New England, founded in London in 1649, and the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, chartered in 1709. The time seemed to have come for the formation of an independent society in Boston, and for the extension of the work. The following petition, therefore, was addressed to Governor Bernard and the General Court:—

The Petition of a number of the Inhabitants of said Province  
Humbly Sheweth,

That the Signal Success, with which it has pleased Almighty God to crown His Majesty's Arms, calls upon us not only to express our grateful acknowledgements to the Author of it, but to demonstrate our gratitude by endeavoring to spread the knowledge of his Religion.

That a favorable opportunity of doing this, among the Indians of North America seems now to present itself; as the French of Canada being subjected to His Majesty's Arms, have it less in their power to obstruct so good a work.

That your Petitioners humbly apprehend that the erecting a Society here with Corporate powers for this purpose will be a likely means of carrying it on with Success.

That a large Sum has been already Subscribed towards the forming a perpetual fund therefor; and we humbly apprehend in a short time it would be so much increased by other Subscriptions, that the Profits of it would be sufficient to effect some real service in promoting Christian knowledge if such a Society was incorporated.

Wherefore your Petitioners humbly pray your Excellency and Honours to take this Affair (so nearly connected with the Interests of Christianity, and with the political Interest of Great Britain and her Colonies,) into your wise Consideration and to grant an Act of Incorporation vesting your Petitioners (with such others as they from time to time shall elect) with all the powers necessary for the purpose aforesaid.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At the Peace of Paris, Cuba and the Philippines were restored by Great Britain to Spain in return for the cession of Florida.

<sup>2</sup> [The signatures to this petition were as follows:—

Andw. Oliver, Isaac Royall, John Erving, James Bowdoin, Wm. Brattle, Thos.



The Rev. Peter Thacher, of Brattle Street Church, gave the following account of this movement in a pamphlet published in 1798 :—

In the year 1762, a number of gentlemen associated with the design of establishing a society similar to that of which we are now about to give an account. They collected a large fund, and obtained a charter of incorporation from the government here, and began warmly and zealously to prosecute their pious and benevolent object. But, when the act of their incorporation was sent to England for allowance, the Archbishop of Canterbury, jealous lest this should interfere with the society established in Great Britain [in 1701], or perhaps unwilling that persons not well affected to episcopacy should obtain new influence and power by this means, obtained from the King a negative on the incorporating bill. It fell of course, and the zeal of its supporters in a great measure fell with it ; for no more was heard concerning it till after the Revolution which made us an independent people.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the South church and congregation, Novr 22. 1762.

Voted, that two of the hindermost of the long seats be made into Pews for the accommodation of Strangers.

2. That the Seaters be desir'd to see this matter effected accordingly to their best Discretion.

Novr. 28. 1762 The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed, and Voted, that there be a Collection for Charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving Decr 9. next: And that the

Flucker, Thomas Hancock, Thos. Hubbard, N. Sparhawk, Harrison Gray, Edward Holyoke, Sam. Dexter, Ebenezer Storer, Samll. Grant, Jno. Barrett for y<sup>e</sup> Hon. Robert Hooper, Esqr., Jno. Barrett, Thomas Gray, John Scollay, Benja. Dolbeare, William Gray, Royall Tyler, Henry Bromfield, Jona. Williams, Wm. Phillips, Wm. Whitwell, Moses Gill, Timo. Newell, Wm. Greenleaf, Isaac Smith, Isaac Walker, Nathel. Holmes, Alex. Hill, Edward Langdon, John White, Jona. Cushing, Henry Newman, Richd. Martyn, Saml. Abbot, Willm. Story, Thos. Marshall, Joshua Henshaw, William White, Moses Peck, Benja. Gray, Benja. Clarke, Chris. Clarke, Thos. Handasyd Peck, Peter Boyer, Joseph Sherburne, John Melvill, John Ruddock, Amos Adams, Middlecott Cooke, John Symmes, Samuel Minot, Jos. Green, John Simpson, John Phillips, Isaac Winslow, Ezekl. Goldthwait, James Pitts, Sam. Ph. Savage, Thomas Cushing, John Tudor, Samuel Deming, Benja. Church, Samll. Hill, Willm. Blair Townsend, Joseph Sewall, Frans. Bordanott, Jona. Mason, John Greenleaf, Danl. Waldo, John Dennie, James Otis, Junr., Benja. Hammatt, Fortesque Vernon, Benja. Austin, Benja. Hallowell, Jun., William Hyslop, Henderson Inches, Thomas Fayerweather, William Homes, Joseph Jackson, Wm. Hickling, Oxenbg. Thacher, Jonathan Mayhew, Thomas Foxcroft, Charles Chauncy, Stephen Hall, John Scott, Samuel Mather, E. Pemberton, Saml. Checkley, Junr., Andrew Eliot, and for Revd. Nathl. Appleton, Hull Abbot, Thomas Prentice, Thomas Fletcher, Saml. Cooper, Zachh. Jonhannot, Onesiphs. Tileston, A. Cumming, Samuel Adams.—*Mass. Archives*, vol. xiv. p. 289.]

rest of the Congregation be notified the next Lord's Day, and desir'd to assist in said collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Decr 5. The congregation was notified.

| Thanksgiving Decr. 9. 1762.          | Collected | O. T.      |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| The whole, . . . . .                 |           | 293. 15. 4 |
| Appropriated,                        |           |            |
| To the Widow Gerrish . . . . .       |           | 2. 10. 0   |
| — Bodman . . . . .                   |           | 9. 0. 0    |
| Mr. Abijah Adams . . . . .           |           | 1. 5. 0    |
| Mr. Eliphalet Parker . . . . .       |           | 2. 5. 0    |
| Rev'd Mr. Brett . . . . .            |           | 3. 7. 0    |
| Mr. Campbell . . . . .               |           | 6. 10. 0   |
| Char. and pious Fund, . . . . .      |           | 15. 0. 0   |
|                                      |           | <hr/>      |
|                                      |           | 39. 17. 0  |
| At large . . . . .                   |           | 253. 18. 4 |
|                                      |           | <hr/>      |
|                                      |           | 293. 15. 4 |
| Lord's Day Decr. 12. added . . . . . |           | 28. 10. 0  |
| 19. " . . . . .                      |           | 10. 10. 0  |

The Brethren stay'd, and Voted,

That the unappropriated Part of the Collection be dispos'd of to charitable and pious uses by the Pastors and Deacons, according to their best Discretion.

J. SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the church and congregation April 15 1763.

The Committee for repairing the House in which Dr. Sewall dwells, having made an estimate, and reported that there would be £1250 O. Ten. wanting besides what has been collected by assessment on the Pews; Voted, That there be a Collection on the Lord's Day, first of May next.

At a Meeting of the Church, Sept. 16, 1763.

After Prayer to God as usual, Voted, That the Brethren come to a choice of two Deacons (in the room of Deacon Daniel Henschman, and Deacon Jonathan Simpson deceased.)

By counting the Votes it appear'd that Samuel Sewall Esqr. and Mr. David Jeffries were chosen into the Deacons-Office.

That the Pastors, Deacon Hubbard, the Hon John Osborn, Samuel Wells and Andrew Oliver Esqrs be a Committee to acquaint the said Persons with the choice made and to desire their acceptance.

Deacon Henschman died, after a lingering illness, on the evening of the day on which Mr. Cumming was installed, February

25, 1761; he had served the church as deacon forty-two years.<sup>1</sup> Deacon Simpson, after a service of thirty years, died February 18, 1763. The election of Mr. Sewall and Mr. Jeffries to these vacancies gives us two more of those illustrations with which the history of the Old South abounds, and on which we like to dwell, of the responsibilities of this church "bequeathed by" saintly "sire to son." Mr. Sewall's great grandfather, John Hull, was one of its founders. His grandfather, Judge Sewall, during a long life, was one of its brightest lights; and his father, Dr. Sewall, on the day of the election just recorded, had been one of its pastors for precisely half a century — a remarkable coincidence.<sup>2</sup> We have quoted from this father's journal the private supplications which in 1715 accompanied the public dedication of his firstborn son to the service of the Lord; in the winter of 1749-50 he received this son into the membership of the church; and now, in 1763, he, with others, was to invite, and to receive his acceptance of the office of deacon, to which he had been called.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Sewall was a merchant; he graduated at Harvard College in 1733, and he married in 1749 Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Quincy.

The other newly appointed deacon was also of a distinguished Old South lineage. His great grandfather, Thomas Brattle, was one of the founders of 1669. His grandmother, Elizabeth (Usher), wife of David Jeffries, was a member of the church, and their children were baptized by its ministers. His father, David Jeffries, the college friend of Sewall and Prince, who was

<sup>1</sup> President Quincy names Mr. Henchman among the large benefactors of Harvard College. In April, 1742, he gave 100 ounces of silver, and in October, 1747, £250. old tenor, towards the endowment of the Hollis Professorship of Divinity; the income to be paid to the professor, "so long as he shall be a member in full communion with some Congregational or Presbyterian Church, and shall profess and teach the principles of the Christian religion, according to the well-known confession of faith drawn up by a synod of the churches of New England." On failure of either condition, the annual interest was to be given, "by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, to some deserving student of the said College, whose parents are not able to bear the charge of his public edu-

cation, and who shall be approved by the pastors of the Old South Church, in Boston, for the time being, preference being given first to a child of this town of Boston." In 1758, Mr. Henchman gave £66. 13. 4, lawful money, without conditions, toward the endowment of the Hollis Professorship of Mathematics.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Joseph Sewall's ordination took place on the 16th of September, 1713.

<sup>3</sup> Deacon Sewall's son-in-law, Samuel Salisbury, and grandson, Josiah Salisbury, were to be deacons in the Old South in later years. His son, Samuel Sewall, baptized at the Old South, December 11, 1757, was a judge of the superior court of judicature from 1800 to 1814, and in the latter year, just before his death, was appointed chief justice.

lost in the *Amity* in the English Channel in the autumn of 1716, was also a member;<sup>1</sup> so also was his mother, Katharine (Eyre), also his stepfather, Oliver Noyes. Mr. Jeffries was baptized by one of the ministers of the South Church, October 24, 1715; he graduated at Harvard College in 1732; he was a merchant, and for thirty years treasurer of the town of Boston. He married, first, Sarah, daughter of George Jaffrey, chief justice of the superior court of New Hampshire;<sup>2</sup> secondly, Deborah, daughter of Byfield Lyde, and granddaughter of Governor Belcher; thirdly, Hannah, daughter of Joshua Winslow.<sup>3</sup>

But new trials awaited the church. Mr. Cumming, who from the first had been in feeble health, died on the 25th of August, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and the third of his pastorate in Boston. His venerable colleague preached his funeral sermon from the words of the Apostle Paul: "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."<sup>4</sup> The following sketch of his character and scholarship we take from the sermon:—

He was an able minister of the New Testament, endowed with rich gifts from our ascended Saviour. He was an hard student, an excellent scholar; a scribe well instructed to the Kingdom of Heaven. It is true his lively, active soul dwelt in a crazy, feeble body; however, under his bodily weakness, he did willingly spend and was spent in his Lord's work. He was a man of prayer; and, in his addresses to that God who is the High and Lofty One, he lay low under an abasing sense of our meanness and vileness, and well expressed his entire dependence on the merits and intercession of Jesus, our Advocate with the Father.

He showed his esteem and value for these churches, and for the doctrines of grace exhibited in their Confession of Faith.

This man was a burning and shining light, who not only preached but lived the Gospel, holding forth the light in it in a conversation becoming the doctrines and precepts of our holy religion.

He showed his zeal for the Lord of Hosts, and against the prevailing errors and corruptions of the times wherein he lived.

He followed Christ bearing the cross; and, under returns of distressing pain, showed his patience and reverend submission to the will of his Heavenly Father. And although a Sovereign God took him from us in the midst of his days, yet he expressed himself to me

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. p. 378.

<sup>2</sup> Only one son lived to mature years, John, who became distinguished as a physician. He was baptized at the South Church, February 10, 1744-5. His mother was Sarah (Jaffrey).

<sup>3</sup> This third marriage took place August 17, 1768.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Manning's funeral sermon was preached from this text, at the Old South, by the Rev. W. M. Taylor, D. D., of New York, February 18, 1883.



as desirous rather to die than live ; and to another, his hope and trust in Christ. But his pain was so great, there was not that opportunity to discourse with him which could be desired.<sup>1</sup>

Lord's Day Sept. 18. 1763

Church stayed. A Letter was read from the third church in Salem, desiring our Assistance at the Ordination of Mr. John Huntington, their Pastor Elect. Voted. Messengers chosen, Hon. Samuel Welles, Coll. Joseph Jackson, John Scollay, Samuel Sewall Esqrs and Mr. David Jeffries.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Mr. Huntington was a son of Mr. John Huntington, of Norwich, Connecticut. He graduated at the College of New Jersey in 1759, and was now called to succeed the Rev. Dudley Leavitt as minister of the church organized by the friends of the Rev. Samuel Fisk, on his dismissal from the First Church in 1735.<sup>2</sup> The ordination took place on the 28th of September. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Benjamin Lord, of Norwich ; the charge was given by the Rev. Peter Clark, of Danvers ; and the right hand of fellowship by the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, of Boston. Mr. Huntington's pastorate was a very brief one ; he died May 30, 1766, in the thirtieth year of his age.

<sup>1</sup> [*The Mass. Gazette*, September 1, 1763, contains an obituary notice of Mr. Cumming, in terms of commendation similar to those used by Dr. Sewall. Mr. Cumming received the Master's degree from the College of New Jersey in 1760, and from Harvard College in 1761.

One of the younger members of the Old South, Jeremy Belknap, who was just out of college, wrote an eclogue formed partly on the plan of Virgil's Daphnis, a part of which we quote : —

Not five swift circumvolving Suns have roll'd  
Their annual Orbits, round our dreary Globe,  
Since Prince, the great, the good, the learn'd, the  
wise,

Descended to the silent Shades of Death.  
Mankind deplor'd his Fall. Scarce had we now  
Emerg'd out of that Gulph of gen'ral Woe,  
And worthily repair'd the mighty Breach ;  
The King of Terrors visits us again,  
And moves our Candlestick out of his Place.  
" Cumming is dead." No more that sacred Dome  
With his harmonious Accents shall resound :  
No more those glorious, evangelic Truths,  
On which his Faith, and Hope were firmly built,  
With such celestial Pathos, shall devolve  
From his persuasive Tongue. Oft have I stood,

And join'd with him in ardent Pray'r to Heav'n ;  
Till I have almost seen his active Soul,  
With inward Fervour, and Devotion fir'd  
Burst thro' its feeble Tenement of Clay,  
And wing its Flight up to the Throne of God.  
But now, alas ! no longer shall I hear  
Those ardent Breathings. His pure Hands no  
more  
Shall break the Bread of Life, unto our Souls.  
Lament, and mourn, ye poor bereaved Flock ;  
Your Beauty's wither'd, and your Glory fled.

Thus Florio ; to whom Albinus replies  
at some length, in a more hopeful strain,  
and says : —

Let not the mourning Flock too sorely grieve ;  
Yet Sewall lives, and from his aged Lips  
Dispenses heav'nly Truths, with holy Zeal :  
May his important Life be yet prolong'd,  
And late, to Heav'n his dove-like Soul ascend.]

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 470, 584. May 23, 1763. "The Church lately under Mr. Leavit vote to be called the third Church. They invite John Huntington jr., who had preached for them, to become their minister. The congregation concur with this invitation." June 20. "Mr. Huntington voted £100 L. M. salary, and £200 L. M. settlement." — *Annals of Salem*.

Lord's Day, Octr 2. 1763

The Brethren of the church and Congregation stay'd, And Voted, That with God's leave, we purpose to observe Wednesday the 2d of Novr next, as a Day of Prayer with fasting, to humble ourselves under the afflictive Hand of God, in removing from us by death our late worthy Pastor the Rev'd Mr. Alexander Cumming, and to ask God's gracious Presence and Direction under our present bereaved circumstances.

J. SEWALL.

Novr. 2. Observ'd accordingly as Day of Prayer.

Lord's Day Novr. 6. 1763.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed, and Voted, That the Deacons be a committee to supply the Pulpit.

2. That there be allow'd for this service 1. 6. 8 L. M. pr. Sabbath.

Novr. 27. 1763. Lord's Day.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stay'd and Voted, That there be a Collection for charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving Decr. 8. next: And that the rest of the Congregation be notified the next Lord's Day, and be desir'd to assist in said collection.

J. SEWALL.

Decr. 4. Congregation notified.

Thanksgiving, Decr. 8. 1763

O. T.

Collected, At large . . . . . 286. 16. 7½

Appropriated,

To the Pious and Charitable Fund . . . 19. 19. 0

To Revd Mr. Campbell . . . . . 6. 10. 0

To Revd Mr. Brett . . . . . 2. 0. 0

To Several Persons of the Society . . . 12. 7. 6

---

40. 16. 6

Total . . . . . 327. 13. 1½

Lords Day Decr. 25. 1763

The Brethren stayed, and Voted, That the unappropriated Part of the last Collection be dispos'd of to charitable and pious uses by the Pastor and Deacons according to their best Discretion.

J. SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church Jan. 9. 1764.

Deacon Hubbard's Accounts were accepted.

Voted, that the Brethren have a gratefull sense of the Fidelity of the late Deacons viz: Deacon Henchman, and Deacon Simpson deceas'd: And that the Thanks of the Brethren be given to the Hon. Thomas Hubbard, for his Fidelity in the Deacon's office: And that He be desir'd unanimously to continue in said office.

Then the meeting was adjourn'd to this day fortnight 10 a-clock A. M.

Jan 23. 1764. The Brethren of the church met.

The Hon. Mr. Hubbard gave his answer in the Negative.

Then the Brethren adjourn'd to this day three weeks, 10 a clock A. M.

Mr. Hubbard lived several years after this ; while laying down other trusts, he continued to be treasurer of Harvard College until his death. On the day following this meeting, Harvard Hall was burnt, containing the library and all the philosophical apparatus, — a severe blow to the college ; but its friends came promptly to its relief, Mr. Hubbard being one of the most generous contributors.<sup>1</sup> The General Court, which was occupying the hall at the time of the disaster, assumed the expense of rebuilding it.

By Adjournment, Feb. 13. 1764. 10 a.cl. A. M.

Voted, 1. That Thomas Hubbard Esq. pay unto Messrs David Jeffries and Samuel Sewall, Deacons of the South Church the sum of £513. 14. 4 being the stock belonging to said Church and Congregation : As also 72. 14. 4, the Ballance in his Hand as by account exhibited and allowed by said Church.

2. That this Day fortnight, 10 cl. A. M. be appointed as a Church-Meeting for the choice of another Deacon ; and that Notice be given to the Brethren next Sabbath.

3. That the Deacons and Mr. Sam. Bass be desir'd to assist our Reverend Pastor in preparing matters, relating to our Brethren, John Barber and Homes Simpson, for the cognizance of the Church.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Mr. Barber's name does not appear on the list of members ; Mr. Simpson became a member in 1741, and the baptism of the children of Holmes and Lucretia Simpson is recorded.

At a meeting of the Brethren of the South Church in Boston, Feb 27 1764.

After Pray'r to God (as usual), the Brethren proceeded to the choice of another Deacon.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hubbard gave the College £100. at this time, and £300. at his death. At the time of the fire, he was the largest contributor except John Hancock. Other contributors in the Old South were, Thomas Cushing, Thomas Dawes, Benjamin Dolbeare, Thomas Fayerweather,

Moses Gill, Henderson Inches, Joseph Jackson, Jonathan Mason, Andrew Oliver, Andrew Oliver, Jr., James Otis, Samuel Pemberton, William Phillips, John Scollay, Samuel Sewall, Samuel Welles, William Whitwell. Dr. Sewall gave "many books valued at £20 sterling."

It appear'd upon counting the Votes that William Phillips Esq. was chosen to said Office.

The Pastor and Deacons with the Hon. Samuel Welles Esq. were chosen as a Committee to acquaint Mr. Phillips with the choice made, and to desire his Acceptance of it. JOSEPH SEWALL.

Mr. Phillips was the youngest of the three sons—all distinguished men—of the Rev. Samuel Phillips, for sixty years minister of the South Church, Andover. At the age of fifteen he came to Boston, and entered the store of Edward Bromfield. At the end of his apprenticeship, he became Mr. Bromfield's partner, and in 1744 married his daughter Abigail. He was now one of the leading merchants of the town; in the same year in which he was chosen deacon he moved into the house in Beacon Street, which had been built and occupied by his father-in-law. He and his son of the same name were a tower of strength at the Old South for nearly three quarters of a century.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Whitefield arrived in Boston from the South, in the month of February.<sup>2</sup> He was warmly welcomed by many, but the prevalence of small-pox in the town interfered with his services. Later in the season, although much out of health, he preached to large congregations, the farewell occasion being at the Old South on the 5th of June. He left for New York a day or two later.

Mr. John Symmes, who had been a member of the church committee, died of fever, after a short illness, on the 27th of February, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. He was lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of militia of the town, and commanded the artillery company in 1755 and 1761. The newspaper which announced his death said of him: "He was a gentleman of a very courteous and affable disposition, industrious in his business, honest in his dealings with mankind, and pious towards God."

<sup>1</sup> For a sketch of the life of William Phillips and of his son William, see *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, for April, 1885.

For a cut of the Bromfield-Phillips mansion, see *ante*, vol. i. p. 550.

<sup>2</sup> At a town meeting held in Faneuil Hall, February 20, 1764, the Hon. Thomas Hubbard was chosen moderator and the Rev. Dr. Sewall offered prayer. The following vote was unanimously adopted: "That the Thanks of this Town be and

hereby are given the Revd. Mr. George Whitefield for his Charitable care and pains in collecting a considerable Sum of Money in Great Britain for the distressed sufferers by the Great Fire in Boston Anno Domini 1760—and that James Otis Esq. John Rowe Esq. William Phillips Esq. John Steel Esq. Royal Tyler Esq. be and hereby are appointed a Committee to wait on Mr. Whitefield and inform him of this vote; and that he be presented with a copy thereof."



Mr. John Simpson died in the summer, on a voyage from Fayal to Philadelphia. His love for the church is commemorated by a beautiful piece of sacramental silver, bearing this inscription: The Gift of Mr. John Simpson of Boston Merchant to the South Church in said Town Who died at Sea July 12 1764 on his Return to his Native Land.<sup>1</sup>

At a Meeting of the South church and congregation in Boston by adjournment, Septr. 17 1764.

After Prayer to God, Voted, That one be chosen as an Assistant to our Pastor for three months to preach one part of every Lord's Day, and that 1. 6. 8. be allow'd him for his service pr. Sabbath: And that 13/4 be further allow'd him for his Board provided he shall reside in this Town.

And if the Person chosen shall at any time during the said term, have an Invitation elsewhere, or should on any other occasion be call'd from his service among us, He shall not be held to stay out the term; but shall be at liberty to quit said service upon giving seasonable notice.

Upon counting the written votes it appear'd that Mr. Joseph Dana junr. was chosen.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Mr. Joseph Dana was born at Pomfret, Connecticut, in 1742, and graduated at Yale College in 1760. Dr. Sprague, in his Annals, says that he supplied the Old South pulpit for six months<sup>2</sup> with much acceptance, and that he would have received an invitation to a permanent settlement, but his voice was thought to be scarcely adequate to fill so large a building. He was subsequently called to Ipswich, and was ordained there November 7, 1765. He lived to preach a sermon on the sixtieth anniversary of his settlement, and died November 16, 1827.<sup>3</sup>

Novr. 18. 1764. Lord's Day.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stay'd, and Voted, That there be a collection for charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving Novr. 29. Instant: And that the Rest of the Congregation be notified the next Lord's Day, and be desired to assist in said collection.

J. SEWALL.

25. Congregation were notified.

<sup>1</sup> August 27, 1767. John, son of Joshua Winslow, married Mary, daughter of John Simpson merchant, late of this town. — *Boston Gazette*.

<sup>2</sup> This is probably a mistake as to the time. Mr. Emerson was chosen to assist the pastor three months later.

<sup>3</sup> The Rev. Joseph Dana received the degree of D. D. from Harvard College in 1801. He had two sons in the ministry, both distinguished men, the Rev. Dr. Daniel Dana, of Newburyport, and the Rev. Samuel Dana, of Marblehead.

Thanksgiving Nov 29. 1764.

Collected. Appropriated

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| To the Charitable and pious Fund . . . | £17. 5. 0  |
| Rev'd Mr. Brett . . . . .              | 13. 2. 6   |
| Rev'd Mr. Campbell . . . . .           | 6. 10. 0   |
| To Several of the Society . . . . .    | 11. 5. 0   |
|  | <hr/>      |
|  | 48. 2. 6   |
| At large . . . . .                     | 312. 5. 2  |
| Decr 2. added . . . . .                | 13. 10. 0  |
|  | <hr/>      |
|  | 325. 15. 2 |
| Sum total . . . . .                    | 373. 17. 8 |

Lord's Day Decr 9 —64 The Brethren stay'd.

Voted, that the unappropriated Part of the last Collection be dispos'd of to Charitable and pious uses by the Pastor and Deacons according to their best Discretion.

J. SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation in Boston Decr. 24. 1764.

After Prayer to God, Voted

That one be chosen as an Assistant to our Pastor for two Months, to preach one Part of every Lords Day; And that 1. 6. 8. be allow'd him pr. Sabbath for his service: And that 13. 4 be further allow'd him for his board provided he shall reside in this Town:

And if the Person chosen shall during the said term, have an Invitation elsewhere, or shall on any other occasion be call'd from his service among us, he shall not be held to stay out the term; but shall be at liberty to quit said service upon giving seasonable notice.

Upon counting the written Votes, it appear'd that Mr. William Emerson was chosen.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Mr. Emerson was a son of the Rev. Joseph Emerson, of Malden; his mother was a daughter of the Rev. Samuel Moody, of York. He was born in 1743, and graduated at Harvard College in 1761. He was settled as minister of the First Church, Concord, January 1, 1766. In 1776 he went, with the consent of his people, to Ticonderoga, to serve as a chaplain in the American army, but his health broke down, and he died at Rutland, Vermont, on his way home, October 20, 1776, in the thirty-fourth year of his age.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1826 a monument was erected to his memory in Concord, at the expense of the town. His son, the Rev. William Emerson, was minister of the First

Church, Boston, from 1799 to 1811; and his grandson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, of the Second Church, Boston, from 1829 to 1832.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation, March 18. 1765.

Voted, that the Deacons be a Committee to supply the Pulpit one part of the Lord's Day, for the next four or six Sabbaths.

2. That there be a Committee chosen to consider what Repairs may be necessary to preserve the steeple, or any other Part of the Meeting-House.

That the Hon John Osborne, Andrew Oliver, Thomas Hubbard Esqrs. the Deacons and Thomas Cushing Esq. be of this Committee, and make report to the Brethren so soon as may be. J. SEWALL.

April 28. 1765. The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed, and Voted, That the Deacons further supply the Pulpit not exceeding six Sabbaths. J. SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation, July 15. 1765.

Upon reading the report of the Committee for repairing the Meeting-House,

Voted, That the report now read be accepted ; And that the Deacons be empower'd to carry it into execution so soon as conveniently may be ; saving that the Clapboarding mention'd be defer'd to further consideration.

Voted, that the Hon John Osborne be desir'd to Pay to the Deacons such moneys as are in his Hand from the Pews, or rent of the Ministerial House.

Voted, by written votes, that Mr. Bowen be desir'd by the Deacons to preach one part of the Lord's Day for six Sabbaths.

J. SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation Octr. 14 1765.

After Prayer to God (as usual)

Voted unanimously (by Hand)

That Messrs. Penuel Bowen, Josiah Dana and Saml. Blair, be desir'd to Preach to this Society one part of the Lord's Day, each one for Six Weeks successively.

Voted, that there be allow'd to said Persons 1. 6. 8 L. M. pr. Sabbath, for their service.

Voted, that the Deacons of the Church be a Committee to Acquaint the Persons above nam'd with these Votes, and to desire their Compliance therewith.

Voted, that there be a Committee chosen to examine the Deacons accounts ; And that the Honble Andrew Oliver, Thomas Hubbard and Joshua Winslow Esqrs be of this Committee.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Mr. Bowen's father was a business man in Boston. The son graduated at Harvard College in 1762; he was settled at the New South Church, Summer Street, April 31, 1766, as colleague with the venerable Mr. Checkley, and, a few years later, went to South Carolina, and entered the Episcopal ministry.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Dana graduated at Cambridge in 1763, and in 1767 was ordained minister of Rutland District (Barre). He died there in 1801. Mr. Blair, upon whom the choice of the church finally rested, was a son of the Rev. Samuel Blair, of Fogg's Manor, Pennsylvania, and a cousin of the late Mr. Cumming. He was born in 1741; graduated at Princeton in 1760; and in 1764 was ordained by the Presbytery of Newcastle. Dr. Wisner says of him: "He was a man of fine talents and extensive acquirements; greatly distinguished as a sermonizer, particularly as a master of the touching and pathetic. His voice, it is said, was feeble and tremulous, yet his delivery was uncommonly impressive."

Novr. 10. 1765. The Brethren of the church stayed, and Voted, that the Deacons, the Hon John Osborne and Mr. Samuel Bass be a Committee to assist our Reverend Pastor in examining the case of Thomas Negro, of our communion, servant to Mr. Jonathan Mason; who is accused of scandalous sins.

Novr 17. The Committee reported that they find him guilty of the sins of which he has been accus'd; but no satisfactory signs of true penitence:

Upon which the Brethren Voted that he be admonish'd and suspended.

Accordingly at a church Meeting Novr. 24. 1765, said Thomas was Admonish'd and Suspended from the Communion of this Church for several Scandalous Offences.

J. SEWALL.

Novr. 24. 65. The Brethren of the church and congregation stay'd, and Voted, That there be a Collection for charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving, Decr. 5. next: And that the rest of the Congregation be notified the next Lord's Day, and be desir'd to assist in said Collection.

J. SEWALL.

<sup>1</sup> After divine service, Lord's Day, May 10, 1772, Mr. Bowen read a letter to his people, resigning his pastoral charge and asking a dismission, "giving as a reason for this request, the great discouragement he was under on account of his ill state of health, which he apprehended was occasioned and would be confirmed by a sedentary and studious

life." The people were "surprized at this unexpected determination of their pastor, whom they had always esteemed and loved;" but, after consultation with him, and "serious consideration and cool debate, they unanimously, though with reluctance," dismissed him according to his request. — *Boston Gazette*, May 18, 1772.



Thanksgiving, Decr 5. 1765.

Collected (O. T.) Appropriated.

|   |                          |
|---|--------------------------|
| To Revd. Mr. Campbell . . . . .   | £8. 0. 0                 |
| Mr. Brett . . . . .   | 13. 10. 0                |
| To Persons of the Society . . . . .                                       | 8. 10. 6                 |
| To charitable and pious Fund . . . . .                                    | 15. 0. 0                 |
| At large . . . . .  | 342. 4. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$  |
| Added Decr 8. . . . .   | 3. 7. 6                  |
| Total . . . . .   | 390. 12. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Decr 15. appropriated to A. Adams,<br>in addition to the above, . . . . . | 3. 7. 6                  |
|   | <hr/> 393. 19. 6         |

Decr. 15. The Brethren stayed.

Voted, that the unappropriated Part of the last Collection, be dispos'd of to charitable and pious uses by the Pastor and Deacons according to their best Discretion.

J. SEWALL.

The year now closing had been an exciting one politically, and the struggle for self-government, which was to develop into a war for independence, had fairly begun. The people of the province and the town were dividing into two strongly opposed



*And Oliver*

parties, and the internal peace of the churches was, of necessity, more or less disturbed. We have no knowledge of any special manifestation of the spirit of division at the Old South ; but several of its members belonged to the celebrated Caucus Club, of which James Otis, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Pemberton, and Samuel Adams were the leading spirits, while the conservative or loyal party was represented in the congregation by men equally decided in their opinions. The Stamp Act received the royal assent in the month of March ; the news reached Boston in April, and excited mingled alarm and

indignation throughout the province, as well as in the other colonies. Mr. Secretary Oliver was appointed a commissioner for

the sale of the odious stamps ; and so intense was the feeling against him that in August a crowd of indignant people hung him in effigy from the old elm known as the Liberty Tree, attacked his house on Fort Hill, broke his windows, and made a bonfire before his door, in which they burnt the effigy and the frame of a building which he was raising for a stamp office. A few days later, the mansion of his brother-in-law, Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, was sacked. These acts of violence were frowned upon by the wisest and best men on the patriotic side, who could not always control the masses of the people.<sup>1</sup> Before the close of the year, a report obtained circulation that Mr. Oliver was seeking a confirmation as stamp commissioner, and he was called upon to make a statement, which he did on the 17th of December, declaring in the most explicit and unreserved manner, that he had never taken any measures to act in the office, and that he would never by himself, or by any one under him, do anything for the enforcement of the Stamp Act in America, which, he said, "is so grievous to the people." This, however, was not satisfactory ; and he was required to appear under the Liberty Tree, there to renounce the commissionership in form, which he did, in the presence of several thousand people.<sup>2</sup> All this, of course, caused intense suffering to himself and his family. So far as we can judge, he continued to hold the confidence and regard of his Christian brethren, and we shall presently see him and Mr. Otis serving together on a committee to ask Mr. Blair's acceptance of a call to the colleague pastorate.

Mr. Samuel Bass, "for many years a noted tanner," died January 9, 1766. He had long been a useful member of the church. He lived in Water Street, on a part of the site now occupied by the post-office. His son, Samuel Bass, and his daughter, Christian Armstrong, were members ; and, in 1829, his grandson, Samuel Turell Armstrong, was chosen a deacon.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation, April 28. 1766.

Voted that it is the desire of this Society that a Colleague-Pastor may be settled with the Rev. Dr Sewall.

This vote was unanimous.

Voted that this Meeting be adjourn'd to next Monday, 11 a clock

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Adams wrote of these proceedings as "high-handed outrages," in a letter to Richard Jackson, colonial agent in London.

<sup>2</sup> *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. iii. p. 15. Another member of the Old South, William Story, resigned his place in the registry office at this time.

A. M: And that Mr. Blair be desir'd by the Deacons to continue preaching with us.

The Brethren of the Church then stayed, and Voted, That they would meet, God willing, for the choice of a Pastor to be Colleague with the Revd. Dr Sewall next Monday 9 a clock A. M.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the South Church, May 5. 1766, 9 o'clock A. M.

After prayer to God, as usual

Voted, That the Church will now come to the choice of a Colleague pastor with the Rev. Dr Sewall.

Accordingly the Church proceeded to a choice by written Votes, and upon counting the Votes, it appeared, that the Revd. Mr. Samuel Blair was chosen by a unanimous vote.

To which vote I consent,

JOSEPH SEWALL, Pastor.

Voted That the Revd. Dr. Sewall, Pastor, The Honble John Osborne Esqr. The Honble. Andrew Oliver Esqr, the Deacons, and Thomas Cushing Esqr. be a Committee to wait on Mr. Blair and acquaint Him with the choice the Church has made.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a meeting of the South Church and Congregation May 5. 1766, 11 o'Clock A. M.

The Vote of the Church being laid before the Congregation, the Question was put, Whether they concurred in the Vote of the Church in their choice of the Revd. Mr. Samuel Blair for a colleague pastor with the Revd Dr. Sewall.

It past in the affirmative unanimously.

Then Voted, That the Revd. Mr. Samuel Blair be allowed, in case he shall accept of this call, Two pounds thirteen shillings and four pence pr week as a Salary, Wood for His Study, and the Rent of the parsonage House occupied by the Honble John Osborne Esqr. at the Rate he now gives; all which shall commence from this Day: And that when Mr. Blair shall see fit to settle in a Family by Himself, he be allowed the like quantity of wood, which is allowed to the other pastor, and that provision be then made for a suitable House for Him to dwell in.

Voted That Joshua Winslow Esq. the Honble James Otis Esqr Mr. John Greenleaf, Samuel Fitch Esqr. Mr. Samuel Deming and Byfield Lyde Esq. be a Committee, with the Committee of the Church to acquaint Mr. Blair with the above Votes.

Voted That Mr. Blair be desired by the Committee to continue preaching with us.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At the above meeting of the Church, The Committee, appointed to examine the Deacons Accounts, at a Meeting of the Church and Con-

gregation Octo. 14th. 1765, laid their Account of the Church Stock before the Church, and reported thereon as follows

"Jany. 1. 1766 We have examined the above Account and find it to be the true State of the Church Stock in the Deacons Hands, at this time, being Eight hundred seventy four pounds fourteen shillings and three pence, L. money, which will appear p Account on File.

ANDREW OLIVER  
THOMAS HUBBARD  
JOSHUA WINSLOW."

The Question was put to the Church and they accepted the said Report and Account also.

The pastor and Deacons laid before the Church the Distribution of Mrs. Ireland's Legacy for one year, being eight pounds L. M. agreeable to the Tenor of Her will as p Account thereof on File.

JOSEPH SEWALL.<sup>1</sup>

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation May 5th 1766, 11 a Clock A. M.

The Committee appointed to examine the Deacons Accounts, at a meeting of the Church and Congregation, Octor. 14: 1765, laid their Accounts to the 1st January 1766, before the Society, and reported thereon as follows

"Jany. 1: 1766. We have examined the above accounts, find the same right cast, well vouch'd, and that the Balance now in the Deacons Hands is One hundred pounds three shillings and four pence three farthings as above.

ANDREW OLIVER  
THOMAS HUBBARD  
JOSHUA WINSLOW,"

which was read and accepted

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At the same meeting, upon a motion made by Mr. Secretary Oliver and seconded,

Voted That Ten pounds, lawful Money be given to the Revd Mr. Walley, in consideration of His past Services and readiness to help us, upon all occasions.

JOSEPH SEWALL.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Mary Ireland, by her will, proved October 17, 1763, bequeathed £133. 6. 8, lawful money, for the benefit of the poor of the Old South Church. She gave a sacramental cup to the church, which is still in use.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Rev. John Walley was dismissed from his church at Ipswich at his own request, February 22, 1764. He was afterward (1773) settled at Bolton,

and died in Roxbury, March 2, 1784. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel and Elizabeth Appleton. They had no children.

For an account of the controversy between his predecessor at Bolton, the Rev. Thomas Goss, and the church there, see the *Boston Gazette*, September 6, 1773, and some pamphlets printed at the time.]



At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation by adjournment, Aug. 11. 1766.

Voted, that the Deacons be desir'd to take care that what is further needed towards repairing the Meeting House, be done so soon as conveniently may be. J. SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the South Church Octor 28th. 1766.

The Rev. Mr. Blair was sent for and exhibited His Testimonials and Dismission from the Presbytery of New Castle in Pennsylvania, and His Confession of Faith agreeable to that of the Elders and Messengers of the Churches conven'd May 12th. 1680, and declared that he would make no alteration in our Church Discipline.

Voted That the Day of His Instalment be, God willing, on the 26th of Novr next.

Voted That the Church will not proceed to take any steps toward a publick Entertainment on said Day.

Voted That these Churches be sent to : viz : the Old Church, the North Church, the Church in Brattle Street, the New South Church, the Rev. Mr. Pemberton's, the New North, Rev Mr. Mather's, and Dr Byles's churches in this Town and desir'd to assist by their Elders and Messengers at said Instalment.

Voted That the Elders and Messengers be desired to meet at the pastor's House by two a'clock P. M.

Voted That our Revd pastor be desired to give the Charge.

Voted That the Brethren of the Church sit together in the Front Gallery and that such of our Brethren as constantly sit down with us at the Lord's Table be desired to sit with them.

It will be seen that the church passed upon the clerical as well as Christian standing of its pastor-elect, when it admitted him to its membership.

On his way to Boston, after his acceptance of the call, Mr. Blair was shipwrecked in the night, losing his wardrobe and manuscripts, and escaping narrowly with his life. His exposure on this occasion injured his health, and the loss of his sermons, which he had written with great care, depressed his spirits.<sup>1</sup>

Novr. 16. 1766. The Brethren stay'd and Voted that there be a Collection for Charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving, Novr. 27. Instant : And that the Rest of the Congregation be notified the next Lords' Day, and be desired to assist in said collection. J. SEWALL.

Novr : 23d : The Rest of the Brethren of the Congregation were notified accordingly.

<sup>1</sup> Sprague's *Annals*, vol. iii. pp. 268, 269.

For some reason unexplained, Mr. Blair's installation took place one week earlier than the date fixed by the church, the 26th of November. In the Boston Gazette of Monday, November 24, we find the following : —

Wednesday last [19th] the Rev. Mr. Blair was installed to the Pastoral Care of the Old South Church in this Town as Colleague with the Rev. Dr. Sewall. The Rev. Mr. Pemberton began the Solemnity with Prayer, then the Rev. Mr. Blair preach'd an excellent Discourse, and well adapted to the Occasion, from Rom. xi. 13. after which the Rev. Dr. Sewall gave the Charge, the Rev. Mr. Mather the Right Hand of Fellowship, and the Rev. Dr. Chauncy made the concluding Prayer : The whole was conducted with such Decency and Propriety, as afforded universal Satisfaction to a large and crowded Auditory, who assembled on this Occasion.

It is not to be supposed that the splenetic letters which appeared in the Boston Gazette five years before had anything to do with the decision of the brethren to provide no entertainment on this occasion. Fair and honest criticism, offered in the interest of the truth or of high Christian expediency, is always worthy of respectful consideration, from whatever source it may come ; but unreasoning and irresponsible accusation, whether prompted by malice, or the product of a merely mischief-making spirit, deserves not a moment's attention, by whomsoever it may be made. The recommendation of the convention of ministers in 1759 may have been remembered ; but it must be borne in mind that the circumstances were very different, when Mr. Blair was installed, from those existing when Mr. Cumming was ordained. Political excitement was now running high, and the people were beginning to practise a rigid economy in many ways. An entertainment that would have been altogether fitting at any other time would have been of very questionable propriety now. Not many months later, when the news came to hand of the passage of Charles Townshend's revenue act, the declaration was made in Boston : " The Rubicon is passed. . . . We will form an immediate and universal combination to eat nothing, drink nothing, wear nothing, imported from Great Britain." <sup>1</sup>

One of the most remarkable forms of retrenchment at this period was in the management of funerals. The expenditures on these occasions had long been most lavish, and the General

<sup>1</sup> *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. iii. pp. 21, 22.

Court in 1721, and again in 1741, had endeavored to reform them, but without effect.<sup>1</sup> Patriotic motives now controlled, where previously exhortation and legislation in the interest of economy had been unavailing. In one of the newspapers we read : —

The Practice of the Town relative to Funerals, by which a saving has been made of 100,000 is to give Gloves only to Bearers and Ministers : to make use of no other Mourning for the nearest Relative, than a Weed in the Hat for Men, and a Black Bonnet, Gloves, Ribbons and Handkerchiefs for Women. Fifteen hundred or two Thousand Pair of British-made Gloves have been given or rather thrown away at one Funeral, before the new practized [*sic*] took Place — and such Families in Boston as expended £100. or £150. sterling on these Occasions, now expend scarcely £8. What a Saving will there be to the Province by the several Towns following Boston in this grand Particular.<sup>2</sup>

While such retrenchment as this was in progress ordination dinners might well be omitted.

The settlement of Mr. Cumming and Mr. Blair, at the Old South ; of Mr. Potter, at Brookline ; of Mr. Whitwell, at Marblehead ; of Mr. Huntington, at Salem ; and, later, of Mr. Lathrop, at the Old North ; of Mr. Bacon, at the Old South ; and of Mr. Howe, at the New South ; illustrates the growing favor with which at this period Princeton and Yale — the former particularly — were regarded by the churches of Eastern Massachusetts. Various circumstances combined to this result. Governor Belcher's old friends would naturally feel an interest in the college of which he had been one of the chief founders ; and Mr. Pemberton, on his return to New England, and Mr. Cumming, both of whom had been trustees at Princeton, would be likely to keep that interest alive.<sup>3</sup> But this was not all. President Quincy points out that as a consequence of the discussions and divisions caused by Mr. Whitefield's first visit here, the ties between Harvard College and the churches had weakened, and that many of these churches began to look elsewhere for their ministers than to "the school of the prophets"

<sup>1</sup> When the Rev. Mr. Cooper died in 1743, £895. was collected in the congregation to meet the expenses of the funeral, and to put his family, consisting of ten persons, and Dr. Colman, into mourning. Among the purchases were twenty-nine rings, for the ministers of the

Association, and twelve dozen pair of men's and women's gloves.

<sup>2</sup> [*Boston Gazette*, December 14, 1767.]

<sup>3</sup> Two Princeton graduates have been influential ministers in Boston within recent years, — Edward Norris Kirk (1820) and Joseph Tuthill Duryea (1856).

to which they had had recourse for more than a hundred years.<sup>1</sup> From 1769 to 1882 the Old South was served by ministers from other colleges than Harvard, except during the two very brief pastorates of the Rev. John Hunt (1771 to 1775) and the Rev. Samuel H. Stearns (1834 to 1836). This fact should not be pressed unduly, for other Boston churches in full doctrinal sympathy with the Old South called Harvard graduates to their pulpits during this period ; but it has a certain significance, or at least suggestiveness, which entitles it to mention.

Thanksgiving 27th Novr. 1766

|                                      | Old Tenor.               |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Collected . . . . .                  | £359. 6. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Appropriated vizt :                  |                          |
| To the Rev Mr. Campbel . . . . .     | 2. 0. 0                  |
| Rev. Ivory Hovey . . . . .           | 4. 10. 0                 |
| Rev. Mr. Brett . . . . .             | 12. 0. 0                 |
| The Charitable Fund . . . . .        | 2. 5. 0                  |
|                                      | <hr/>                    |
|                                      | 20. 15. 0                |
| To Several of this Society . . . . . | 11. 5. 0                 |
|                                      | <hr/>                    |
|                                      | 32. 0. 0                 |
| At large . . . . .                   | 327. 6. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  |

Decr. 14th The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed after service of the Day and Voted

That the unappropriated part of the last Collection be dispos'd of to Charitable and pious uses by the Pastors and Deacons according to their best Discretion.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation

Tuesday, Decemr 16th 1766.

The Honble Andrew Oliver was chosen Moderator.

The Deacons, who were appointed to repair the Meeting House, having laid before the Society the Account of Charge, it appeared that there was about two hundred and twenty pounds remaining due : there were two or three Bills not yet brought in, which makes the precise Sum uncertain.

And in order to raise the money to discharge this Balance

Voted That there be an assessment on the several Pews in the House as follows viz : Five Dollars on each of the Pews below Two

<sup>1</sup> President Quincy presents the following figures for comparison in reference to graduates. During the eight years, 1745-1752, inclusive, there were graduated at Harvard 194, at Yale 179. During the eight years, 1753-1760, inclusive, there were graduated at Harvard 205, at Yale 254.



and a half Dollars on each of the Front Pews in the Gallery One and a quarter on each of the Back Pews in the Gallery.

And that the several pew Holders be desired to put the respective sums thus assessed on them into the Contribution Box on the first Lords Day in January and mark the same :

But, if any Persons find it inconvenient to pay the said assessment on that Day, that they be desired to put it into the Box as soon as they can conveniently afterwards, not exceeding the month of January if possible, and mark the money as aforesaid.

And it is desired that other persons, not Pew Holders would, on the said First Lord's Day in January next, or on some succeeding Lord's Day in the said Month, contribute to the service as their respective Circumstances will allow : it being hereby declared that what ever shall be contributed in the said Month more than sufficient to pay the usual allowance to the Pastors shall be deemed as contributed for the purpose aforesaid.

Also voted That the Honble. John Osborne Esqr be desired to pay into the Hands of the Deacons what money now is, or may hereafter come into his Hands belonging to the Society, on Account of the Pews.

Voted That the Deacons be desired to make an Estimate of the Arrearages due from the several Pews in the House and lay the same before the society as soon as may be that so measures may be taken for collecting them.

Voted That if, after all the money is collected that can be raised in either or all the methods before mentioned, it shall appear there is any Deficiency ; it will then be expected that such Deficiency, when the sum is known, be raised by a voluntary subscription or by contribution as shall then be agreed on.

As there are divers vacancies in the Committee of Seaters, Voted that the said Vacancies be filled up at some future meeting, and that the Church and Congregation be notified beforehand when such Elections are proposed to be made.

Not many months after the settlement of Mr. Blair at the Old South, — in the autumn of 1767, — he was elected by the unanimous vote of the Trustees of the College of New Jersey to the presidency of that institution, as the successor of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Finley. The Rev. John Witherspoon, a distinguished Scotch clergyman, had previously been chosen, and had declined. It was understood afterward, however, that circumstances were so changed that Mr. Witherspoon would reconsider his decision not to come to America if he had an opportunity to do so. When Mr. Blair learned this he at once, with rare magnanimity, declined the appointment, so as to open the way

for the renewal of the call to Mr. Witherspoon. The election of so young a man as Mr. Blair to this high position testifies to the exceptional reputation which he had already achieved.

Novr. 22. 1767 The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed and Voted, that there be a Collection for charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving, Decr. 3. next: And that the rest of the Congregation be notified the next Lord's Day, and be desir'd to assist in said Collection.

J. SEWALL.

Novr. 29. Congregation notified.

Thanksgiving Decr 3. 1767

|                               |           |
|-------------------------------|-----------|
| Collected . . . . .           | 359. 6. 7 |
| Appropriated                  |           |
| To Mr. Ab. Adams . . . . .    | 8. 18. 9  |
| Rev'd. Mr. Campbell . . . . . | 3. 0. 0   |
| Mr. Hovey . . . . .           | 4. 5. 0   |
| Mr. Brett . . . . .           | 3. 0. 0   |

|                    |            |
|--------------------|------------|
|                    | 19. 3. 9   |
| At large . . . . . | 340. 2. 10 |

|                 |           |
|-----------------|-----------|
| Total . . . . . | 359. 6. 7 |
|-----------------|-----------|

J. SEWALL.

This was Dr. Sewall's last entry upon the record-book.<sup>1</sup> As we note this closing of an epoch in the history of the church, we recall the last verse of the Seventy-second Psalm: "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended."

<sup>1</sup> Thanksgiving, Decr. 3. 1767 collected 359. 6. 7.

Appropriated

To Mr. Ab. Adams 8. 18. 9.

Rev'd Mr. Campbell 3. 0. 0

Mr. Hovey 4. 5. 0

Mr. Brett 3. 0. 0

At Large 340. 2. 10. total 359. 6. 7.

J. Sewall.



### CHAPTER III.

1768-1771

#### CHANGES IN THE PASTORATE. — TOWN MEETINGS.

**W**E have no record of any action by the church in 1768, except in its dealing with two cases of discipline.

At a meeting of the South Church in Boston February 29th 1768.

It was Voted, That a Committee be chosen to inquire into several matters of complaint against some of their Brethren that had been laid before them ; and that said Committee make report of what evidences they can ascertain of the truth of such offensive conduct as had been respectively laid to their charge.

The Church appointed a committee accordingly, consisting of their Pastors and Deacons.

This committee, on the 28th of July, reported serious charges made and sustained against two brethren, and at an adjourned meeting on Monday, August 1, they were sentenced to public excommunication on the next Lord's Day. From the marked severity with which these cases, involving a violation of the laws of morality, were dealt with, as compared with others which came before the church several months later, involving a departure in certain particulars from the doctrinal standards of the time, it will be seen that character rather than creed was the test in determining the qualifications for good and regular standing in the membership.

The Rev. Samuel Checkley, pastor of the Second Church, died March 19, after a ministry of twenty-one years. On the

18th of May next following, Mr. John Lathrop, who had been fixed upon as his colleague, was ordained as his successor. Mr. Lathrop was born in Norwich, Connecticut, in 1740, and graduated at Princeton in 1763. To guard against the danger of departure from the "doctrines of grace, and the old form of faith and discipline adopted in the New England churches," he was desired to appear before the church, and at its request Mr. Pemberton asked him a variety of questions concerning his sentiments "upon many of the great doctrines of the gospel." This examination of a candidate for ordination, in the presence of a church which was thinking of calling him, by its request, and probably in private session, by a neighboring minister invited for the purpose, was an altogether different thing from the cross-examination in public of a pastor-elect, in reference to whose personal standing and doctrinal position a church has already satisfied itself, by a company of men who assume as the representatives of neighboring churches, to decide whether or not this church shall settle the man of its choice. In the first instance we have an illustration of pure Congregationalism; in the second, we have something of a nondescript nature in church polity, answering more nearly than anything else perhaps to oligarchical power in the state.

The Second Church, in true Congregational form, passed upon Mr. Lathrop's answers, and declared itself entirely satisfied. At a subsequent meeting, Mr. Pemberton presented a confession of faith drawn up by Mr. Lathrop, and a certificate from a number of ministers in Windham County, Connecticut, recommending him to any church that might think of calling him. These papers also were declared satisfactory, and the church then gave him an unanimous call. He preached his own ordination sermon, from Philippians i. 17; Dr. Sewall, who was moderator, offered prayer; Mr. Pemberton gave the charge, and Dr. Mather Byles the right hand of fellowship.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robbins's *History of the Second Church*, pp. 125, 126. Ware's *Two Discourses*, p. 53.

The Rev. John Lathrop wrote from Boston, January 20, 1769:—

"You mention that you hear that the Convention of Ministers in this Province have actually voted to lay aside all creeds and confessions. I wish there was not too much occasion for such a report. They did not actually vote to

lay aside creeds and confessions. They have been pretty generally laid aside; and the motion was to revive them, and that candidates should be examined and introduced in the manner they are in Connecticut. This was urged by Dr. Sewall and Mr. Pemberton; it was also opposed by others; but, the forenoon being spent, a vote was desired whether the matter should be considered again after dinner, and passed quite full that it



Some time during the year 1768 the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, then of Great Barrington, preached his celebrated sermon at the Old South, on "the Importance and Necessity of Christians considering Jesus Christ in the Extent of his high and glorious Character." His text was Hebrews iii. 1: "Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Christ Jesus." The sermon was published at the desire of many of the hearers, and the preacher wrote concerning it: "It was composed with a design to preach it in Boston, as I expected soon to go there, under a conviction that the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was much neglected, if not disbelieved, by a number of the ministers in Boston." <sup>1</sup>

On the 14th of June, the first of those great popular meetings was held in the Old South meeting-house which have made its walls famous in the annals of civil liberty. An English frigate had recently arrived in the harbor, for the enforcement of the new revenue laws, and a vessel belonging to John Hancock had been seized for an alleged infraction of them. Men also had been impressed for service in the royal navy. The public excitement and indignation were intense, and a town meeting was called for, to give orderly expression and emphatic utterance to the popular feeling. Such a meeting was convened by the selectmen in Faneuil Hall, "but the hall not being large enough to contain one half of those who attended, they adjourned to the Old South meeting house." James Otis, one of the idols of the hour, was chosen moderator, and made one of his stirring and effective speeches. A petition to Governor Bernard was adopted, and a committee appointed to carry it to him at his country seat in Jamaica Plain. The meeting was then adjourned

should not. As soon as it was passed, one of the Convention declared his most earnest hope that the matter might never be laid before the Convention again. However, he need not have showed himself in that manner, for if it should be while the Convention consists of ministers now upon the stage, there is no manner of prospect that a vote can be obtained to bring creeds and confessions into use."—Sprague's *Annals of the Am. Unit. Pulpit*, p. 71.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hopkins was dismissed from his charge at Great Barrington January 18,

1769, after a pastorate there of twenty-five years. Dr. Sprague says: "In April and May succeeding, he preached several Sabbaths at the Old South Church, Boston, and a portion of the congregation would gladly have retained him as a colleague with Dr. Sewall, but the majority opposed the measure." There is nothing in the church records to this effect. Mr. Blair had not yet given any intimation of his purpose to resign, but Dr. Sewall was evidently near his end, and some may have thought of Mr. Hopkins as a successor to him.

to the next day, but before the citizens dispersed Mr. Otis addressed to them the following significant language: "The grievance the people labor under may in time be removed; if not, and we are called on to defend our liberty and privileges, I hope and believe we shall, one and all, resist unto blood; but, at the same time, I pray Almighty God it may never so happen." On the following day a letter of reply was presented from the governor, and Mr. Otis reported that His Excellency had received the committee with courtesy, and had manifested a disposition to do what he could to fulfil the demands of the people.

Of this town meeting it has been said: "It was in harmony, in principle and in object, with the views of a great people. It was an illustration of an intelligent American opinion, appearing as an actor on the public stage. And hence it indicated, not a mere ripple on the top of shallow waters, but a groundswell of an ocean-tide of irresistible and providential power." A large majority of the regular attendants at the Old South were in sympathy with it, and with others like it which followed, and they cordially consented to this political use of their house of worship. Dr. Sewall, too, was in full accord with the popular movement. In an obituary notice which appeared at the time of his death we read:—

He was greatly alarmed with every motion to introduce the Hierarchy into these Colonies, whose predecessors had, at the peril of every earthly comfort, fled from the face of ecclesiastical tyranny. Nor was he less jealous of the attempts made to deprive us of our civil rights and privileges. Though he warmly press'd submission to the powers that be, while they are the ministers of God for good to their subjects, yet he was greatly affected with the encroachments lately made upon us, and could not think a people were to be blamed for adhering to liberties that had been purchased at so dear a rate. These things lay with weight on his mind as long as he lived, he spake with freedom, and some degree of warmth, on this interesting topic, and often addressed heaven to interpose for our relief. His prayers, we trust, have been heard and will be graciously answered.<sup>1</sup>

The citizens of Boston not only listened for the bell in the Old South steeple to summon them to their patriotic assemblies, but they selected the same steeple as the most central and conspicuous place for the erection of a public clock. The following memorial, signed by Gawen Brown, a celebrated clock-maker of the time, explains itself:<sup>2</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> [Boston *Evening Post*, July 3, 1769.] into our possession. Children of Gawen

<sup>2</sup> This memorial has recently come and Mary Brown were baptized at the

To the Society Meeting in the South Church in Boston.

*Gentlemen*

Having made a Clock suitable for publick Use a Number of the Inhabitants of the Town are desirous to purchase the same by a Voluntary subscription, provided it may be put Up on the Steeple of your Church, that being the most Convenient scituation for s'd purpose on many Accounts.

These are therefore humbly to Request your consent thereto, and that you would give your Petitioner Liberty to put up the same accordingly, and I Promise and Engage provided said Permission is granted, that the same shall be put Up and continued there forever, free of Charge to the Society.

Your Humble Servant

BOSTON, July 23d 1768.

GAWEN BROWN.

The records are silent on the subject, but the request of the petitioner was, no doubt, readily granted. There seems to have been some delay in carrying out the plan, owing, perhaps, to a difficulty in obtaining subscriptions, for, after all, the cost of the clock was paid by the town, in 1774.<sup>1</sup> In the Boston Gazette, April 16, 1770, it is said:—

The Great Clock at Dr. Sewall's Meeting-House, made by Gawen Brown of this Town, goes with such Regularity and Exactness, that for this fourteen weeks it has not lost but two minutes of Time.

The Hon. John Osborne died on the 27th of August. He had been a member of the church since 1721, and was the treasurer of the society at the time of his death.

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Society under the Pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Sewall and Mr. Samuel Blair, Oct. 31. 1768.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Revd. Mr. Blair.

The Hon. Andrew Oliver Esq. was chosen Moderator, but desired to be excused, as he was obliged to retire upon some special business.

Thomas Cushing was then chosen Moderator.

Upon a motion made and seconded it was voted to proceed to the choice of a Treasurer.

The Votes being brought in and sorted it appeared that the Hon. Thomas Hubbard Esq. was chosen.

Col. Marshall and Capt. Thomas Dawes were appointed a Committee to wait upon the Hon Thomas Hubbard Esq. and to acquaint

South Church in 1757 and 1758; and Gawen Brown, son of John and Sarah Newman, was baptized there March 26, 1769.

the Town chose a committee to purchase the Clock of Gawen Brown, and to have the same fixed on the Old South Meeting House. — *Boston Gazette*, April 4,

<sup>1</sup> At a Town Meeting, March 30, 1774, 1774. It cost £80 lawful money.

Him that the Society had made choice of him for their Treasurer and to know his answer.

Voted, That the Hon. Andrew Oliver Thomas Hubbard and Joshua Winslow Esqrs be a Committee to examine the Deacons accounts and report.

Whereas this society when they made choice of Mr. Samuel Blair for their Pastor Voted, that as soon as he saw to settle in a family, to make provision of a suitable House for him to dwell in, and whereas the Revd. Mr. Blair is now settled in a family, therefore Voted that the Deacons be and hereby are empowered to provide a House suitable for Him to reside in according to their best discretion, and that Deacon Phillips be allowed for the rent he has already engaged for in Behalf of Mr. Blair since his marriage.

Voted That the Deacons be a Committee till further order to cause such repairs to be made to the ministerial Houses and other Buildings belonging to this Society as they may think prudent, and that they let the ministerial House now empty for the most that it will rent for.

Voted, There be a Committee of seven chosen to stand for one year, and till further order to have the direction and ordering of affairs relative to the Pews and seats in the meeting House; and the votes being brought in and sorted, it appeared that the Hon. Andrew Oliver Esq. Joshua Winslow, Joseph Jackson, Thomas Cushing, Arnold Welles, William Phillips and David Jeffries Esqrs were chosen.

Mr. David Jeffries desiring to be excused Votes were called for and brought in for another Person in his Room, and upon being sorted it appeared that Mr. Jonathan Mason was chosen.

Voted, That Andrew Oliver, Joseph Jackson and Joshua Winslow Esqrs be a Committee to examine the late Treasurer Osborne's accmpts.

Then the meeting was dissolved.

THOMS. CUSHING Modr.

Mr. Blair had recently married a daughter of William Shippen the elder, an eminent physician of Philadelphia. It does not appear that the dwelling occupied by the earlier ministers of the church was ever used again as a parsonage after Mrs. Prince vacated it.

February 23rd 1769

At a Meeting of the South Church, a question being proposed "whether the Church would hereafter require a *Relation of Experiences* as a Term of Communion?" It was voted in the Negative.

At a meeting of the South Church, March 2d 1769.

Voted, That the following Profession be hereafter required of Persons who seek admission to full Communion, (viz:)

You do solemnly profess your Belief in the One Only Living and



True God, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, in whose Name you have been Baptized: you acknowledge that in virtue of this great privilege you are indispensibly bound to devote yourself to Him to love obey and serve Him according to His gospel And you do now declare that as far as you know your own Heart it is your unfeigned desire and prevailing disposition so to do, agreeable to the obligation you have owned.

You do further profess your Belief in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as a Revelation of God, which contains the words of Eternal Life, and is the only perfect rule of faith and practice. And particularly you profess to believe what God has therein revealed concerning the Fall of man, and consequent Depravity of Human Nature; concerning the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, His Incarnation, His obedience and sufferings, His Resurrection and Intercession, Concerning the Necessity of Faith in His Righteousness as that on the merit of which alone we may expect the forgiveness of our Sins and acceptance with God, And lastly concerning the necessity of the influences of the Holy Spirit of God to renew and sanctify us, and to quicken us to a life of Evangelical obedience.

These things you profess.

[It was agreed that the Church should here signify their admission of the Person who may have made this Profession.]

What follows, is the Covenant with the Church to be administered after admission. —

As you have now been admitted by this Church to a full Communion with them in the special privileges of Christ's visible Kingdom, You do solemnly promise to walk with them in a due submission to and attendance upon all the Orders and Ordinances of the Gospel and that thro the Help of the Spirit you will endeavour to adorn the Profession you have made with a Holy Blameless fruitful Conversation.

Thus you promise.

We do also by the Help of the same Spirit promise you that we will carry it towards you as towards one bro't up with us in the Fellowship of the Saints: We will watch over you not for your halting, but for your edification. We will counsel reprove comfort and exhort you as your circumstances and our acquaintance therewith shall require.

This form seems to us very inferior in power and fervency of expression, to the covenant which had been in use in the church for a hundred years. It embodies the nearest approach to a doctrinal statement, as a prerequisite to admission to membership, which was ever adopted at the Old South. The statement is very guarded and qualified in its terms, but it was all that the brethren were willing to consent to, as a concession to Mr. Blair, and it continued in force just eight months.

At a meeting of the South Church, May 9th 1769.

Richard Gridley, Shippey Townsend having withdrawn irregularly from the Communion of the Church, and the Church having appointed a Committee consisting of their Pastors and Deacons to converse with them on said conduct, and to endeavour to convince them of their error, so that they might be induced to return to that Christian Fellowship, in which they had covenanted to walk, which Committee had reported that their conference had not had the desired success, said Brethren declaring that they acted on the principles of Conscience, and that they could not see their way clear to return, The Church upon mature consideration voted, to forbear any further Judicial attention to said Conduct of said Brethren and to leave them to God and their own consciences.

SAML. BLAIR Pastor.

We have assumed that Richard Gridley who joined the church in 1756 was the military engineer who served the province and the British crown with so much distinction at Louisburg, Crown Point, and Quebec, and who, in the interest of the patriot party, in 1775, planned the fortifications on Breed's Hill, and, a year later, those on Dorchester Heights. After the fall of Quebec he went to England, and was cordially welcomed there. He received a grant of the Magdalen Islands for his services, with an extensive seal and cod fishery, and half-pay as a British officer. He was absent from Boston much of the time, but he purchased a house in Prince Street in 1762, and probably occupied it. In 1776, when engaged on the fortifications on Cape Ann, he listened to the preaching of the Rev. John Murray, and from that time became one of his most earnest friends and followers.<sup>1</sup> He lived in Canton during the later years of his

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Murray, the first avowed preacher of ultimate and universal salvation in New England, arrived in Boston in the autumn of 1773. He preached then, and during a second visit a year later, in the hall of the Manufactory House, in Faneuil Hall, and in the meeting-house of the Rev. Mr. Croswell, many of whose people eagerly embraced the new views, although he himself controverted them with his usual polemic earnestness. It was some time before the First Universalist Church in Boston was gathered. In 1785 its members purchased and enlarged the meeting-house in Hanover Street, in which the Rev. Samuel Mather had preached for forty years. Shippey Townsend's name headed the list of con-

tributors, and he was chosen deacon. Between 1785 and 1793 he published ten or more pamphlets in defence of the doctrines of his church, and in 1794 gathered them into a volume. He died in 1798.

Mr. Murray was a disciple of the Rev. James Rely, of London, who had been a follower of Mr. Whitefield. He believed in the Trinity, in the ruin of man through Adam, and his redemption through Christ. He believed that the redemption was as absolute and universal as the ruin. But he distinguished between redemption and salvation. The redemption in Christ, by a decree of God who orders all things, was at once universal and complete; but salvation, resulting from a knowledge of that re-

life, and suffered some persecution for his religious views ; but the present generation has done him justice, and has raised a monument to his memory.<sup>1</sup>

Shippie Townsend, who joined the church in 1763, was a blockmaker ;<sup>2</sup> his shop was on Barrett's Wharf, "two wharves below the Draw-Bridge in Anne Street," and he lived in Cross Street. He was a man of fair education, he had a superficial knowledge of the Scriptures, and he could use his pen with facility. He became a follower of Robert Sandeman, who arrived in Boston from Scotland in 1764, and who, with other peculiarities of doctrine, denied the necessity of spiritual conversion, represented faith as an operation of the intellect, and held that speculative belief was sufficient to ensure final justification. Mr. Sandeman preached for a time at the Green Dragon Tavern ; his friends built him a meeting-house near the Mill Pond, which was burnt in 1773 ; they then worshipped in a school-house, and later at Mr. Townsend's, until the completion of a new meeting-house in Middle, now Hanover Street. It is possible that Colonel Gridley was also a Sandemanian, as he and Mr. Townsend seem to have been friends and were probably neighbors.

In May, 1769, Mr. Blair took a journey to Philadelphia,<sup>3</sup> and while there he had a severe illness, which, it was thought, had given a shock to his constitution from which it could never recover. Soon after his departure, his venerable colleague, who

demption, is not yet universal, but is destined to become so. — See Article by the Rev. A. A. Miner, *Mém. Hist. of Boston*, vol. iii. pp. 483-489.

<sup>1</sup> When the people of Canton, in 1783, celebrated the Declaration of Peace with holiday rejoicings and religious services, Richard Gridley, of whom General Washington had said that he knew no man better qualified than he to be chief engineer of the army, remained at home unhonored and unnoticed. Upon asking an intimate friend why he had received no invitation to the celebration, he was told, "Because, General, you are not considered a Christian by those who have this matter in charge." His reply, worthy of the old hero, is inscribed in part on the monument which the present generation has erected in his honor: "I love my God, my country, and my neighbour

as myself. If they have any better religion, I should like to know what it is." See *Oration*, by D. T. V. Huntoon, May 30, 1877.

<sup>2</sup> A child of Shippie and Mehetabel Townsend was baptized in 1748, and children of Shippie and Ann Townsend were baptized in 1750 and later.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Sewall's last entry on the record of baptisms was under date of August 21, 1768: "Hannah, of Samuel and Hannah Fenno." Another child of the same name and parentage was baptized by Dr. Chauncy, May 14, 1770.

May 28, 1769: "Elizabeth of William and Mary Swett Joseph of Samuel and Susannah Chandler These were baptized pr Rev Mr. Haven of Portsmouth who was here occasionally and Dr. Sewall was sick and Mr. Blair gone a journey."

had been in failing health for several months, ceased from his earthly labors and entered into rest.<sup>1</sup> Since 1713 he had labored in the gospel ministry, "with as little intermission, by reason of those infirmities to which we are all subject, as has been ordinarily known. Few ministers ever enjoyed a more uninterrupted state of health, going on with more steady constancy in his public labors for the Lord." He died on the evening of Tuesday the 27th of June, in the eighty-first year of his age, and the fifty-sixth of his pastorate. The church and congregation met on Wednesday morning, but there was no minister to enter their proceedings upon the record-book. We read in one of the newspapers:—



The Church and Congregation met at the Meeting-House Yesterday Morning, when they voted to bury the Remains of their deceased Pastor in the most decent Manner, at the same Time to adhere strictly to the Regulations of not wearing Mourning; and also voted to desire those who attend the Funeral, to conform to the said Regulations.

On the following Sunday Dr. Chauncy preached a funeral sermon from the Old South pulpit, from Hebrews vi. 12: "That ye be . . . followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises."<sup>2</sup> From this sermon, we take a few sentences:—

His discourses from the pulpit were chiefly upon the distinguishing, and most important points of Christianity, relative both to faith and practice. They were the effect of study; composures discovering judgment, and an intimate acquaintance with the holy Scriptures.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sewall left only one child, Deacon Samuel Sewall. His wife Elizabeth (Walley) died October 27, 1756. The above portrait is from a likeness engraved on copper by Nathaniel Hurd in 1764. For a sacramental cup which commemorates Dr. Sewall, see the head of this chapter on the right.

<sup>2</sup> Just one week before this, Dr. Chauncy preached the funeral sermon of

his own venerable colleague, the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, who died June 18, in the fifty-second year of his ministry. Speaking of his advanced age, Dr. Chauncy said: "Of the eleven associated pastors in this town, one has exceeded fourscore years; another threescore years and ten; four have reached beyond threescore years; one is above fifty, and another above forty years old."



His manner in delivering them was serious, grave, solemn ; and sometimes he uttered himself with a voice so elevated with zeal, and so modulated under the influence of a deeply affected heart, as that he arrested the attention of his hearers ; putting them under advantage to be impressed with a just sense of the importance of what he was saying to them. . . . He was "a devout man, one that feared God, and prayed alway." I find, in his private papers, the record of numerous days set apart for solemn prayer, often with fasting, mostly by himself alone, and sometimes in union with others ; at which times, you, the people of his charge, were particularly remembered before the throne of mercy. He had upon his mind an habitually prevailing sense of the superintending government of God, both in the kingdom of providence, and of grace ; and he accordingly ever repaired to him as the alone all-sufficient help. And this was especially his practice under the various tryals he was called to pass through, some of which were grievously heavy, and gave opportunity, as well as occasion, for the signal exercise of that "faith and patience through which" he is gone to "inherit the promises." . . . He was distinguished among the Clergy for his wisdom, not "the wisdom of this world," to which he was an utter stranger ; but "the wisdom that is from above, which is pure, peaceable, gentle, easie to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisie." I know of no man that discovered more prudent caution, through his whole behavior in life. He ever acted, especially in affairs of importance, with deliberation, and upon having viewed them in their circumstances, and probable consequences. No one, I believe, can mention an instance wherein he conducted with precipitant rashness. . . . It would be a great omission, if I did not make mention of him as one of those "good men, for whom one would even dare to die." He was, in his temper, pitiful, tender-hearted, courteous, kindly affectioned ; and, from principle as a christian, he "forgot not to do good, and communicate," as he had opportunity, and according to his ability. It was his practice to lay by one full tenth of his income for the uses of piety and charity. And sometimes, as occasions in providence called for it, he went even beyond this. . . .

On the evening of the 26th of last August [new style], the day on which he completed fourscore years, he spake to you from this desk, with affectionate gratitude to God upon such an extraordinary occasion, and so as to endeavour your spiritual edification. He was not permitted, after this, to preach to you more than three or four times. It seemed good to the wisdom of God to confine him several months to his chamber ; in which time he had opportunity to dispense, to the many who went to visit him, those counsels and instructions of piety, which, if it be not their own fault, may be of lasting spiritual advantage to them. And occasion also was now offered him, in the provi-

dence of God, by the repeated attacks that were made upon his naturally firm, but now breaking, constitution, for the exemplary exercise of faith, patience, and those other virtues, which adorned his character as a Christian, and gospel-minister, and reflected honor on his master and Lord, whose grace, bestowed on him, now shone with conspicuous lustre. It was pleasant to behold the peaceful, placid, resigned, praying frame he was in. He could, while life remained in any considerable degree of strength, speak of dying with a cheerful countenance, and as one that had a desire "to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better than to abide in the flesh."

In Dr. Chauncy's sermon we have the testimony of a friend who had known Dr. Sewall intimately for fifty years. The following statement by the Rev. John Eliot is interesting as giving the impressions of one who was a youth in college when Dr. Sewall died:—

He was a man who seemed to breathe the air of Heaven, while he was here upon earth; he delighted in the work of the ministry; and when he grew venerable for his age as well as for his piety, he was regarded as the father of the clergy. The rising generation looked upon him with reverence, and all classes of people felt a respect for his name. He was a genuine disciple of the famous John Calvin. He dwelt upon the great articles of the Christian faith in preaching and conversation; and dreaded the propagation of any opinions in this country, which were contrary to the principles of our fathers. Hence he was no friend to free inquiries, or to any discussion of theological opinions, which were held true by the first Reformers.<sup>1</sup> His advice to students in Divinity was to read the Bible, always with a comment such as Mr. Henry's or Archbishop Usher's, and to make themselves acquainted with the work of his great predecessor, Mr. Willard, whose *Body of Divinity* was then in great repute. Though he so often preached the doctrines of the Gospel, yet he never entered into any curious speculations; his object was to impress upon people what they should believe, and how they must live to be eternally happy. His sermons were pathetic; and the pious strains of his prayers, as well as preaching, excited serious attention, and made a devout assembly. His character was uniform; and the observation has often been made, if he entered into company, something serious

<sup>1</sup> ["He was in principle a Calvinist, and made the doctrines, which are usually called the doctrines of Grace, the foundation, and the chief subjects of his preaching; but he was far from the dangerous extremes to which some have carried these doctrines. While he was solicitous to secure the honor of divine

grace, he was equally careful to show the necessity of holy obedience, and earnestly pressed on unrenowned sinners the importance of their improving the means of grace, if they had any desire to obtain an interest in Christ, and to become his sincere disciples."—*Boston Gazette*, July 3, 1769.]

or good dropped from his lips. His very presence banished away everything of levity, and solemnized the minds of all those who were with him.<sup>1</sup>

But the most touching tribute to the memory of Dr. Sewall came from the heart and pen of Phillis Wheatley, a poor African slave girl, who had been an attendant upon his ministry, and who, two years later, was received into the fellowship of the church.<sup>2</sup> Phillis bore the name of the family by whom she was purchased when she was brought to Boston in 1761, and who always treated her with the greatest kindness and consideration. She was taught to read and write by one of the daughters, afterward wife of the Rev. John Lathrop, and before long she not only made herself familiar with English literature, but became proficient in the Latin language. She was probably about fifteen years of age when Dr. Sewall died, and these are some of the lines she wrote, — the epitaph, she said, which she composed for his tomb : —

Lo, here, a man redeemed by Jesus' blood,  
A sinner once, but now a saint with God.  
Behold, ye rich, ye poor, ye fools, ye wise,  
Nor let his monument your heart surprise ;  
'T will tell you what this holy man has done,  
Which gives him brighter lustre than the sun.  
Listen, ye happy, from your seats above ;  
I speak sincerely, while I speak and love.  
He sought the paths of piety and truth,  
By these made happy from his early youth.  
In blooming years that grace divine he felt,  
Which rescues sinners from the chains of guilt.  
Mourn him, ye indigent, whom he has fed,  
And henceforth seek, like him, for living bread ;  
Ev'n Christ, the bread descending from above,

<sup>1</sup> [Sprague's *Annals*, vol. i. pp. 279, 280.]

<sup>2</sup> Phillis was baptized and received into the church August 18, 1771, by the Rev. Dr. Cooper, the Old South being at that time without a pastor. In 1773 she was in ill health and went to England, and an edition of her poems was brought out there, inscribed to the Countess of Huntingdon, who had received her kindly, as had also Lord Dartmouth. She went in May and returned in September, in the ship *London*, Captain Robert Calef, which belonged to Mr. Wheatley. She is spoken of in the papers, as "the extraordinary Negro

poet" on her departure, and "the extraordinary poetical genius," on her return. She afterward married a man named Peters, who was utterly unworthy of her. He was "not only a very remarkable looking man, but a man of talents and information ;" he was disagreeable, however, in his manners, and because of his improper conduct, Phillis became entirely estranged from her old friends. Mr. and Mrs. Wheatley had died. Other friends were scattered during the stormy period of the Revolutionary struggle, and her last years were passed in obscurity and poverty. She died December 5, 1784.

And ask an int'rest in his saving love.  
 Mourn him, ye youth, to whom he oft has told  
 God's gracious wonders, from the times of old.  
 I, too, have cause, this mighty loss to mourn,  
 For he, my monitor, will not return.  
 Oh, when shall we to his blest state arrive ?  
 When the same graces in our bosoms thrive.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Chauncy made the following reference in his funeral sermon to the absent pastor, Mr. Blair : —

It may be esteemed a frown in Providence, that the Elisha of this christian Society should not be present to see their Elijah taken away, and to assist them in making a sanctified improvement of such a visitation. Had he been here, he might with propriety have "cried, my father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof"! Nor could he have made a better adapted prayer for himself than that, "let a double portion of thy spirit rest upon me"! May it please the Savior of his people to help him under his infirmities, to prosper his long journey for the removal of them, and to return him to his flock with a restored, confirmed state of health, and to continue him for many years yet to come an eminently pious, diligent, faithful, and useful servant of Jesus Christ, after the example of his departed father, and associate in the Gospel-ministry! We cannot wish for him a greater blessing.

This prayer was not to be answered. Mr. Blair did not return to his pastoral duties in Boston, but, at the end of the summer, asked for a dismissal, which was granted. He had probably never been in sympathy with the polity of the Massachusetts churches. He had become a minister of a Congregational church, without giving up his Presbyterianism; and more than this, he had sought to Presbyterianize a church that was intensely Congregational in its convictions as well as in its traditions. Under such circumstances, it is not strange that he was not happy here. His letter of resignation is long, but very interesting, and shows him to have been a man of fine sensibilities and extreme conscientiousness. We gather from it, that he had asked the church to abandon the Half-Way Covenant, so called, and that it had declined to do so; but this does not appear on the records. There was a divergence of opinion also, between the young pastor and the church, in reference to the proper qualifications for admission to full membership.

<sup>1</sup> [Phillis wrote lines on the death of Mr. Whitefield, of Mr. Hubbard's daughter Thankful, wife of Dr. Thomas Leonard, and of Mary (Sanford), the wife of Andrew Oliver, then lieutenant-governor.]



Lord's Day Sept. 24th: 1769

The Brethren of the Church and congregation were stayed when a Letter from the pastor the Revd. Mr. Blair dated Philadelphia Sept. 7th 1769 to the Church was Read in which he requests a Dismission from the Church.

PHILADELPHIA Sept 7th. 1769

To the Brethren of the South Church

*Hond and Beloved*

I take this opportunity of Expressing my sincere condolance on Occasion of the death of my very worthy and venerable colleague the Revd Doctor Sewall. Your high Esteem of his ministerial qualifcations and services while he was able to attend on the Duties of his function, and the tender concern and sense of loss you manifested during his illness, serve to give me some idea of the heart felt grief with which you finally parted with him. In all this I most heartily sympathise with you, while at the same time I feel my own peculiar affliction, considering him as my once Fellow helper in the Gospell ministry.

I should have written to you my dear brethren before now, had my deliberations on the difficulties subsisting between us been so mature as to enable me to form a satisfactory resolution with respect to the course I ought to take. In a matter so important and interesting, I considered my self as standing in need of every possible security against any future reflections which I might blame my self for too hasty a conclusion.

When I took my leave of you in the spring, I informed you that itt was not in my power to Comply with your vote relating to the administration of Baptism, yet that I should still make itt a subject of serious enquiry and attention, as my health and other circumstances in my absence would permitt; and in like manner earnestly desired you would do as a Church; either to act up to my request or not you were doubtless at Liberty; but I meant not to be wanting on my part, and be assured that nothing could have given me greater pleasure than to find that I had been mistaken in a point that so nearly concerned us both. But I have not been so happy. Still I am oblidged to say that I cannot consistently with a sense of Duty, administer the aforesaid ordinance agreeable to your Vote. But as I have been all along persuaded that your generosity would not permitt you to insist upon my Active compliance; and moreover, that you would endeavour as soon as possible, to procure another pastor as colleague to me, whose sentiments would allow him to act in Cases wherein I should be oblidged to decline, it has been my principal business to enquire into the expediency of this plan of relief, which indeed is the only one probable or seemingly practicable.

To many it may at first view appear exceeding plausible ; yet after the most carefull and candid examination, I am sorry to say, itt appears to me to be attended with unsurmountable Objections.

As the person to be chosen for the purpose must be one whose sentiments are Opposed to mine in so important an Article of ministerial administration, I see not how I can as pastor of the Church with any consistency agree to the Vote.

It is too difficult for me to make such a distinction as will satisfy a good conscience, between administring an Ordinance with my Own hand contrary to the apprehended Rule of Christ, and consenting to the calling in of another to doe itt. Moreover, itt does not appear to me probable that any Gentleman will be willing to settle in the Church where the terms of his settlement, at least implicit must be a disagreement in Oppinion and practice with the pastor who is to be a colleague in a point so interesting—such conduct must needs betray very great weakness and imprudence if not some ungenerous and sinister design. And should there be one found who might be willing to settle on these terms, I could not but on my part deem itt very unsafe for me to trust my comfort and Usefullness in his hands. Being the Acting pastor on the intire plan and principalls of the church and congregation, he must of course have the superior influence in the Society : and to support mine in the circumstances in which all things considered, it is like to be necessary, would require much more prudence and disinterestedness than I fear would be the share of one who would venture on such a Scituation.

Besides all this, my discourses as well private as publick, on the point of difference cannot be supposed to be agreeable to him, as they would necessarily imply a condemnation of his principalls and practice. Nor is itt likely there would be wanting both in the Church and congregation many who would also be offended, and the more so as they might fear lest at Length I should prevail to gain over my colleague and perhaps the majority of the Church. Nay, and setting aside these considerations, I am aware that any future endeavours of mine to bring about an alteration in the practice Objected to, will be deemed unwarrantable, as the church have after mature consideration so recently established and Confirmed itt. And as I am bound to declare the whole councill of God where ever I am called to serve as his minister, I cannot but look upon such a restriction as incompatible with the faithfull discharge of my Duty.

My Dear brethren, I beg leave to speak with the utmost plainness. I know you will bear with me. I truly fear that my future connection with you will be attended with too many difficulties and evil consequences to Justify its being desired either by you or me ; at Best you will be a body as with two heads, looking different ways, and a body becoming more and more divided in its self according to the

contrary sentiments and influence of its heads. Such a circumstance is naturally unavoidable, as human nature is productive of ill tempered dissensions and altercations ; the seeds of Jealousy and discord will in time be more and more plentifully sown between the pastors and between each pastor and the party that differs from him — one will be for Paul, another for Apollos — and there is no knowing where we may sett bounds to the Unhappiness in which both ministers and people may at length be involved.

This being the case, we are in my view unhappily brought to this alternative, either that as a Church you reconsider your late vote and so remove the ground of my difficulties ; or that the Relation between us be Dissolved. Otherwise I cannot after the most deliberate, candid and prayerfull inquiry, see how either my Own future comfort and usefulness or the peace and edification of the Church is like to be secured and promoted ; And as I am constrained to give up hopes of the former, I consider my self as bound in duty to sue for the latter — and accordingly I do now apply to you for a Dismission from my pastoral charge.

My partiality and affection for you, permit me to say, is unabated ; the satisfaction I have had in my pastoral connection with you has in many instances exceeded my most sanguine expectations ; your tenderness and generosity towards me has been distinguished and exemplary ; — Through your Kindness my temporal circumstances were rendred as agreeable as I could reasonably wish, and itt will never be in my power to forgett the many instances of friendship and liberality I have been favoured with by many individuals both of the Church and congregation. And were I to consult only the dictates and emotions of my heart, without regard to the consideration of my Judgment, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer another resolution. But if we would approve ourselves to our consciences as Christians, we must deny ourselves. I mean to follow what appears to be my duty and for the best interest of the church in this instance. Indeed were there no such reasons for my separation from you as I have above mentioned subsisting, I have often doubted whether it would be consistent with justice to you, and a proper regard to my own life, to continue in the same connection with you ; my constitution is very frail and precarious ; from much experience I have reason to apprehend that a life of such study and application as would be necessary, must shortly put a period to my days, especially if attended with the difficulties that must result from the difference subsisting between us ; Indeed such is the state of my health at present, notwithstanding the measures I have hitherto been pursuing, that I am well nigh perswaded, I should by next spring be rendered as unfitt for the services of the Church as when I left you, and my malady perhaps so fixed as to become incurable. I mention not this as one of the chief reasons of

my application for a discharge ; because were there not Others as above mentioned subsisting, I think I could not without a further trial conclude itt to be sufficiently forcible ; yet as standing in connection with those others itt has a prevailing wait with me. I presume I shall not fail of an interest in your prayers that this with Other afflictive dispensations may be sanctified to me.

It would on many accounts be a satisfaction to me as well as a proper token of the high respect I bear you, to be present on this occasion. But I am perswaded that you will not be wanting in generosity to dispense with what in present circumstances would be attended with so much expense, fatigue and danger as a journey to so great a distance would be, especially as it will not be necessary in order to your transacting the affair of my dismissal.

Finally my dear brethren, with a heart overflowing with unfeigned affection towards you, and gratitude for the many instances of your abundant love and beneficence, a heart deeply humbled for the many errors and imperfections of my ministry among you, and with a heart earnestly desirous of your spiritual and eternall welfare, and your speedy and unanimous agreement in one who may serve you in the gospell of our Lord Jesus Christ with more eminent zeal, Knowledge, faithfullness and success ; permitt me now to take my leave of you, wishing you every Blessing of grace, mercy and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ.

I am

Honored and Beloved Brethren Your affectionate tho'  
afflicted Pastor and Brother in the Christian profession

SAMUEL BLAIR.

The Letter having been read the Brethren of the congregation were desired to withdraw ; after which a motion was made that there should be a meeting of the Brethren of this Church in this place on Tuesday next at 10 o'Clock A. M.

Tuesday Septr. 26th 1769.

The Brethren of the Church meet, and the Revd. Doctor Cooper, at their Request, came and Prayed with them and then withdrew.

Voted, That Deacon Jeffries be Moderator.

At the desire of the Church the above mentioned Letter was again read, (which letter is recorded in the Society's Book,) Also a Letter from Mrs. Blair, dated Philadelphia September 16th 1769 and wrote by the Desire of her Husband, the Rev. Samuel Blair (he being sick) to Deacon Phillips, relative to his Salary since he left Boston, and relative to his Settlement money, was read, vizt :



PHILADELPHIA Sept 16th

*Sir*

Mr. Blair was last evening taken very unwell, and though he is through divine goodness much better this Morning, he is still very weak and low, which makes it highly improper for him to write, but very desirous that the Inclosed should be deferred no longer he insists upon my writing for him in order to Inclose to you Sir, and to mention some particulars which he proposed writing to you.

Mr. Blair hopes you have received a letter he wrote you some time ago, in which he mentioned the reasons why he does not think it necessary for him to return in order to procure the dismission he applies for, he thought proper to omitt mentioning in his letter to the Church among many other reasons the Jealousy that prevails among many of the Church respecting his Sentiments concerning qualifications for Communion in the Lord's Supper, a jealousy which he thinks must prove very injurious to his peace and Usefullness, especially should his Colleague be of a different opinion with him respecting the means of Ascertaining that evidence which may be sufficient to proceed in the admission of members — his reason for not mentioning it to the Church was least possibly it might cause some difficulty between the Church and Congregation. He has also thought proper to omit in his letter to the Church his intention of giving back the salary due from the time he left them last spring, but rather to empower you, as he does hereby to make a surrender of it to the Church in his name — his reason for this is, that he might not receive a reward for services he had not done. As to the settlement, as it was not given by them as a Society there would be an impropriety in offering it to *them* but begs leave to refer it to your own discretion, whether to propose returning it to individuals or not.

And the Brethren after some Conversation, Voted that there be a Committee of Five to consider what may be proper to be done in Consequence of said Letters, and report to the Church at their Adjournment.

Voted that Deacon Jeffries, Deacon Phillips, Thomas Cushing, William Whitwell and Jonathan Mason be the Committee.

Voted that Two be added to said committee.

Voted that John Scollay and Henderson Inches be the Two.

Voted that the Meeting of the Brethren of the Church be adjourned to Tuesday, the tenth Day of October next at 3 o'Clock P. M. in this place.

Tuesday Octor 10th 1769.

The Church meet according to Adjournment, and the Committee appointed on the 26th September last "to Consider what may be

proper to be done in Consequence of said Letter," reported that they had attended the Service, and were of Opinion, that the Revd Mr. Samuel Blair should be dismissed ; and that an Answer to his Letter should be sent him together with the Vote for his dismissal, and that they had accordingly prepared the Draft of a Letter, which was read, and after some small amendment approved of, vizt :

BOSTON Octor 10th 1769

*Rev'd. Sir*

The Brethren of the South Church have received your Letter of the 7th September last, and have attentively Considered the Contents: At a Time when we had the highest reason daily to expect you, when God in his Alwise Providence had lately by Death deprived us of our Aged and Venerable Pastor Dr. Sewall and we were left Destitute and as sheep without a shepherd ; at such a time for you to apply for a Dismission and determine not to return. is to us very surprising ; your making such an application and forming such a resolution before it had been signified to you by the Church that they had not altered their sentiments relative to the matter in Dispute between us, and even before you had Vouchsafed to write us a single Line and properly Informed yourself upon this Head is somewhat unaccountable ; for had you been regularly Notified that we still Continued of the same Opinion, as when you went from us, and had even Dispaired by any further Endeavours to have brought about an Alteration in our Sentiments and Practice, yet this we apprehend, would have been far from being a sufficient justification of such a Determination ; Certainly, Sir, your Connections with this Church over which you was so solemnly Ordained, the Engagements you at that time entred into, and the Charge you then undertook, together with the peculiarly distressing and Destitute Circumstances under which you left us, must have been Considerations, if duely attended to, abundantly sufficient to have Induced you to have hastened your return and afforded us all the Assistance in your power ; especially if you had considered that perfectly consistent with a good Conscience, you might have discharged the Duties of your Pastoral office, that of administering the Ordinance of Baptism in some special Cases excepted. It certainly would have been but a token and Evidence of the high respect you profess to bear to the Church to have returned and continued your Connexions with us, at least till we could have supplied ourselves with another Pastor. Moreover a Journey at this season might have been of Eminent Service with regard to your Health, and would perfectly have coincided with the Plan you sett out upon, when you took your leave of us, and as to the Expense of the Journey, your own Experience of the Distinguished Generosity of this Church, must have naturally led you to have Concluded that you would not have been a Suf-

ferer upon this account ; besides the Expense would have amounted to a trifling sum when compared with your sallary from the Time you left us last spring which would have been allowed you in case of your return ; but which for a very good reason you have Impowered Deacon Phillips to give back to the Society. It gives us pain to be obliged to make these Observations ; But a sense of Duty would not permit us to be wholly Silent. However from a Consideration of the Innumerable failings, Indiscretions and infirmities to which Human Nature is exposed, we are inclined to be Candid and Charitable ; we desire therefore to put the most favourable Construction upon your Conduct, and as your Letter is replete with expressions of Affection and regard for us, we would hope that your resolution not to return, did not arise from want of Tenderness and respect, but is rather to be attributed to your ill state of Health, which has not permitted you to advert so carefully to your connexions with and relations to us ; nor so maturely to consider of the Propriety and Expediency of this measure, as you might otherwise have done.

The Church have constantly endeavoured to treat you with the utmost respect ; they have done all in their Power to remove your Scruples with respect to their Practice relative to the Ordinance of Baptism ; they attended to your Objections upon this subject with great candor, seriousness and Deliberations ; insomuch that before your Departure you repeatedly expressed your satisfaction with their Conduct, and acknowledged that they behaved as those who were earnestly seeking after Truth ; upon the whole, we were not Convinced by anything you Advanced that we were in an Error, and we continue to this Day in the same Practice ; and as you are still of the same Sentiments as when you left us, and as by the whole Tenor of your Letter, it evidently appears that you are very solicitous to have the Relation between us Dissolved, and have Expressly applied for the same ; we have therefore granted your request, and have given you a Dismission from your Pastoral Charge as you will find by the Inclosed Vote.

With Respect to what has been wrote to Deacon Phillips relative to the sum you received in lieu of Settlement and which has been communicated to us, we have to observe, that it is true, the Church never *Voted* you anything for this Purpose, but you must be sensible that what you received from Individualls was given you as a settlement, and with an Expectation that you would spend your Days in the service of this Society. It is therefore our opinion that in Equity it ought to be refunded.

To Conclude, we heartily pray that God would sanctify to you and to us this Dispensation of his Providence ; that he would restore you to a Confirmed State of Health, and honor and Improve you in his service ; That he would at all times afford you the Influence and

Guidance of his good Spirit, and that he would preserve you blameless to his Heavenly Kingdom.

We are your Bretheren in the profession of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,

In the Name and Behalf of the South Church.

The Revd Mr. Blair's Letter of September 7th last wherein he has for Divers Reasons therein mentioned, requested a Dismission from his pastoral Relation to this Church was read again; and the Church having sought to God for Direction and haveing Seriously and deliberately considered the same, came to the following Resolution,

Voted that the Revd Mr. Samuel Blair, in compliance with his Request, be and hereby is dismissed from his pastoral Relation to this Church, and that their Answer to this Letter be signed and transmitted by the Deacons, together with a copy of this vote.

The meeting was then adjourned to the House of Deacon Sewall [the parsonage in Milk Street] on Tuesday the 24th instant at 5 o'clock p. m.

After this, upon Application made to the Revd. Doctor Chauncy, he came and prayed with the Church, and then they were dismissed.

DAVID JEFFRIES

Moderator.

The church now proceeded immediately to the reconsideration of its action on the 2d of March, when, in order to meet the views of Mr. Blair, it adopted a form of doctrinal belief to be assented to by those seeking admission to its membership. It was only too glad to return to the simple and scriptural rule which, under the guidance of Dr. Sewall and Mr. Prince, it adopted in 1728,<sup>1</sup> and which was in full harmony with the traditions of the New England churches. The aim of the fathers was "to make the terms of communion as parallel as may be with the terms of salvation." It would be hard, we think, to improve upon this.

Tuesday October 24th 1769

The Brethren of the Church met at the House of Deacon Sewall according to adjournment, of which they were reminded the Lord's Day Afternoon preceding. They Conferred together respecting the Reconsideration of their Vote, but came to no Determination about this matter.

Voted That a Day of Fasting and prayer be Observed by this Church as soon as conveniently may be, to ask of God his gracious Direction and Help under our present Afflicted and bereaved Circum-

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 434, 435.



stances since the Death of the Revd. Doctor Sewall, and Dismission of the Revd. Mr. Samuel Blair from his pastoral Relation to this Church, and that he would be pleased in due time to repair the Breaches he has made upon us.

Voted that the meeting be adjourned to Fryday the 27th inst at six o Clock in the Evening at the House of Deacon Sewall.

DAVID JEFFRIES Moderator.

Fryday Octor 27th 1769.

The Brethren met according to Adjournment and conferred, as heretofore, respecting the Reconsideration of their Vote — after which they

Voted that the Deacons, Mr. Thomas Cushing and Mr. John Deming be a committee to prepare such Votes respecting the Admission of Members to full Communion, and the Form of a Covenant as to them appears agreeable to the mind of the Church and report at the adjournment.

Voted that the meeting be adjourned to Fryday the 3d Day of November next, at six o'Clock in the Evening. at the House of Deacon Sewall.

DAVID JEFFRIES Moderator.

November 3rd. 1769.

At a meeting of the Brethren by adjournment,

Whereas the present Form for the Admission of Members to full Communion prescribed by a Vote of this Church on the 2d March 1769, does not admit such persons as are seeking admission to full Communion to give a Voluntary profession of their Faith in their own Terms,

Therefore, Voted unanimously that such persons as may hereafter seek admission to full Communion, instead of being required to make the profession specified in the Vote aforementioned, shall, previous to their Admission, give to the Church Orally or in writing a profession of their repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, of their Belief of the Scriptures, and of their Resolution by the Grace of God to walk according to them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The Cambridge Platform says:— "The things which are requisite to be found in all church members are repentance for sin and faith in Jesus Christ." "The weakest measure of faith is to be accepted in those that desire to be admitted into the church; because weak Christians, if sincere, have the substance of that faith, repentance, and holiness, which is required in church members, and such have most need of the ordinances for their confirmation and growth

in grace. The Lord Jesus would not quench the smoking flax, nor break the bruised reed, but gather the tender lambs in his arms and carry them gently in his bosom."

An eminent scholar of our own day has well said: "There are other and better ways of preserving the purity, order, and discipline of Christ's church than the one of excluding Christians." See an article on *Creeds and Church-Membership* in the *Andover Review*, April, 1889.]

Also, Voted unanimously that instead of the Covenant prescribed by the Vote aforesaid, the Following Form of a Covenant be administered to all those who may hereafter be admitted to full Communion with this Church viz :<sup>1</sup>

## ADMISSION TO THE CHURCH.

Copy of the Form of Covenant referred to in the Vote of the Church Nov, 3, 1769 Not entered at that time in this book of Records. Now taken from the original Copy which had been preserved.

"A. B. You do now in the presence of God, before his holy Angels and this Assembly, solemnly profess to give up yourself to God the Father as your chief good—to the Son of God as your Mediator, Head and Lord, relying on him as the prophet, priest and King of your Salvation—to the Holy Spirit of God, as your Sanctifier, Guide and Comforter, for him to dwell in.

"You also profess to give up yourself to this one God, who is the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, in an everlasting Covenant, to love obey and serve him for ever.

"You also promise to walk with this Church of Christ, in a due Submission to, and attendance upon, all the Orders and Ordinances of the Gospel; and that by the help of the Spirit, you will adorn this your profession, by a holy, blameless, fruitful life and conversation.

"This you do promise.

"We also do, by the help of the same Spirit, promise you, that we will carry it towards you as towards those brought up with us in the Fellowship of the Saints. We will watch over you, not for your halting, but for your Edification: We will counsel, reprove, comfort and exhort you, as your circumstances and our acquaintance therewith shall require."

DAVID JEFFRIES,

Moderator at the time when this form of Covenant was accepted.

This form, with slight verbal changes, and with a part of the prefatory address of the Confession of Faith of 1680, is in use to-day at the Old South.

November 3 [? 5] 1769

The Brethren of the church and congregation were staid and Voted that there be a Collection for charitable and pious Uses on the Anniversary thanks Giving the 16th Instant, and that the Rest of the con-

<sup>1</sup> [This Covenant does not appear in its proper place in the records, but was copied into the church book at a later date, with the following note, in the handwriting of Dr. Eckley:—

"No entry appears to have been

made of this form of Covenant. It is therefore entered in a spare leaf of this book immediately preceeding the Record of 31 October 1779,—taken from the original Draught which had been preserved."]

gregation be notified the next Lord's day and be desired to assist in said collection.

November 11. 1769. The Church Received a Letter from the Revd. Mr. Samuel Blair, in Answer to their Letter of Octor 10th 1769.

PHILADELPHIA Octor 31st. 1769

*Honoured and Beloved Brethren,*

Your Letter dated Oct. 10th. with the inclosed Vote of Dismission I have received ; and tho from common bodily frailty and indisposition I am very unfit for such interesting application, yet such are the contents of your Letter, such the apparent spirit of it, and such the treatment I deem myself to have therein received, that had I remaining but a few Hours of life, I should think it necessary if possible to spend it in the way of proper remonstrance and self vindication.

When I first opened it, and had read only the introductory Paragraph, wherein you inform me that you had attentively considered the contents of mine, I expected surely in what followed to find some regard paid to, and some remarks made upon them. I expected that some notice would be taken of the reasons I gave you for asking a Dismission, that they would be severally discanted upon, approved or disapproved of ; and if Disapproved of, that their insufficiency as a proper ground of such request would have been candidly pointed out. But instead of this, to find almost the whole of your Letter consisting of censorious "Observations" upon my conduct without any consideration of, or respect to anything I had written you as the true ground and motives thereof, was to me indeed to the last degree surprizing.

These Observations I beg leave to speak particularly upon, and that with plainness and freedom ; for I cannot but think that a little proper reflection must convince you of the great impropriety of them.

Your first Observation is : That it is very surprizing I should apply for a Dismission and determine not to return at a time when you had the highest reason to expect me, and when God in his Providence had lately by death deprived you of your other Pastor, the Revd. Doctor Sewall. To this let me reply : Whence was given so high reason for expecting me daily, was not my leaving you intended as a mean for my recovery from an ill state of health, which rendered me incapable of serving you in the Ministry ; Had I at any time since that, or in any way given you reason to Conclude that this end was answered ? Had I written any Letter to you, or any single person, wherein I Informed you that I should return at such a time ? Did I ever in any of my private letters say more than that I had received advantage from this or that measure ? and did I not in my very letter to you inform you that such was the state of my Health at that time, that I had the greatest reason to suppose, that were I to return and serve you in the Ministry this Winter following only, I should be rendered as unfit, if not more so, for the labors of my office as when I left you.

And as to its being "at a time when you were deprived of your other Pastor," Let me ask you, Whether he was not as really incapable of serving you when I came away, as when I asked for a Dismission? How could it then be a Greater crime in me to ask this Dismission and determine not to return when he was dead, if I apprehended I had sufficient reason for it, than to leave you, apprehending I had sufficient reason, when he was living? Besides after his Death were you not just in the same condition as any other Society would be, which had but one Pastor, who might be necessarily absent on account of indisposition? How then could the Doctor's Death have rendered my Conduct more reprehensible than it would have been had you not had another Pastor? I would by no means here underrate your loss in his Death — your loss was Great — I mean only that your remaining advantages after his Death were equal to those of another Society, who, having but one Pastor, were deprived of his present services in the way I have spoken of. But suppose you had Justly the highest reason to expect me daily, and give the Doctor's Death all the weight of an Objection which you can reasonably think is due to it; yet is [it] not strange on these considerations [to] be so censured, when had you attentively considered the contents of my Letter, you would have there seen Arguments offered as the ground of my conduct, that were abundantly sufficient to outweigh these Objections, yet you have seen meet to pay no regard to them at all and to reprehend me for acting as I did at a time when you had the highest reason to expect me, and were deprived of your other Pastor, just as you might if I had no reason, nor ever had given you any reason for so doing at that time. To what my dear Brethren can I impute this?

In the next place, you observe, that it is unaccountable I should make such an application, and form such a Resolution before it had been signified to me by the Church that they had not altered their sentiments relative to the matter in dispute between us; and even before I had *vouchsafed* to write you [a] single line and properly inform myself on this Head.

With respect to this observation it is to me more unaccountable than the Conduct it reprehends, you need only recollect, as I hinted to you in my letter that when I took my leave of you, I desired you would as a Church in my absence, seriously and attentively reconsider the point of dispute, for that it was not in my power to comply with your Vote, and that in consequence hereof you by your Committee informed me, only that you would attend to it each man in his individual capacity, but not as a Church. How then could it be unaccountable to you that I should make such an application and form such a resolution before I had a change of your sentiments signified by you, when you could not but have known that you yourselves had deprived me of all reason to expect such a signification? the same question



I may also with equal reason ask with respect to my not writing to you for the regular information you speak of. Indeed had the case been otherwise, and I neglected to write for this purpose, I should not have tho't myself very blameable for omitting such an Article of mere formality, while I could have procured sufficient information to act upon in the way of more private intelligence ; and should have tho't it very unaccountable to be blamed for it by the Church as an unaccountable piece of Conduct.

Your next Observation seems to be a reason given why my Conduct in this instance is so very unaccountable, For say you had been regularly notified that we still continued of the same Opinion as when you went from us, and had even despaired by any further endeavours to have bro't about an alteration in our sentiments and practice, yet this would have been far from being a sufficient justification of such determination.

Here, if I understand you, you meant to argue from the lesser crime to the Greater — thus : If it was unjustifiable in me to act as I did even after regular notification, and when I despaired of an alteration in your sentiments, much more unjustifiable it must have been in me to act so without such notification, and without writing a line to the Church for that purpose. But how the consequence follows I cannot see ; because I might be really unjustifiable for writing as in the former case, and yet circumstances might be such as that I might be as really vindicable as in the latter. Nor can I see how you should infer from my Omission of the aforesaid formality that I did not despair of bringing about an Alteration in your sentiments, especially considering the above mentioned cause of this omission. Let me ask you, was this Reflection kind ? and does it not insinuate that I would willingly believe that there were irremovable Objections to my continuing in my connections with you, when I knew not that there were such, and therefore that I had other reasons for my Conduct than those I gave you ?

But I would enquire a little into the reasons you give in support of the aforementioned sentiment ; vizt. that had I even despaired of an alteration, I should be far from having in this a sufficient justification of my Conduct. The reasons you mention are these, vizt : “ my connection with the Church over which I was ordained ; ” “ The Engagements I then entred into, and the Charge I then undertook ; ” and “ the peculiar distressing and Destitute Circumstances under which I left you.” Far be it from me to lessen the weight of these considerations ; I felt their full force before I determined how to act ; and nothing but the strongest Conviction of Duty could induce me to determine as I did, so far as that determination seems to have been in Opposition to them. But I think you speak of them as Objections, which no circumstances, no arguments, no considerations whatever ought in justice to outweigh.

As to the first, vizt : "my Connection with the Church over which I was so solemnly ordained." Here I conclude that by *ordained* you must have meant *Installed*; and by my Connection with the Church, such as was publicly declared and ratified at my Installation. But if you tho't on that occasion, or when you wrote your letter, that this Connection was of such a Nature as no circumstances but Death itself could reasonably dissolve, you were most certainly in a great error; I never tho't so; I considered my Installation as a public Testimony of what had been before privately transacted between us: That is, of your calling me to serve you in the Ministry, and promising to support me, and my consenting on my part to serve you, and promising to do it with faithfulness according to the Grace given me. In all this I neither expressly nor implicitly bound myself in a connection which no consideration or even such considerations as I have mentioned in my letter, ought to discontinue. To have formed such a Connection would have been highly imprudent and sinful, as I wish you may never be taught by any future unhappy experience.

As to the second, viz : "the engagements I then entred into and the Charge I undertook." These engagements were such as I have just mentioned, and implied nothing more which bound me to you, whatever might occur, for life. And as to the Charge I undertook, It was very Great; the Duties I was warned to perform were weighty solemn, and important; But, if you will allow it, it was the Consideration of this very thing which induced me to that which you have condemned. For so weighty was the Charge that I deemed it my bounden Duty to run all risks rather than not endeavour by every proper likely mean to subvert any principle or practice which I apprehended to be contrary to the mind and will of the great Head of the Church; and when I could not prevail, and the Church had notwithstanding all my endeavours confirmed and established such principle and practice, to sacrifice my highest worldly emoluments, and my interest in their affections by applying for a Dismission rather [than] continue my Connections with them under the Difficulties with which I should labour with respect to the freedom of continued endeavours to the same purpose; and rather than be the Occasion of such future contentions and divisions among them as might destroy my usefulness and their tranquility without succeeding in my aim. Not to add also, rather than by reason of bodily frailty and indisposition to stand in the way of another who might serve them with more vigour and usefulness; and rather than eat their Bread without rendering equitable service.

And as to the third reason, vizt : "the peculiar and destitute circumstances under which I left you." No man could have attended to this case more fully and feelingly than I think I did both at and from the time I left you; But as it is a tender point, I shall only observe in general, that the most just and rational view I could entertain of it,

was not sufficient to overbalance the prospect of those unhappy circumstances in which they together with myself might [be] involved were I to continue my pastoral offices among you. This I have represented to you in as concise and summary a manner as I could in my letter to which I refer you.

But besides these I find another reason mentioned of which together with the foregoing, you have tho't proper to charge me with a want of consideration, vizt: "That perfectly consistent with a good Conscience I might have discharged the duties of my pastoral office, *that* of administering the Ordinance of Baptism, in some special cases excepted."

Why you should think it proper to suppose I had not considered this, when you must have known that the General sense of what I ever said or wrote on the subject, necessarily implied a consideration of it, I leave to your own Reflection: as also, why you should think it proper to mention it as an argument in Condemnation of my Conduct, when you must have known that the sum of the Contents of my letter was, that tho I could administer that Ordinance in some cases, yet such difficulties would attend my future Connection with you, by reason of the difference of sentiment and practice in other cases between me and the Church and my Colleague, should one be introduced to act where I could not, as rendered it expedient for me to apply for a Dismission. Suffer me, my dear Brethren, to say, that had you on your part so attentively considered these contents as you think you had, methinks that censuring me as not having considered the matter I now speak of, you would rather have been disposed to say, or at least suppose, that tho I did consider this as in itself an argument for continuing with you; yet there were others in my apprehension sufficient to remove it. This would have been kind, because it would have been agreeable to the true state of the case as communicated to you. Tis Grievous, my Brethren, that in your letter, which you have chose should be almost wholly in the strain of censure and reproof you should have attended only to one side of the Question, and pronounced upon my Conduct by comparing it with the considerations that are on that side only, without paying any regard to those on the other which justify it, and should represent me as acting against all the reasons on the one side, without having reasons to support me on the other, or ever having given you any. But I need not enlarge on remarks the justness of which must on a little sober and candid reflection, be obvious to yourselves.

We have given in full the first half of Mr. Blair's letter; in the second half, he justifies himself for not returning to Boston to arrange in person for his dismission; insists that when he went away in May, he had not fully made up his mind to leave the church; protests against the comment upon his decision to

refund the amount of his salary since May ; objects to the terms of the vote by which his dismissal was granted ; and concludes with kind wishes for the church's continued prosperity. There is no record of the official reply sent to this letter, but we may assume that it was brief. To have attempted to meet the various points presented would have been to prolong, and to widen the range of a correspondence, already voluminous, which could result in no good. Mr. Blair's mistake, or at least misfortune, was that he did not return to Boston at the time of Dr. Sewall's death, advise with his friends in the church as to the best course for him to take, and then tender his resignation. His letter of resignation sent from Philadelphia led to the impression that when he left in May, it was with the conscious intention and expectation of not coming back at all. This tried the brethren, and they showed their feeling in the answer sent by them. Then came the rejoinder from which we have quoted. A year and a half later, Mr. Blair paid a visit to Boston ; mutual explanations were satisfactorily made ; and cordial relations were restored between the ex-pastor and his people.

Novr. 12. 1769.

The Brethren of the Church and congregation were stay'd, and Voted that there be a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation on Tuesday the 21st Instant at 10 o'Clock A M.

Novr 21. 1769.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation met according to adjournment. Voted that Deacon Jeffries be Moderator.

Deacon Phillips informed the Brethren that he had Received directions from the Revd. Mr. Samuel Blair to make a Surrender of his Sallery from the Time he left them last Spring to the Church in his Name ; Mr. Blair's reasons for which are that " he might not receive a reward for services he had not done, and that he might silence those who might be disposed to find fault." There upon Voted that the same be accepted and retained in the Deacons hands for the Use of the society.

Novr. 26. 1769.

The Brethren of the Church and congregation were stay'd and Voted that there be a meeting of the Brethren of the Church and congregation on Tuesday the 28th Instant at 10 o'Clock A M to consider of further Supply of the pulpit.

Novr 28th. 1769.

The Brethren met according to adjournment, and Voted Deacon Jeffries Moderator, and that the Deacons be a Committee for Supply-



ing the pulpit the Two Sabbaths next ensuing — Mr. Thomas Prentice who was to have been Invited being Engaged for those Sabbaths.

Voted That Mr. Thomas Prentice of Holiston be Invited to preach to this Society Six Sabbaths after the Deacons have Supplied for the two Sabbaths mentioned in the foregoing Vote.

Voted That Mr. Samuel Webster who has heretofore preached to this Society at the request of their then committee the Deacons, be also invited to preach to this Society Six Sabbaths.

Mr. Prentiss was a son of the Rev. Joshua Prentiss, for forty-five years pastor of the church in Holliston. He graduated at Harvard College in 1766,<sup>1</sup> and was ordained October 30, 1770, as pastor of the church in Medfield. He was then only twenty-three years of age, and he may have been thought too young for the Old South pastorate. His second wife, Mary, daughter of John Scollay, was a member of the Old South.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Webster was a son of the Rev. Samuel Webster, of Salisbury. He graduated at Harvard College in 1762, and was ordained as pastor of the church in Temple, New Hampshire, October 2, 1771. He died in the sixth year of his pastorate.

Two regiments of British troops were at this time quartered in the town of Boston, and eight war vessels commanded the harbor. "A military guard with cannon pointed at the very door of the State House;" and there was constant friction between the troops and the people, which culminated on the 5th of March, 1770, in what is known in American history as the Boston Massacre. This brought matters to a crisis; the citizens were resolved that the regiments should at once be removed from the town; and, on the morning of March 6, a meeting was convened in Faneuil Hall, and a committee, with Samuel Adams as its chairman, was appointed to wait upon Governor Hutchinson, and to give expression to the popular will. In the afternoon, the citizens again assembled in Faneuil Hall to receive the report of their committee. The people from the surrounding country had been pouring into Boston all day long, and the crowd was now so great that it was found necessary to adjourn to the Old South. Thomas Cushing was moderator. The committee appointed in the morning reported the result of its visit

<sup>1</sup> He joined the First Church, Charlestown, of which his relative, the Rev. Thomas Prentiss, was pastor, September 25, 1768. His son, of the same name, was the first minister of the Second or Harvard Church, Charlestown. See

*History of the Harvard Church*, by Henry H. Edes, pp. 119, 120.

<sup>2</sup> She was received into the Medfield Church, by letter from the Old South, June 1, 1794. See *The Prentice-Prentiss Family*, by C. J. F. Binney, p. 51.

to the governor, to the effect that he had no power over the military; Colonel Dalrymple, however, had promised to withdraw one of the two regiments from the town. This was declared to be unsatisfactory; and a new committee was chosen to make a final demand, consisting of Samuel Adams, John Hancock, William Molineux, William Phillips, Joseph Warren, Joshua Henshaw, and Samuel Pemberton. The struggle in the council chamber between the royal prerogative and the popular will was a severe one. Samuel Adams, says Mr. Tudor, "seeming not to represent, but to personify the universal feeling and opinion, with unhesitating promptness and dignified firmness," declared that "nothing short of the total evacuation of the town by all the regular troops" would satisfy the public mind and preserve the peace of the province. The authorities, civil and military, were abashed before him, and at length gave way, promising that the two regiments should be removed to the Castle, now Fort Independence, without unnecessary delay. The vast assembly in the meeting-house received the answer of the royal governor with the dignity and self-restraint of conscious strength. The comment of the Boston Gazette is simply this: "The inhabitants could not avoid expressing the high satisfaction it afforded them."

Thanksgiving Collection 16th Nov 1769, and Communicated to the Society March 25. 1770.

|                                 |             |                   |
|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Was appropriated . . .          | £1. 7. 0    | to Mr. Adams.     |
|                                 | 2. 5. 0     | Rev. Mr. Campbell |
|                                 | <hr/>       |                   |
|                                 | 3. 12. 0    |                   |
| at large . . .                  | 289. 4. 2   |                   |
|                                 | <hr/>       |                   |
|                                 | £292. 16. 2 |                   |
| Appropriated L. Money . . . . . | 9. 7½       |                   |
| att Large . . . . .             | 38. 11. 2¾  |                   |
|                                 | <hr/>       |                   |
|                                 | £39. 0. 10  |                   |

It was Voted, That the unappropriated part of the fore mentioned Collection be disposed of to charitable and pious uses by the Deacons according to their best Discretion.

Lords Day P. M. March 25th 1770.

The Brethren of the South Church and congregation were Stay'd and Voted that the following nine persons viz. the Hon Andrew Oliver Esq. Deacon Phillips, Deacon Jeffries, the Hon Thomas Cushing Esq. Mr. Jonathan Mason, Mr. William Whitwell, Col. Joseph Jackson, the Hon Thomas Hubbard Esq. and Capt. Samuel Greenwood, be and they

are hereby appointed a committee to consider what steps may be proper to be taken towards the settlement of a pastor, that Mr. Willard be invited to Supply the pulpitt for five weeks, and in case he should be engaged, that the committee provide a Supply.

The Report of the committee appointed to consider in what manner the dwelling house lately [occupied] by the Rev. Doctor Sewall may be best improved was Read, and agreeable to said Report, Voted as follows, that inasmuch as we are at present destitute of a pastor and so the Society have no occasion to put the house to the Use for which it was Originally Designed, It would be but a proper mark of Regard to the memory of our late pastor and to the circumstances of his family to allow his son to have the benefit of the improvment of said house untill further Orders, and that a Committee be appointed to take the charge of this affair and do therein as they shall judge most for the Interest of the family and needfull for the preservation of the house.

Voted that Deacon Jeffries and Deacon Phillips be a Committee for the purpose aforementioned.

Mr. Joseph Willard, son of the Rev. Samuel Willard, of Biddeford, and great grandson of the Rev. Samuel Willard of the South Church, entered Harvard College late in life and graduated in 1765.<sup>1</sup> He was ordained, November 25, 1772, colleague pastor with the Rev. Joseph Champney, of the First Church, Beverly; and in 1781 was chosen President of Harvard College, on the resignation of the Rev. Samuel Langdon, D. D.

Deacon Sewall had recently lost his property, and the family of Edmund Quincy also into which he had married was in embarrassed circumstances. The omission of his name in the above vote, and of any direct reference to his affairs, shows the delicate considerateness of those who prepared it. He soon after resigned his office as deacon, and died at Holliston, January 19, 1771.

Lords Day April 17th 1770.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stay'd and Voted that Mr. John Marsh be desired to supply the pulpitt for six weeks to commence from the expiration of Mr. Hitchcock's Term which will be the 29th Inst.

Voted that Mr. Peter Thatcher be desired to preach to this society.

Until recent times it was the custom for young men about to enter the ministry to preach on trial for a series of Sabbaths in

<sup>1</sup> There was another Joseph Willard Mendon, and afterward, in 1784, at Boxborough. in the class of 1765, who was settled at

vacant pulpits. They were really candidates for ordination and settlement; they had no pastoral record behind them; and the only way in which the churches could ascertain what were their doctrinal beliefs and general qualifications for the pastoral office was by hearing them thus preach Sabbath by Sabbath. Mr. John Marsh referred to above was a son of Deacon David Marsh, of Haverhill, and a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1761. He was ordained pastor of the First Church, Wethersfield, Connecticut, and his ministry there was long and successful. Dr. Sprague says that he was a man of highly polished manners and fine literary tastes, a moderate Calvinist, and a great admirer of the writings of John Howe.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Enos Hitchcock graduated at Cambridge in 1767, and became colleague pastor of the Second Church, Beverly; he was afterward settled at Providence, where he died in 1803.

Mr. Thacher's ancestors for four generations had been members of the South Church, — the Rev. Thomas Thacher, pastor, the Rev. Peter Thacher, of Milton, Oxenbridge Thacher, and Oxenbridge Thacher, Junior. He graduated at Harvard College in 1769, and, a year later, was settled at Malden. He came to the Church in Brattle Street in 1785.

#### Communion Sabbath May 6th 1770

The Bretheren of the Church were stayed at the end of the Communion Exercise, and a letter of the 2d inst from Deacon Sewall was read, wherein for Reasons therein mentioned, "he beg'd leave to resign the office and to retire that the church might have Opportunity to fill the place with one able to assist" his "bretheren, and to officiate in the Church." He also desired the Church's prayers for him and Compassion "as the matter calls for." With respect to this last article, they unanimously Voted — That the Deacons afford him Relief according to their best discretion and as his need shall require.

DAVID JEFFRIES, moderator.<sup>2</sup>

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Society Usually meeting at the old South Church July 9th 1770, Thomas Cushing, Moderator.

The Committee appointed to Consult upon measures to expedite the settlement of a minister report that as itt had been suggested that Mr. McWhorter minister at Newark in New jersey was about to leave his people, that they had made some inquiry relative to the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Marsh received the degree of (Quincy), died February 15, 1770. The D. D. from Harvard College in 1806. *Boston Gazette*, recording her death, He died in 1821, in his seventy-ninth speaks of her as "the amiable, virtuous year. and desirable Consort of Samuel Sewall, Esqr." She was in her forty-first year.]

<sup>2</sup> [Deacon Sewall's wife, Elizabeth



Gentleman aforesaid and had heard that in case this church should see their way clear to give him a call to settle with them that there would be no Difficulty so far as Respected him ; but whether the Church would be willing to part with him and what difficulty there would be with the presbytery about his removal could not be determin'd : and after some debate itt appearing improper to Invite him to preach upon probation while he remained connected with the Church at Newark and that under these circumstances it was not provable the Church would see their way clear to give him a call, and if the pastoral relation was dissolved itt would be premature till they heard him further and were better acquainted with his carracter and principals, it was there upon Voted that the Committee should continue to consult upon measures for the expediting the settlement of a minister.

The Rev. Alexander McWhorter was a graduate of the College of New Jersey, and was settled in Newark in 1759, as the successor of the Rev. Aaron Burr, who had been called to the presidency at Princeton. His wife was a sister of the Rev. Alexander Cumming. He had been out of health for some time, and coming northward, made a visit in Boston, where he seems to have preached and to have made a very favorable impression.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sprague thus speaks of the result of this visit : —

Shortly after his return from Boston, overtures were made to him from the congregation in that town which had some time before become vacant by the death of his brother in law, the Rev. Alexander Cumming, to become their pastor ; or rather, as they had scruples about calling a settled minister, — to resign his charge at Newark, with a view to accepting a call from them ; but he declined the preliminary step, and the matter went no further.

Dr. McWhorter was a distinguished minister in the Presbyterian Church, and, with some intervals of absence, continued to preach in Newark until his death in 1807.

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Society July 9th 1770.

Voted That Mr. Cushing, Deacon Phillips and Col. Jackson be a committee to Invite the Rev. Mr. John Bacon to preach to the Society for the Space of three months upon probation and to desire him for that purpose to Return from Maryland where he is now bound as soon as possible.

Voted that Mr. John Winslow be and hereby is desired to Apply to Mr. Ward to Supply the pulpit for six Sabbaths.

<sup>1</sup> During this visit, Mr. and Mrs. McWhorter were painted by Copley, at the invitation of Mrs. Cumming, as we judge from the receipt which is extant.

Voted that the persons who may from time to time supply the pulpit shall be allowed their board for the Time they Tarry in town and also the charge of keeping their horses.

Voted that the Deacons get the wall in the steeple new pointed and Repaired as soon as possible.

Voted that Mr. Secretary Oliver, Mr. Hubbard and Mr. Jno. Winslow be a Committee to examine the Deacons accounts.

Mr. Ephraim Ward, mentioned above, was a native of Newton, and a graduate at Cambridge in 1763. He was ordained pastor of the church in West Brookfield in 1771, and died there in 1818, aged seventy-seven.

Mr. Bacon was born in Canterbury, Connecticut, and graduated at Princeton in 1765, in the same class with Ebenezer Pemberton (the third of the name), Jonathan Edwards (the younger), and Jacob Rush. After being licensed he spent some time preaching in Somerset County, Maryland.

Lords Day August 5. 1770

The Brethren of the Church were staid and appointed a Meeting on Monday the 6th at 11 O'clock. August 6th. The Brethren met and took into consideration the Case of our brother Mr. A. T., who has walked very disorderly for years past. . . . Mr. Josiah Waters and Jeremiah Belknap were chosen to see him relative [to] his attendance; he came and acknowledged the latter charge; after some Conversation the Church determined to defer coming to a Resolution as to the manner of their proceedure on this sorrowful Occasion untill their adjournment, which is to be this Day fortnight at 10 o'clock A. M., whereof they acquainted said T. and desired his attendance at the adjournment; at the same time letting him know, that they should endeavour to conduct towards him with all Christian Tenderness, yet they looked upon themselves obliged to act agreeable to the strictest Laws of Christ's Kingdom.

Voted — that Deacon Jeffries and Deacon Phillips, (Deacon Sewall being removed out of town for the Benefit of his health,) together with Coll. Jackson be a Committee to wait upon the Revd Mr. George Whitefield when he comes to Town, which event is very soon expected, and make him the Offer of the pulpit to preach in, whenever he shall think proper, Lord's days excepted.

Whereas there is a Considerable Number of Members of other Churches, some of whom have for a longer, others for a shorter time partook with us at the Lords Table, but have not been Dismissed from those Churches, or regularly admitted to this — Voted that Brother William Homes and Thomas Dawes be a Committee to wait upon such members and signify to them that it is the Desire of this Church, that they would obtain such Dismission from those Churches in order to their being regularly admitted into this.

Voted, that Deacon Jeffries, Deacon Phillips, Thomas Cushing, William Whitwell, Jonathan Mason, John Scollay, and Henderson Inches (a Committee chosen and appointed 26th September 1769, on a like occasion), be a Committee to prepare the Draft of a Letter to the Revd Mr. Samuel Blair, (lately our pastor,) in Consequence of a letter received from him dated, Philadelphia October 31 1769, and lay the same before this Church for their approbation.

Voted that the Deacons notify the Church the next Lords day, that there is to be a meeting of this Church on Monday the 20th inst., at 10 o'Clock Forenoon, then to proceed to the Choice of some suitable person to serve in the Office of a Deacon; the ill state of Deacon Sewalls Health, and his Removal into the Country on that account, making it necessary; to which Time also this meeting stands adjourned.

DAVID JEFFRIES, Moderator.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Whitefield came to New England in August, to preach, as the event proved, his last sermons, and to lay his weary body down to sleep the sleep that knows no earthly waking. On Tuesday the 14th, he arrived in Boston from Wrentham, where he had preached in the morning; and for the next four or five weeks he preached almost every day in Boston and the neighboring towns. There being no pastor at the Old South to welcome him to its pulpit as during his previous visits, the brethren, as we have seen, placed it at his disposal, and he occupied it frequently, perhaps more than any other, during his stay.<sup>2</sup>

We are indebted to a satirical letter addressed to the associated pastors of the town, written as we suspect by Shippie

<sup>1</sup> [In a letter to the author, from the Rev. Charles Chauncy Sewall, dated Medfield, May 3, 1886, in reply to inquiries, the writer says: "In regard to the circumstances respecting my grandfather, Deacon Samuel Sewall, I have had this information from my brother, Rev. Samuel Sewall, that in consequence of some unfortunate connection with others, in his business affairs, my grandfather lost his property, and became so much depressed and partially deranged, that it was thought necessary to remove him from his home, and he was taken to the town of Holliston, Mass., where he died."]

<sup>2</sup> On Wednesday afternoon, August 15, he preached at the Old North, Mr. Lathrop's; on Thursday afternoon, at the Old South; on Friday morning, at the New North, Dr. Eliot's; on Saturday

morning, at the New Brick, Mr. Pemberton's; on Sunday, in Malden; on Monday morning, at the Old South; and on Tuesday morning, at the New North. This we learn from the newspapers; also, that he preached at the Old South, on Friday, August 24, "to a larger and more crowded audience than any since his arrival here;" again, on Wednesday, August 29; and, again, on Monday, September 3, to "five thousand people."

Mr. Charles Brooks, in his *History of Medford*, says that Mr. Whitefield preached a dedicatory discourse in the new meeting-house in that town, August 26, 1770, from the text 2 Chron. v. 14. This was the third meeting-house of the First Church; it had been occupied by the congregation since March, but may not have been completed until August.

Townsend, and printed in the *Evening Post*, for certain information as to how Mr. Whitefield was received at this time. It had been announced that "a letter of thanks was preparing for the associated pastors of the churches in this town, for their steady, uniform and shining conduct respecting religious matters, in the present time of trial both of truth and honesty; shewing the natural tendency hereof to discourage the growth of deism, and to promote pure and undefiled religion in their respective churches." The writer in the *Post*, referring to this letter, proceeds to thank the pastors in rather a mocking way for the cordial manner in which they had received Mr. Whitefield. "I thank you," he says, that

You were pleased so early to wait on him, congratulating him on his safe arrival once more in dear Boston, and some of you, with the committees of your respective churches, freely and cheerfully offering him the use of your meeting houses and pulpits, when, and as often as, he thought proper. He accordingly preached in all of them, one only excepted, [the New South:] He was prevented preaching in this one (as we suppose) by the sad catastrophe which happened in that meeting house the first visit he made here, whereby several lost their lives, and as being advised by his friends to carry on the work of his preaching while here in the Old South meeting house, and that at the North in which Doctor Eliot stately preaches, as being most convenient for the purpose; and he has kept steadily preaching at these two places, for about three weeks, to large and crowded auditories, composed of all sorts of people. . . . And we are the more obliged to you, Reverend Gentlemen, for your constant and unwearied attendance, particularly on his morning lectures, and hope your health will not be prejudiced hereby, as we are sensible it must occasion your rising much sooner than common. We have once, at least, observed eight or nine ministers in the pulpit, who seemed equally and variously affected with the people, by what this man of God delivered, and doubt not you will endeavour to follow the example herein set you, as to matter and manner.<sup>1</sup>

In a postscript, the writer adds that he does not include in the above address "the senior of the associated pastors," Dr.

<sup>1</sup> [A letter, evidently from the same pen, appears in the *Evening Post*, September 10, addressed to the venerable Mr. Appleton, of Cambridge, calling him to account for inviting Mr. Whitefield to his pulpit, and reminding him of his Convention Sermon of 1743. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 537. Another letter, which we

know to have been written by Mr. Townsend, appears in the *Massachusetts Spy*, August 28, addressed to Mr. Whitefield, containing a captious criticism on a sermon preached by him at the Old South, August 24, from Zech. ix. 12: "Turn you to the strong hold, ye prisoners of hope."]



Chauncy, nor "the Rev. and worthy Mr. Mather." Whether or not the meeting-houses of these two pastors were opened to Mr. Whitefield we are left in doubt. The letter says expressly that he preached in all the meeting-houses, "one only excepted." In a letter written from Boston, September 17, Mr. Whitefield thus speaks of this visit : —

All opposition seems, as it were, for a while to cease. I find God's time is the best. The season is critical as to outward circumstances ; but when forts are given up, the Lord Jesus can appoint salvation for walls and for bulwarks ; he has promised to be a wall of fire round about his people.

On the 21st of September he went on a tour to the eastward, as far as York. Retracing his steps towards Boston, he preached in the open air at Exeter on the morning of Saturday, the 29th, and reached the house of his friend, the Rev. Mr. Parsons, in Newburyport, the same evening. He was literally worn out. One of his ejaculations that day had been : "O Lord, I am weary *in* thy work, but not *of* thy work." Early in the night his symptoms became alarming (his complaint was asthma), and after a few hours of suffering, on Sabbath morning, he rested from his earthly labors.<sup>1</sup> He was in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and he had been preaching thirty-four years. He had made thirteen passages across the Atlantic, and had preached more than eighteen thousand times. The intelligence of his death called forth expressions of admiration and of grateful and affectionate regard along the entire Atlantic coast from Maine to Georgia, and throughout England and Scotland. In Boston, on the following Sunday, his death was referred to in most of the pulpits, and at the Thursday Lecture, October 11, Dr. Pemberton (he had just received the Doctor's degree from the College of New Jersey) preached a funeral discourse from 1 Peter i. 4 : "To an inheritance, . . . reserved in heaven for you." He remarked that "perhaps no man since the apostolic age" had "preached oftener and with greater success" than Mr. Whitefield, and said of his last visit : —

<sup>1</sup> "A respectable number of Gentlemen of the South Church set out for Newbury-Port with a view of bringing the Corps here for interment, knowing it to be Mr. Whitefield's desire, in case he should die at or near Boston, to be buried among his friends there, inso-

much as to request the favor of a particular Tomb. But to the surprize of these Gentlemen upon application for the Body to the Rev'd Mr. Parsons, at whose House he died, they were totally defeated of their intended compliance with Mr. Whitefield's Desire ; Mr. Par-

He was always received by multitudes with pleasure, when he favoured these parts with his labours. But he never had a more obliging reception than in his last visit. Men of the first distinction in the Province not only attended his ministry, but gave him the highest marks of their respect. With what faithfulness did he declare unto us the whole counsel of God. With what solemnity did he reprove us for our increasing degeneracy. With what zeal did he exhort us, to remember from whence we were fallen, and repent and do our first works, lest God should come and remove our candlestick from out of its place.<sup>1</sup>

We now return to the records, in course :—

August 20th 1770. The Church met according to adjournment, and at their Desire Doctr. Cooper opened the meeting with Prayer.

The case of our brother T. was taken into Consideration ; he was present, and acknowledged his sins, and particularly the sins with which he was charged, and professed his Resolution by the Grace of God to abstain from and wholly forsake those vile practices for the future and to bring forth Fruits meet for Repentance ; the Church chose to take this matter into their further serious Consideration against the Adjournment of this Meeting on Tuesday the 28th current at 10 o'Clock A. M.

Agreeable to a Vote of this Church pass'd at their Meeting the 6th Instant, when a Meeting was appointed for the purpose they proceeded to the choice of a suitable person to serve in the Office of a Deacon. There were Thirty one Votes, and upon counting the Votes it appeared that our Brother Mr. Jonathan Mason was chosen into that Office by a large Majority ; Twenty three of the Brethren having given their Votes for him.

Mr. Mason was a son of Benjamin and Elizabeth (Scollay) Mason, who joined the South Church early in the century. He married Miriam, daughter of Benjamin and Miriam (Kilby) Clark, and his daughter Miriam married the younger William Phillips. He was a merchant, and very prominent in local and public affairs ; at this time he was one of the selectmen, and one of a committee of merchants to carry out the provisions of

sons absolutely refusing to permit the Corps being buried, but from his own House, and before his own Pulpit, and this tho' Mr. Smith, the Companion of Mr. Whitefield in his Life, and rightful Guardian of the Body, if there was any, intimated his Knowledge of Mr. Whitefield's Desire to be buried in Boston, and alledging that he could not answer

any other Disposal of it, to his own Conscience, or to Mr. Whitefield's friends at home." — *Mass. Gazette.*

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Richard Smith, Mr. Whitefield's travelling companion on his last journey, preached in Mr. Croswell's meeting-house on the 5th and 6th of November, and sailed for England with Capt. Lyde on the 7th.]

the non-importation agreement. In 1784, with William Phillips, James Bowdoin, John Lowell and others, he founded the Massachusetts Bank, the first bank in New England. His son, Jonathan Mason, was a senator of the United States from Massachusetts at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Lords Day P. M. August 26th 1770, the brethren of the Church and congregation were stay'd, and voted that the Deacons be desired to ask the Rev. Mr. Walley to supply the pulpit for four Sabbaths next ensuing.

Tuesday August 28th.

The Brethren of the Church met again and sent and informed their Brother A. T. thereof; that, if he tho't proper, he might attend and say before the Church any thing he might have further to Offer. He attended, and express'd his sorrow and shame on account of his wicked Conduct, much to the same purpose as when he was present 20th instant. He then withdrew, and the Church after some further Conversation agreed to take the matter into their further serious Consideration.

Whereas Brother William Homes (who with brother Thomas Dawes were appointed a Committee to wait upon those Members of other Churches &c. as pr. vote August 5th), has desired to be excused from that service, his Affairs at this Time not permitting his attendance, Voted he be excused and that Brother Samuel Whitwell be and is appointed in his Room.

Voted that the Meeting be adjourned to Tuesday next, the 4th day of September 4 o'Clock p. m.

Tuesday Sept 4th 1770.

The Church met and voted that our Brother M<sup>r</sup>. A. T. be solemnly and publicly admonished on account of his past wicked Conduct, and suspended from our holy Communion; that Deacon Jeffries, Deacon Phillips, and Mr. Jonathan Mason (the lately elected Deacon) be a Committee to draw up the Admonition and Suspension; that the same be read the next Sabbath, or the Sabbath after (as to the said committee may seem most expedient) between the second Time of singing and pronouncing the Blessing at the afternoon service; that Deacon Jeffries read the said Admonition, and that said Mr. T. be notified thereof, and desired to attend on that solemn occasion.

The Admonition is as follows, vizt:

A. T.; Whereas you have been charged with repeated heinous Transgressions of the Laws of God, and of Consequence with a Breach of your Solemn Covenant Engagements to walk with this Church of Christ in a due submission to, and attendance upon all the orders and Ordinances of the gospel; which Charge you have confessed and

acknowledged to this Church, whereby a more particular Enquiry into such your wicked Conduct, so long persisted in, is Superceeded ; And Whereas the Laws of Christ Jesus, his Honor, the Credit of our holy Religion and the Obligations lying upon us require, that for such Offences we should rebuke you. — We therefore, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, do solemnly admonish and rebuke you ; and we do Suspend you from our holy Communion, untill you shall give Satisfactory Signs of true Repentance, in which Case we shall with open Arms embrace you and restore you to our Christian Charity and Communion. In the mean Time we pray God to sanctify the Censure which is now pass'd upon you, in order to bring you to a true sight and sense of sin, and that thereupon you may be enabled in the Exercise of Gospel Repentance and by true and lively Faith to repair to the Superabounding mercy of God, thro the Blood and Intercession of our Glorious Redeemer for pardon, and to the blessed Spirit for cleansing and purification, that so you may bring forth Fruits meet for Repentance, and by your future humble and holy walk adorn the Gospel while you live, and be received to Glory when you Die. God grant it for his mercy's sake in Jesus Christ, Amen.

Lords day Sept 9. 1770.

The Church was stayed, and a Letter read from the first Church in Malden, desiring our Assistance at the Ordination of Mr. Peter Thatcher. Voted. Messengers vizt ; the three Deacons, Thomas Cushing Esq. Coll. Jackson, Thomas Hubbard Esqr. and Mr. William Whitwell.

That part of the Vote pass'd the 4th inst. vizt : “ that Deacon Jeffries read the said Admonition,” was reconsidered, and Voted that in case a settled Minister can be obtained to supply the pulpit next Lords day afternoon, that Deacon Jeffries be excused and said settled minister be desired to read said Admonition.

Lords Day Evening Sept. 16. 1770

The Church and Congregation were stay'd. and Voted that the Deacons be desired to apply to Mr. John Hunt, who preached to the society A. M. to Supply the pulpitt for four Sabbaths to commence the Sabbath after next.

Voted that there be a Day of prayer with fasting Observed by this Church and Congregation on Tuesday the 25th Instant to Humble Ourselves before God under the present distressing aspects of divine providence, and to implore the Outpouring of the Blessed Spirit upon this society and on the ministers and churches through the town and land, as a spirit of grace and supplication and of true repentance and of turning unto God by Jesus Christ, and that he would be pleas'd in his Own time to provide this Church with a pastor or pastors after his Own heart. The Deacons were desired to apply to the associated pastors in the town.



Voted the five following persons viz. the Hon. Andrew Oliver Esq. Deacon Phillips &c. who were Chosen a Committee the 25th March last, be and they are hereby desired to write an Answer to Mr. McWhorters letter lately Received.

Mr. John Hunt was a son of a prosperous farmer of the same name in Northampton. He graduated at Harvard College in 1764, in the same class with John Scollay, Caleb Strong, and Samuel Parker. He taught the grammar school in his native town, studied theology, and was licensed to preach in 1769. "His first efforts in the pulpit," says Dr. Sprague, "were regarded as prognostic of a high standing in his profession. He preached in different places for more than a year and a half after his licensure, and always left a decidedly favourable impression."

Mr. Thacher's ordination at Malden took place on Wednesday, the 19th of September. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Nathaniel Robbins, of Milton (the minister of Mr. Thacher's family, when it moved out from Boston), from 1 John i. 3: "That which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you." The charge was given by Mr. Appleton, of Cambridge. Dr. Sprague says of the young pastor:—

His first efforts in the pulpit awakened an uncommon interest. The multitude crowded after him, and hung upon his lips, almost as if he had been a representative from some brighter world. Whitefield, in reference particularly to the fervour of his prayers, called him "the Young Elijah;" and the strictness of his orthodoxy, not less than the depth and warmth of his devotion, gave him great favour, especially with the more zealous portion of the religious community.

Lords Day Evening Sept 23 1770.

The brethren of the church and congregation were staid, and whereas upon application made by the Deacons to the associated pastors in the town agreeable to the Desire of the Church and congregation itt appeared probable that the said pastors would not be able to assist in carrying on the religious Exercises of the Day of prayer with fasting as Voted the 16th Inst. therefore Voted that the Day for the purposes as mentioned in said Vote of the 16th be pitched upon at some future time.

Tuesday Oct. 23. 1770.

At a meeting of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation,

Voted that Mr. John Hunt of North Hampton who has been preaching to this society for severall Lords days past, be desired to preach further to us for three months to come upon probation, to commence

the next Lords day, together with the Rev. Mr. John Bacon heretofore invited.

It is to be noticed that previous to passing the above Vote, it was mentioned by severall of the brethren of the Church that they thought it was the Undoubted right and privilage of the Church to lead in such an affair: upon which it was observed by one of the brethren of the Church that our practise had in some cases been Otherwise; to this it was replied that our practising wrong heretofore, which seemed to be the Oppinion of the Church, was no Reason why we should continue in such a practice, which might be attended with consequences very prejudicial to the Interests of true Religion. Where upon itt was moved, that the brethren of the Church should first vote by themselves which they did, and afterwards the brethren of the congregation.

Voted that Mr. Henderson Inches and the Deacons be a Committee to wait upon Mr. Hunt and acquaint him with said vote. The Committee waited upon Mr. Hunt and Returned his answer to the Church.

Whereas Brother Thomas Dawes who with Brother William Homes were appointed a Committee to wait upon those members of other Churches &c as pr Vote Augt 16 has desired to be Excused by reason of a Multiplicity of business, Therefore, Voted that our brother Joseph Belknap be and he is appointed in his Room.

Voted that Mr. Henderson Inches Deacon Mason and Ezekiel Lewis Esqr. be added to the committee formerly chosen to put in Order the Church Library given by our worthy pastor the late Rev. Mr. Thomas Prince, Deceased, in his will, and that a Catalogue be taken of the same.

A Letter from Mr. Charles Dabney Directed to the Members of the old South Church.

BOSTON, the 23d Dec 1770

*Gentlemen*

I being a tenant in the parsonage house formerly Improved by the Rev. Mr. Prince and having an Intention to make some alteration and addition to the same, have thought proper to lay the matter before you for your Approbation. What I purpose is to carry that part of the house called the porch out to the street and to widen it      feet each way: and in order that I may be permitted to carry this my Design into Execution and to answer any Objections that may be made, I would make the following proposall viz. that whenever you shall have occasion for a house for your minister, I will make an addition of Twenty Dollars a year, to the rent I now pay, which will be equal to one hundred Dollars pr Annum; in order to procure an house for this purpose and to make good this my proposall I will obligate myself as you shall Desire.

As it is my intention punctually to perform whatever engagements I

enter into with you, and as I am desirous of being rightly understood in what I propose ; I beg leave to observe that the additionall Rent I speak of Giving is not ment to respect the minister you first settle or that first has a family, I taking itt for granted that in this case there is a house already provided ; but my meaning is when you come to have two settled ministers that have each of them a family, then and not till then is this additional rent to commence, as this alteration will cost me a Considerable sum ; I ask the Liberty of taking away when the house shall be Demanded of me whatever addition I may make to itt. These things, Gentlemen, I submitt to your consideration and am very Respectfully

Your most humble servant

CHARLES DABNEY.

Voted that Mr. Henderson Inches, Mr. Secretary Oliver, Deacon Phillips, Mr. Hubbard, and Deacon Jeffries be a Committee to consider of Mr. Charles Dabney's Letter and also what may be proper to do with respect to the ministerial house Mr. Dabney now lives in.

Mr. Benjamin Pierpont will take the ministry house and keep itt in repair or at least not put the society to any Expense thereon and give an hundred dollars p. annum provided he may carry the porch out to the street at his own Expense in order for a Jewellers shop and remove such shop when he leaves the place, putting the fence and house in the same condition itt now is if required, or if he may continue there five years will leave the shop on the premisses.<sup>1</sup>

At a meeting of the Old South Church January 21. 1771. The Committee appointed to Examine the Deacons accounts relative to the Church Stock, reported that they had examined the Accounts and found them well Vouched and right cast and that the ballance due to the Church consisting of divers obligations and cash, amounted to the sum of                      which report being read was accepted.

Upon a motion made and seconded, Voted that the Deacons be and hereby are appointed a Committee to see to the decent Interment of the remains of Deacon Sewall at the expense of the Church, according to their best discretion, and that the accounts of Mr. Roulstone and Mr. More relative to the funeral of Mrs. Sewall late Consort of Deacon Sewall be discharged by the Deacons out of the Church Stock.

The Deacons communicated a Letter from Mr. Charles Dabney relative to the Ministerial House. It was thereupon Voted that Mr. Henderson Inches, Mr. Secretary Oliver, Deacon Phillips. Mr. Hubbard and Deacon Jeffries be a Committee to Consider of the same and

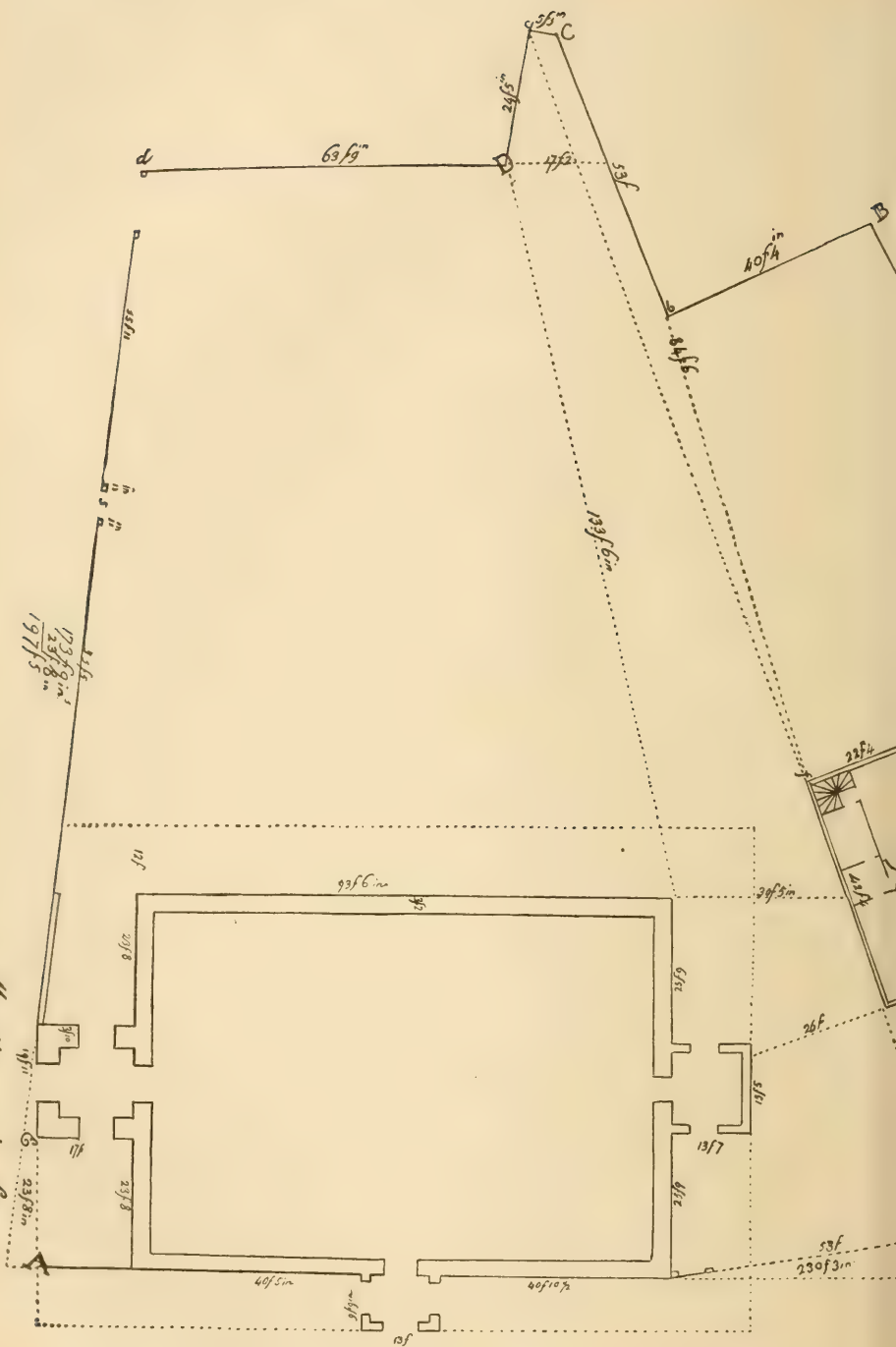
<sup>1</sup> [A marginal note by Dr. Eckley says that Mr. Dabney's letter, which was addressed to the church, should have been entered in the Church Book and not in the Society Book, where we

find it. In each of the books there is a reference to the first action taken upon it, and we print the whole, in the order of time in which the several entries were made.]





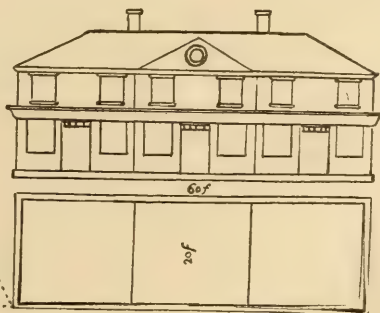
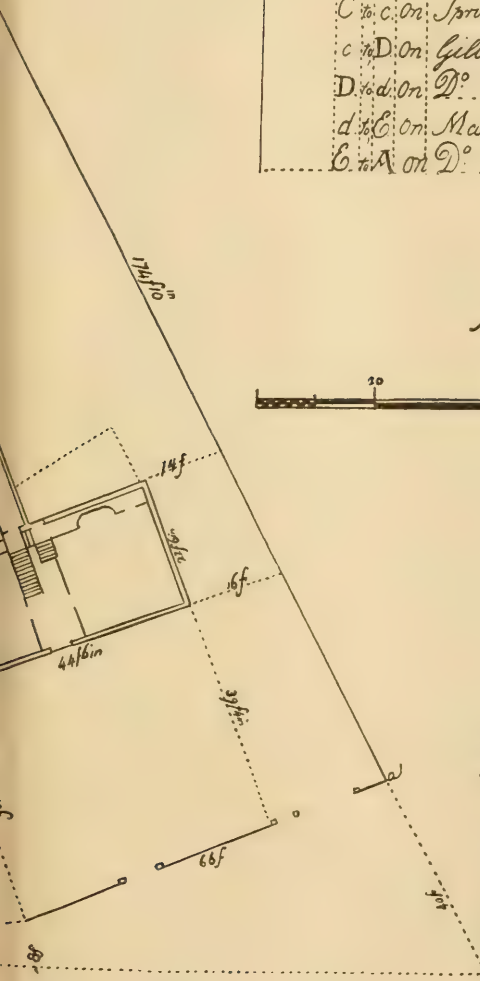
*Madborough Street.*



# Explanation. The

| From | To | On | Milk Street                      | Feet  | in |
|------|----|----|----------------------------------|-------|----|
| A    | a  | On | Milk Street                      | 230   | 3  |
| a    | b  | On | James Boutineau Esq <sup>r</sup> | 174   | 10 |
| B    | b  | On | Stephen Minott                   | 40    | 4  |
| b    | c  | On | D <sup>o</sup>                   | 53    | 0  |
| C    | c  | On | Spring Lane                      | 5     | 1  |
| c    | d  | On | Gilbert Debtors                  | 24    | 5  |
| D    | d  | On | D <sup>o</sup>                   | 63    | 9  |
| d    | e  | On | Mashborough Street               | 173   | 9  |
| E    | e  | On | D <sup>o</sup>                   | 23    | 8  |
|      |    |    |                                  | 197.5 |    |

Scale of 100 feet



Milk Street.



also what it may be proper to do with respect to the Ministerial House that Mr. Dabney now lives in and report at the Adjournment.

The church took under Consideration the expediency at this time and under their present Circumstances of settling two Ministers, and after some debate the Question was put, and it was voted by a very great majority that it was expedient to settle two ministers.

Voted that Mr. Cushing, Mr. Secretary Oliver, Deacon Jeffries, Deacon Phillips, Deacon Mason, Mr. Hubbard and Mr. William Whitwell be a Committee to Confer with Mr. Bacon and Mr. Hunt relative to their Sentiments with respect to Church Government and know of them whether the method practised by this Church is agreeable to them.

Voted that the Deacons be and hereby are desired to call a Meeting of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation to be Convened on Monday next at Ten o'Clock A. M: Then to consider of a Vote of the Church pass'd this Day, that it is expedient to settle two Ministers and desire their Concurrence with the Church in this Vote.

Voted that this Meeting be adjourned to Monday the 28th inst., at three o'Clock p. m.

At a Meeting of the South Church and Congregation the 28th January 1771,

The Hon Andrew Oliver Esq. Moderator.

The Committee appointed to examine the Deacons accounts reported that they had examined the same and found them right cast and well vouched, and that there remained a Ballance of £331.12.6 due to the Church and congregation, viz. in the hands of Deacon Jeffries one hundred and forty one pounds fourteen shillings and eight pence and in the hands of Deacon Phillips one hundred and eighty nine pounds, seventeen shillings and ten pence.

Voted that the said accounts be allowed, the Deacons afore mentioned to be accountable for the sums in their hands Respectively.

Voted that Mr. Thomas Dawes, William Phillips, Andrew Oliver, Thomas Cushing and Mr. Wales be a committee to take a plan of the Churches land and make an Estimate of the charge for erecting a brick building on some part of [it] to be improved for shops, and make a Draught of the same, and that the said Committee treat with Mr. Stephen Minott for so much of his land as may be sufficient to widen the passage way from Spring Lane into said Land.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Dawes had prepared a plan of the property owned by the church, a copy of which, somewhat reduced in size, we present herewith. Upon this we find the Milk Street parsonage built in 1710, the ground plan of which we have given separately, see *ante*, vol. i. p. 347. We find also, the front elevation of three brick shops or stores which it was proposed to build on the main street, between the old parsonage and the meeting-house, but which were never erected.]



Voted that the sum collected by contribution on the last Thanksgiving day be distributed by the Deacons for pious and charitable uses as usual according to their best discretion.<sup>1</sup>

A Vote of the Church signifying that they judged it expedient at this time and under their present circumstances to settle two ministers, was laid before the Church and Congregation for their consideration who thereupon voted a concurrence in opinion with the Church in the Expediency of settling two ministers as aforesaid

Adjourned to tomorrow morning ten o'clock.

The Church then met [Monday at 3 o'clock], and the Committee appointed to Confer with Mr. Hunt and Mr. Bacon reported that they had attended that Service and found the Method of Church Government prescribed by the Platform agreed upon at Cambridge N. E. and as practiced by this Church was agreeable to them and particularly that they were of opinion that the Ordinance of Baptism ought to be administered to the Children of all such Persons as made a Publick profession of their Faith, and were desirous of Dedicating themselves and their Children to God, whether such Persons were in full Communion with the Church or not.

Voted that the Church will now proceed to the choice of Two Ministers.

Voted that the Persons upon whom the Choice may fall be informed that it is the expectation of this Church that they give in a Confession of their faith previous to their settlement.

The Church then proceeded to the Choice and upon Counting and sorting the Votes, It appeared there were Fifty-three Voters, and that Mr. John Hunt and Mr. John Bacon were Unanimously Chosen.

Voted that Mr. Cushing, Mr. Secretary Oliver, Mr. Hubbard, Deacon Phillips, Coll. Jackson, Deacon Jeffries, and Deacon Mason be a Committee with such as the Brethren of the Congregation may joyn, in Case they concur with the Church in the Choice, to wait upon Mr. John Hunt and Mr. John Bacon and inform them that the Church have

The property was not improved in this way until 1800.

If Mr. Dawes had drawn a ground plan of the old parsonage, it would have had the greatest historical interest for us. As it is, we have two gateways only, the one, ten feet wide, for carriages, the other five wide, for a footway, with which to mark approximately the home of Winthrop and of the Nortons. This house, as we have already said, stood with its end to the street, and, probably, with its front towards the meeting-house. We may assume that it was twenty-two feet wide, this being the width of the addition

to the eastern end built before 1677, which would probably be uniform with the main building.]

<sup>1</sup> [In the margin of the record we find the following:—

“Memo. of the Collection by the South Church and Congregation, on the annual Thanksgiving Dec. 6 1770.

|                           |               |
|---------------------------|---------------|
| Appropriated to the widow |               |
| of Mr. Abijah Adams       | o. 12. 0      |
| At Large                  | . . 30. 15. 1 |
| 29th Collected more       | . . 6. 8      |

£31. 13. 9

Communicated to the Society.”]

Unanimously made Choice of them as their Pastors, and to desire they would continue to preach for the Society untill they give their Answer.

Tuesday, Jany. 29. 1771.

[Church and Congregation.]

Whereas danger is apprehended from the [foot] Stoves that are frequently left in the meeting house after the publick worship is over,

Voted That the saxton make diligent serch on the Lords day evening and on the evenings after a Lecture, to see if any stoves are left in the house, and that if he find any there he take them to his own house, and itt is expected that the owners of such stoves make reasonable satisfaction to the sexton for his trouble before they take them away.

And the Deacons are desired to cause the foregoing vote to be read on the next Lords day, that the whole congregation may be apprised of it.

Voted that a Seater be chosen in the Room of Joshua Winslow Esqr Deceased.<sup>1</sup> The Votes were accordingly brought in and counted, and it thereby appeared that Mr. Benjamin Dolbear was chosen.

Mr. Cushing who was Moderator of a meeting of the Church held yesterday, communicated a Vote then passed by the Church, fifty three members being present, whereby itt appeared that they had unanimously chosen Mr. John Hunt and Mr. John Bacon to be pastors of the said Church; which vote was laid before the Church and congregation for their concurrence, and a Vote being put thereon, the said choices were unanimously concurred.

Voted that there [be] allowed as Sallery to either of the said gentlemen who shall accept this call Two pounds thirteen shillings and four pence p. week untill further Order; or to each of them if they shall both accept, the same; said allowance to take place upon their being publickly set apart to the ministerial Service among us.<sup>2</sup>

Voted that the said Gentlemen, after being thus set apart, be allowed wood for their Studies while they are at private Lodgings, and that when they shall settle in families a sufficient Quantity of wood, as has been usual, to be allowed to each of them respectively upon their so settling.

<sup>1</sup> [Joshua Winslow, merchant, died October 9, 1769, in his seventy-fourth year. His widow, Elizabeth, died August 7, 1778, also in her seventy-fourth year. The *Continental Journal* has a full obituary notice of her. Mr. and Mrs. Winslow's names do not appear on the list of church members. The *Mass. Gazette* records the death of Joshua Winslow,

merchant, March 20, 1775, in his thirty-ninth year, who, as we suppose, was one of the consignees of the tea, in 1773.]

<sup>2</sup> [When Mr. Howard was ordained at the West Church, May 6, 1767, the same salary, £2. 13. 4 a week, was voted to him. It was increased in later years, to meet the exigencies of the times, as was also the salary at the Old South.]

Voted that suitable Dwelling houses be provided for those Gentlemen respectively, upon their settling in families as aforesaid.

Voted That Mr. Lyde, Mr. Winslow, Mr. Gill, Mr. Sweetser, Mr. Soley, and Mr. Bant, be a Committee with the Committee of the Church to acquaint Mr. Hunt and Mr. Bacon with the foregoing votes respecting them.

Voted That the Deacons be desired to endeavour to collect all the arrearages due for seats in the meeting house as soon as may be, and that publick notice be given that the books are at Mr. Phillips, where all persons who are in arrear are desired to call and pay their arrearages; and where if need be they may satisfy themselves with regard to their respective ballances, and that the Deacons be desired to make report of their doings herein some time in March next.

Voted that the Committee appointed yesterday to take a plan of the Church's land &c be desired to view the Deacons and the Singers seats and consider if any alteration can be made in either of them to advantage; and report.

Lords Day P. M. March 10th 1771.

The Brethren of the Church were stayed, and the Deacons informed them that the Revd Mr. Blair (our late Pastor), was come to Town from Philadelphia, and had manifested his Desire to have an Interview with the Church. Whereupon Voted that the Committee chosen August 5. 1770, vizt. Deacon Jeffries, Deacon Phillips, Thomas Cushing, William Whitwell, Jonathan Mason, John Scollay, and Henderson Inches be a Committee to confer with the Revd Mr. Blair and report to the Church what he may have to offer. Voted that Mr. Secretary Oliver and Mr. John Kneeland be added to said Committee.

Voted that there be a meeting of the Church on Thursday the 14th inst, at 3 o'clock P. M. unless the publishing his Honor's commission which tis apprehended will take place on that Day should prevent, in which case the meeting is to be on Fryday the 15th at 10 o'clock a. m.

DAVID JEFFRIES Deacon.

Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, who had been acting-governor during the absence of Sir Francis Bernard in England, now received the royal commission as governor, and Mr. Secretary Oliver was commissioned as lieutenant-governor.

Fryday 10 o'clock A. M. March 15th 1771.

The Brethren of the Church met according to Appointment. The Rev Mr. Bacon prayed, Deacon Jeffries was chosen Moderator, after which he informed the Church that their Committee had met the Rev. Mr. Blair several Times, and that as he apprehended there might be Difficulties remaining in the minds of some of the Brethren respecting him, he desired an Opportunity of coming before the Church and in a free manner unbosom himself to them.

Accordingly Mr. Blair being notified that the Church were ready to hear him, he attended the meeting and after having expressed his mind very fully to the Church, respecting his going to Philadelphia, also respecting his asking a Dismission from his pastoral Relation to this Church, and not returning to us, he withdrew, having first enquired of the Church whether it was necessary for him to tarry while they took the matter under Consideration. After some Conversation had, the Church Voted That a Letter Testimonial be given to the Revd Mr. Blair, respecting both his Ministerial and Christian Character.

Voted that the above mentioned be the Committee to prepare the Draft of said Letter, and that it be laid before the Church for their Approbation at the Adjournment.

Voted that the Revd. Mr. Bacon be desired to ask the Revd. Mr. Blair to preach with us the next Lord's Day.

Voted that the meeting be adjourned to Wednesday the 20th Inst. at 10 o'Clock A. M.

DAVID JEFFRIES  
Moderator.

Wednesday March 20th 1771 10 o'Clock A. M.

The Brethren of the Church met according to adjournment and, Voted that Mr. Benjamin Pierpoint's proposals respecting the Ministerial House late in the occupation of Mr. Charles Dabney, be accepted.

The Committee appointed the 15th Inst. to prepare the Draft of a Letter Testimonial to the Revd Mr. Samuel Blair laid the following before the Church for their approbation which was accepted and voted to be recorded, and that a Copy thereof be signed by the Moderator and delivered to Mr. Blair.

DAVID JEFFRIES  
Moderator.

To all to whom it may Concern ; The South Church in Boston send Greeting.

Whereas it has been the Practice of this Church to admit to Baptism the Children of such among us, who do Publickly and solemnly renew their baptismal Covenant, and whose Lives and Conversations are otherwise agreeable to such Christian profession, altho they should for Reasons best known to their own Consciences afterwards abstain from the Sacrament of the Lords Supper ; concerning which practice, our late worthy Pastor the Revd Mr. Samuel Blair entertaining some unsurmountable Doubts and Scruples, and at the same time finding his Health greatly impaired, insomuch that it was with the utmost Difficulty and Hazard of Life that he could in any Measure discharge the Duties of his Ministerial Office : He did for these Reasons hold himself obliged to ask a Dismission from his pastoral Care and Charge over us ; and we the said church did thereupon grant him such Dismission.



Now lest such Separation should be construed to the prejudice of Mr. Blair's Character, we think ourselves bound in Justice to declare, and we do hereby freely declare, that Mr. Blair's moral Character while among us was irreproachable, and his Ministerial performances highly acceptable, and that we conceive it to be a humbling Frown of divine providence that we should be constrained upon such grounds to separate. We pray God to restore his Health and Usefulness. We declare ourselves to be in perfect Charity with him, notwithstanding the Difference in Opinion aforementioned, and we do hereby cordially recommend him to any Christian Church or Society who may agree with him in religious Sentiments, if it should please God to restore his Health, and again open the Door for his further Usefulness in his Gospel Ministry.

DAVID JEFFRIES

Moderator.

Voted That John Sweetser Junr. and John Soley be and they are hereby desired to transcribe into the Books of the Church and of the Church and Congregation, the Votes pass'd by them respectively since the Departure of the Rev Mr. Blair (our late pastor) from us, also any other papers or Letters heretofore voted to be recorded.

Voted That the Committee appointed to consider what alteration may be proper to be made in the Deacons seat, and the seat adjoining behind, be and they are hereby desired to proceed and make the alteration according to their best Discretion.

DAVID JEFFRIES

Moder.

The restoration of mutual confidence between Mr. Blair and his late parishioners, so happily accomplished in the freedom of personal intercourse, could never have been reached by correspondence alone ; nor, under the circumstances, would an ecclesiastical council, with its almost inevitable concomitants of prejudice and partisanship, have been likely to do anything except to widen the breach and make it permanent. The straightforward vote of confidence adopted by the brethren will compare very favorably, we think, with the flattering resolutions usually passed in these days by councils called to dismiss.

Mr. Blair took up his residence in Germantown, near Philadelphia, and passed the remainder of his life in retirement and in the enjoyment of his books, except that he served two years as chaplain to Congress, and preached from time to time, as opportunity offered. He received the Doctor's degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1790, and died in 1818, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Dr. William Neill says of him :—

“He was a man of polished manners and of amiable and generous disposi-

Sarah, wife of Mr. Moses Gill,<sup>1</sup> and the last surviving child and descendant of the Rev. Thomas Prince, died after an illness of many months, on the 5th of August, aged forty-three. She was a highly educated and accomplished woman,<sup>2</sup> and a devoted follower of her Lord and Master. Mr. Hunt preached her funeral sermon from a text selected by herself, Rev. vii. 14: "These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." The sermon was printed, with selections from her writings. We quote one paragraph from the former, for the sake of its reference to the political agitations through which the province was then passing:—

tions. He was also a superior scholar a well read theologian, and an eloquent pulpit orator. But, owing perhaps to excessive diffidence, and a tendency to melancholy, he was too much of a recluse. True, his health was feeble; but it would probably have been improved by more active service. He yielded too much to despondency, and did not rouse himself to labour in his profession with becoming energy and zeal. Hence the high expectations which his early promise had inspired, were, in a great measure disappointed. But it should be mentioned to his honour that he was always liberal in his contributions to the support of religion, and to all evangelical enterprises. He was a principal agent, and one of the most generous contributors, in the erection of the Presbyterian church edifice in Germantown, where he laboured in word and doctrine, for some time, gratuitously, and with great acceptance. His services were also acceptable in Philadelphia, where he preached, by invitation, in several of the churches, when their pulpits happened to be vacant; but he rarely went abroad to preach, partly on account of infirm health, and partly because he deemed himself but poorly fitted for that sort of labour. Indeed, although he was a man of acknowledged talents, good education and refined taste, he failed in energy and moral courage. He gave himself up to the luxury of private study, pondering the deep things of religion, waiting, it would seem, for a providential opening to some important station, when he

might have been much more advantageously employed in the great practical duties of his office. I say this, because it is due to truth, and without the least disposition to dishonour his memory. While he was, in many respects, a noble specimen of a man, one cannot but wish, in contemplating his character, that his fine powers had been brought more fully into exercise, and that the history of his life had been a record of more extended and self-denying labours."—*Sprague's Annals*, vol. iii. pp. 269, 270.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gill was a wealthy merchant. He was lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts from 1794 to 1800, with Samuel Adams and Increase Sumner as governors, and on the death of the latter, he became acting governor. His second wife was a daughter of Thomas Boylston.

<sup>2</sup> The *Evening Post* of August 12 has a full obituary notice of her. For a description of her portrait by Copley, and that of her husband, see *Copley's Life and Paintings*, by Aug. T. Perkins. "She is represented as having a very refined and intellectual countenance, with black hair carried off from her forehead and temples, with strings of pearls entwined." She is dressed "in a dark-blue velvet robe, with muslin under sleeves reaching below the elbows, and with double ruffles. Four rows of pearl beads encircle the throat,—one row coming down over the left shoulder to the middle of the bust, where two long loops fall over the bows of a white-lace scarf, edged with gold, and embellished with gold sprigs."

Having great merit in the literary world, she had the advantage of being fully acquainted with the state of mankind ; and from a thorough conviction of their right to freedom, and the importance of it to their felicity, both here and hereafter, she to her latest hour fervently wished and prayed for the liberty of the world in general, and of her own country in particular.<sup>1</sup>

Boston, Aug. 26. 1771.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the South Church, the Revd Mr. Bacon prayed. Voted that Deacon Jeffries be Moderator.

Mr. John Hunt and the Revd Mr. John Bacon were present and exhibited the Confession of Faith of the Elders and Messengers of the Churches conven'd May 12. 1680, as agreeable to their Sentiments ; and expressed their Approbation of the Discipline as practised by the Church. The Revd Mr. Bacon also exhibited his Testimonial and Dismission from the presbytery of Lewes, which was accepted by the Church, and is as follows : —

The presbytery of Lewes, at a meeting at the Three Runs, Aug : 7. 1771 —

Being informed by a Letter from the Rev. Mr. John Bacon, that some months ago, he received an unanimous Call to the pastoral Office in the old South Church in Boston, which after due Deliberation he has lately accepted ; and that the said Church, to prepare the way for his Installment, desire a formal Dismission from this Judicature to be transmitted to him, do agree to comply with his Request : and tho it be with no small Reluctance that they part with so worthy a Member, yet considering the important Sphere of Usefulness to which he is called, do hereby dismiss him from his Connection with this Judicature, and most heartily recommend him to the old South Church in Boston, or any other where Divine providence may cast his Lot, as a regularly ordain'd and valuable Minister of the Gospel, in whom they trust, by the Blessing of God, both the Ministers and Churches of Christ, where he resides, will have much Comfort.

Signed in the name, and by the Appointment of the presbytery of Lewes, by

JACOB KER Moder.

Whereupon it was Voted,

That the Day for the Ordination of Mr. John Hunt, and for the Installment of the Revd Mr. John Bacon, be, God willing, on Wednesday the 25 : day of September next.

Voted, That the Church will not proceed to make a public Dinner.

Voted, That the following Churches in this Town be sent to, vizt : The Old Church [Dr. Chauncy] — The North Church [Mr. Lathrop,]

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Hunt's sermon makes mention of another member of the South Church, who died a few days before Mrs. Gill — Mrs. Comrin, in her sixty-eighth year. We do not find her name in the list of members.]

— The Church in Brattle Street [Dr. Cooper,] — The new South Church [Mr. Bowen] — The Revd. Dr. Pemberton's — The new north Church [Dr. Eliot,] — The Revd. Dr. Mathers, and Doctor Byles's. Also the Revd Mr. Hooker's Church at North-hampton, and the Revd Mr. Searl's Church at Stoneham, and be desired to assist by their Elders and Messengers at said Ordination and Installment.<sup>1</sup>

Voted, That the Elders and Messengers be desired to meet at the Ministerial House formerly improved by the late venerable Doctor Sewall, by two o'clock P. M.

Voted, That the Revd. Doctor Chauncy be desired to give the Charge on this Occasion.

Voted, That the Brethren of the Church set together in the Front Gallery ; and that such of our Brethren as constantly set down with us at the Lords Table, tho' not yet formally admitted, be desired to sit with them.

DAVID JEFFRIES Moder.<sup>2</sup>

On Sunday, September 22, Mr. Hunt and Mr. Bacon were received into the membership of the church. The settlement of these young men appears to us to have been the result of a compromise in the church and congregation. Graduates of Cambridge and Princeton respectively, perhaps neither of them exactly represented the theological tendencies of the college at which he was educated. Mr. Hunt was a moderate Calvinist, conservative in his views ; Mr. Bacon, Dr. Sprague says, was understood to have sympathized with the school of Bellamy, Hopkins, and West.<sup>3</sup>

The installation took place on Wednesday, September 25. Mr. Hunt preached the sermon from 2 Tim. ii. 15 : " Shew thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." The charge to the young pastors was given by Dr. Chauncy, largely in the words of Scripture, and the right hand of fellowship by Dr. Eliot, who in closing addressed a few words to the church in the course of which he said : —

This church hath been distinguished by a succession of able and faithful ministers. The praise of those who have stood in a pastoral relation to you is still in all the churches — the holy Thacher — the

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Hooker was Mr. Hunt's pastor at Northampton, and the Rev. Jonathan Searle was his classmate at Cambridge. Every Congregational Church in the town was invited, except the West Church, of which the Rev. Simeon Howard was minister, and the church under the care of the Rev. Mr. Croswell.]

<sup>2</sup> [The record of this meeting is in the handwriting of Deacon Jeffries.]

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Wisner says that " Mr. Bacon's style of preaching was argumentative ; his manner approaching the severe. Mr. Hunt was descriptive and pathetic ; and peculiarly affectionate and winning in conversation and public speaking."



judicious Willard — the accomplished Pemberton — the learned Prince — the penetrating Cumming — men who will be had in everlasting remembrance. But among these great and good men, there is no one whose name I mention with more pleasure, or whose memory deserves greater respect from you, than that of the excellent Dr. Sewall, who during the course of fifty-six years was your faithful and laborious pastor and whose venerable head so lately adorned this desk. The Lord reward the kindness you have showed to the house of his servant, and which, we doubt not, you will be ready to continue!<sup>1</sup>

On the next Lord's Day, Mr. Hunt preached a sermon appropriate to the opening of his pastoral work from Jer. xxiii. 28 : "The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream ; and he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully : what is the chaff to the wheat ? saith the Lord."

Lords day Octo : 13. 1771

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed, and Voted that they meet tomorrow 10 o Clock A. M. to consider what Repairs may be necessary at the Ministerial house improved by the Revd Doctor Sewall in his Life Time.

Monday Octo : 14. The Brethren met according to appointment and Voted, that Deacon Jeffries be Moderator.

Voted, that the minister who shall first marry, shall be at Liberty to move into the above mentioned house.

Voted, that there be a Committee to consider what Repairs may be necessary, make an Estimate thereof, and report the same to the Society at their adjournment.

Voted, that the Seven following persons, the Lieut Governor, Mr. Cushing, Thomas Hubbard Esq. Deacon Mason, John Winslow Esq. Mr. Dolbeare and Arnold Welles Esq. be the Committee.

Voted, that the Meeting be adjourned to Monday next at 10 o'Clock A. M.

DAVID JEFFRIES  
Moderator.

Monday, Octo : 21. 1771. The Brethren met according to adjournment.

An Estimate of Repairs for the Ministerial house (where Doctor Sewall formerly dwelt) was laid before the Society. Whereupon,

Voted, that the Society will proceed to the repairing said House.

Voted, that a Committee of Five be chosen to take Care respecting said Repairs.

Voted, that the following persons vizt. Deacon Mason, Arnold

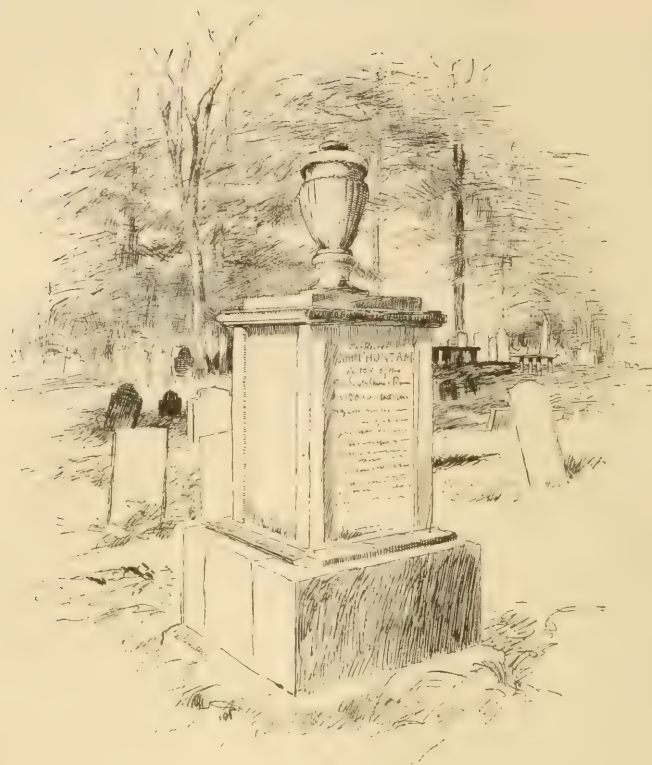
<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Eliot also made a kind reference to Mr. Blair, as "our dear brother, [Dr. Sewall] as a son in the gospel."]

Welles Esq. Mr. Benjamin Dolbeare, Mr. Samuel Whitwell, and Mr. William Whitwell be the Committee.

DAVID JEFFRIES  
Moderator.

The house in which Mr. Pemberton and Dr. Sewall had lived and died was occupied by Mr. Bacon, on his marriage with the widow of the Rev. Alexander Cumming.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hunt was never married.

<sup>1</sup> They were married November, 1771. the brilliancy given to the eye, and the Mrs. Cumming was painted by Copley in beauty of the hand and arm." See 1769. The picture is remarkable "for Perkins's *Life and Paintings of Copley*.



## CHAPTER IV.

1771-1775.

MORE TROUBLE IN THE PASTORATE. — THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. — THE SIEGE OF BOSTON.

THE joint pastorate whose institution we recorded at the close of the last chapter was destined to be both brief and troubled. Almost at the outset Mr. Bacon, through inadvertence, no doubt, gave offence to some of the patriot party in his congregation. The public mind was excitable and sensitive, and at such a time a young minister, a comparative stranger in the town and province, might easily be misunderstood and become the subject of misrepresentation. Governor Hutchinson had issued a proclamation for a day of general thanksgiving, and had called upon the people to give thanks to God particu-

larly for the continuance of their religious and civil liberties. Mr. Hunt was absent, on a visit to Northampton ; and the proclamation, coming into the hands of Mr. Bacon, was read by him on the next Lord's Day. What followed we find reported in the Boston Gazette, November 11, 1771 :—

It is said the Worshipping Assembly at the Old South Church, whose Pastor had so prematurely as well as unexpectedly in the Absence of his senior Colleague, read the Governor's Proclamation with the exceptionable Clause, stopped after divine Service was ended Yesterday, and express'd their great Dissatisfaction at that Part of the Rev. Mr. Bacon's conduct.

We hear the Proclamation which has given so much Offence to the good People of this Province, was read in no other Congregational Church in this Town than the American Manufactor'd Doctors, which gave so much Uneasiness to his Hearers, that many of them took their Hatts and walk'd out while he was reading it.<sup>1</sup>

A fortnight later, a long letter appeared in the Gazette, signed S. C., from which we quote the most important sentences :—

Mr. Bacon desired the brethren of the church and congregation to stop after divine service was ended, in order (as is usual before our anniversary thanksgiving) to vote a collection for charitable and pious uses ; after which a motion was made, the import of which was to consider whether our public thanks should be agreeable to the tenor of the exceptionable clause in the Proclamation ; not a word was said in the meeting about Mr. Bacon's conduct. It is generally supposed (and I have reason to think justly) that Mr. Bacon being a stranger, and not having been informed of the usual time of reading the proclamation, conceived a propriety in its being read as soon as might conveniently be done after it came to hand. Nor do I know of any reason that can be given why it is not as proper to be read three Sabbaths before the day appointed for publick thanksgiving, as two ; especially as custom is various in this respect.

It seems to be represented as a great piece of imprudence in Mr. Bacon to presume to read the proclamation in the absence of his *senior* colleague. As to the terms *junior* and *senior*, I think them hardly worth mentioning, and I hope our kind Pastors will never be disposed to contend for the chief rooms, or who shall be the greatest. I shall not undertake to determine what it is that constitutes seniority

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Pemberton had received the doctorate from Princeton the year before. Dr. Chauncy, Dr. Cooper, and Dr. Eliot received their degrees from Edinburgh, and Dr. Mayhew and Dr. Byles from Aberdeen. Harvard College for

the first time gave the degree of D. D. in 1771 to the Rev. Mr. Appleton, of Cambridge, who had been a Fellow more than fifty years ; and in 1773 it conferred it on the Rev. Samuel Locke and the Rev. Samuel Mather.]



in a minister of the gospel; whether a senior pastor is one of an higher order, or of older standing in the ministry, is left with every one to determine for himself: Some have supposed the former, and some the latter; and for this reason I suppose it is that these have sometimes consider'd Paul as the youngest of the apostles. However, I believe, there has not generally been supposed to be so great a distinction between colleague pastors among us, as that it should be thought criminal for the *junior* to read a proclamation in the absence of his *senior*.<sup>1</sup>

Samuel Adams said of the proclamation and of its reception by the clergy and the people, in a letter to Arthur Lee, who was in London, dated November 13:—

This, I imagine, was contrived to try the feelings of the people; and if the Governor could dupe the clergy, as he had the Council, and they the people, so that the proclamation should be read as usual in our churches, he would have nothing to do but acquaint Lord Hillsborough that the people in general acquiesced in the measures of government since they had appeared to admit with — himself, that notwithstanding the faction and turbulence of a party, their liberties were continued and their trade enlarged. I am at a loss to say, whether this measure is more insolent to the people or affrontive to the majesty of Heaven, neither of whom, however, a modern politician regards, if at all, so much as the smiles of his noble patron. But the people saw through it in general, and openly declared that they would not hear the proclamation read; the consequence of which was, that it was read in only two of all the churches in this town, consisting of twelve, besides three Episcopal churches; there, indeed, it has not been customary ever to read them. Of those two clergymen who read it, one of them being a stranger in the Province, and having been settled but about six weeks, performed a servile task about a week before the usual time, when the people were not aware of it. They were, however, much disgusted at it. The other is a known flatterer of the Governor, and is the very person who formed the fulsome address of which I wrote you some time ago. He was deserted by a great number of his auditory in the midst of his reading.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Pemberton was the divine of whom Mr. Adams wrote thus severely, at whose Princeton degree the Gazette cast a sneer, and to whom the same paper referred at another time, as “the old, rich, reverend doctor.” Dr. Chandler Robbins, in an historical discourse preached at the New Brick, just before its demolition, thus spoke of the waning popularity of his predecessor:—

<sup>1</sup> [*Boston Gazette*, November 25, 1771.]

<sup>2</sup> [Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. i. pp. 432, 433.]

At the period of his settlement here, he enjoyed a degree of popularity such as had fallen to the lot of few who had ever stood in a Boston pulpit, and attracted to this house a crowded congregation. But he lived to experience, even beyond what is usual in such cases, the proverbial fickleness of popular favor. In the latter part of his life, his congregation sadly dwindled. Instead of the throngs which used to gather before him, his eye looked down upon only a few familiar faces scattered about amongst almost empty pews. But the declension of his fame was not more attributable to any deterioration of his ability, than to the influence of political odium. The inhabitants of the North End, as is well known, were almost all of them stanch and uncompromising whigs. Dr. Pemberton was a warm friend of Governor Hutchinson, who was a worshipper at his church, and therefore fell under the suspicion of sharing his attachment to the tory interest.<sup>1</sup>

There is no entry upon the record book of either church or congregation during the year 1772. On the 5th of March, the second anniversary of the King Street massacre, Joseph Warren delivered an oration in the Old South Meeting-House, as James Lovell, an usher in the Grammar School, had done the year before. Dr. Warren was only thirty years of age, but his reputation was already established as a writer and speaker. His oration explained the nature of the connection between Great Britain and the colonies, in a constitutional argument of the highest ability. It was listened to by a "vast concourse" of people, who were held "spell-bound by the purity and eloquence of his language, and the noble and ingenuous bearing of the gifted speaker."

At this time the prospects of the patriot cause were not very promising. Samuel Adams and John Hancock were at variance, and had held no intercourse with each other for a year. The governor wrote: "I think we have so divided the faction that it must be something very unfortunate which can unite them again." Indeed, it was reported in London that Hancock had deserted to the side of the government. The difference between the two leaders, however, had then been arranged by the friends of the parties; and Adams, in the magnanimity of his nature, took pains to relieve Hancock from the suspicions under which he had rested, for, as it proved, all the influence of the governor and his agents had, in the end, been ineffectual to bring him over.

<sup>1</sup> [Robbins's *History of the Second Church*, pp. 190, 191.]

The church in Brattle Street proceeded this summer to the erection of a brick meeting-house, the wooden building of 1699 being no longer adequate to the wants of the congregation, although it had been enlarged a few years before.

On the 19th of May, 1773, Mr. Joseph Howe was installed at the New South Church as the successor of the Rev. Penuel Bowen. Mr. Howe was a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1765, and his ordination sermon was preached by its president, the Rev. Naphtali Daggett. Dr. Chauncy and Dr. Pemberton took part in the services.<sup>1</sup>

The Hon. Thomas Hubbard, who had been a member of the Old South Church for forty-three years, and one of its deacons for a quarter of a century, died at Waltham July 14, in his seventy-first year.<sup>2</sup> He resigned the deaconship in 1764, but accepted the treasurership on the death of Mr. Osborne in 1768. Mr. Hubbard "had scarcely passed the threshold of manhood before he was placed by his fellow citizens in stations of trust and confidence. He became a member of the House of Representatives, held for many successive years the speaker's chair, and finally was raised to a seat in the Council of the Province, which he resigned a short time before his death. Few men have passed through life with a higher reputation for integrity, usefulness, and fidelity in all the relations of public and private life." He was chosen treasurer of Harvard College in 1752, succeeding Edward Hutchinson, and held the position until his death. "He increased the funds of the college by his judicious and assiduous management, and to the office of treasurer united the character of benefactor."<sup>3</sup>

Lord's Day P. M. 29th of August 1773.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed, and voted that there be a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Howe died at Hartford, August 25, 1775, during the siege of Boston.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Hubbard lived in a fine mansion in Summer Street, which had been built by Leonard Vassall on land formerly owned by Simeon Stoddard. He left £200 to the poor of Boston, and £50 to the Charitable and Pious Fund of the Old South. His executors were William Blair Townsend, his son-in-law, and Thomas Fayerweather. His daughter Mary, wife of Mr. Townsend, died in 1768, soon after her marriage. His

daughter Thankful married, in 1770, Dr. Thomas Leonard, and died in 1772. Phillis Wheatley addressed some touching lines to the parents, on the death of this second daughter. Mrs. Hubbard — Mary, daughter of Jonathan Jackson — died February 15, 1774. Mr. Hubbard's portrait by Copley is in the possession of Harvard College.

<sup>3</sup> Quincy's *History*, vol. ii. p. 158. Mr. Hubbard was succeeded in the treasurership of the college by John Hancock.

Congregation on Tuesday the 31st Inst at 11 o'clock A. M. to consider of, and act upon any Matters respecting the Church and Congregation that may come before them.

Boston August 31st 1773.

At a meeting of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation. The Revd. Mr. Bacon opened the Meeting with Prayer and then withdrew.

Deacon Jeffries was chosen Moderator.

Voted, to proceed to the Choice of a Treasurer, in the Room of the late Thomas Hubbard Esqr deceased. By the Votes it appeared that Deacon Phillips was chosen Treasurer.

Voted, that Joseph Jackson, Jonathan Mason and William Phillips be a Committee for adjusting the late Treasurers Accounts.

Voted, that Deacon Phillips, this Day chosen Treasurer be, and he is hereby impowered and directed to receive from the Executors of the late Treasurer, Thomas Hubbard Esqr deceased, the Monies and Papers in their Hands, belonging to this Society.

Voted, that the following seven persons, viz. Deacon Phillips, Deacon Mason, Deacon Jeffries, also Joseph Jackson, Benjamin Dolbeare, Arnold Wells, and Thomas Cushing, be a Committee, to stand for one year, and untill further Order, and to have the Direction and Ordering of Affairs relative to the Pews and Seats in the Meeting House.

Voted, that Henderson Inches, John Scollay, and Thomas Dawes be a Committee for auditing the Accounts of the Deacons: and that the Monies remaining in the Deacons Hands, after auditing their Accounts be lent on Interest on good Security at their Discretion.

Voted, that what Monies Treasurer Phillips may receive from the aforementioned Executors be paid into the Hands of the Deacons to be by them lett out on good Security at their Discretion.

JNO. HUNT Pastor.<sup>1</sup>

In November and December of this year, the proceedings were held in the Old South Meeting-House, which led to the destruction of the East India Company's tea in Boston harbor. The shipment of this tea was planned by the administration in London, in order to establish and fix the tribute laid upon the importation of the article.<sup>2</sup> On Sunday, November 28, the Dartmouth, Captain Hall,<sup>3</sup> the first of the historical tea ships

<sup>1</sup> [We suppose that the moderator obtained the attestation of one of the pastors to the record of these proceedings, because they related in part to acts to be performed by himself as one of the deacons of the church.]

<sup>2</sup> The consignees of the tea were:

Richard Clarke and Sons, Benjamin Faneuil, Jr., Joshua Winslow, and Elisha and Thomas Hutchinson.

<sup>3</sup> William Phillips, the son, sailed for England with Captain Hall, July 6, 1772, and returned with him in the same ship at this time.



to arrive, came to anchor near the Castle. Notwithstanding the day, the committee of correspondence met at once, and had a conference with Mr. Francis Rotch, the owner of the vessel, who promised not to enter her at the custom house until Tuesday. It was then determined to hold a mass meeting of the citizens on the following day, and invitations were sent to the people of Dorchester, Roxbury, Brookline, Cambridge, and Charlestown to attend, and to make an united and successful resistance "to this last, worst and most destructive measure of administration." On Monday, at nine o'clock, the people gathered in crowds at Faneuil Hall, and Jonathan Williams was chosen moderator. Samuel Adams at once asked for a vote on the question, whether the tea now arrived should be returned to the place from whence it came, at all events. This was decided in the affirmative, without one dissenting vote. In the mean time, the number of people in and about the hall was constantly increasing, and "leave having been obtained for the purpose," the meeting was adjourned to the Old South. The building was packed to its utmost capacity. Samuel Adams now moved that the question be put, whether the tea should not only be sent back, but that no duty should be paid thereon. The vote was again in the affirmative and unanimous. It had been expected that the consignees of the tea would send in some proposals, but as none were made, the meeting was adjourned to the afternoon at the same place. It was voted, at the adjourned session, that the tea should go back in the same vessel in which it had arrived. Mr. Rotch was present and said that he should enter his protest against these proceedings, but the significant vote was passed that if he entered the tea, he would do so at his peril. Captain Hall was also cautioned not to allow any of the tea to be landed. "Out of great tenderness" to the consignees, the meeting adjourned to Tuesday morning, to allow further time for consultation. The answer then came, that it was not in the power of the consignees to send the tea back. At this juncture, Copley, the artist, son-in-law of one of the consignees, tendered his services as mediator between them and the people, and was allowed two hours for the purpose. The report which he brought back in the afternoon was voted to be "not in the least degree satisfactory." Mr. Rotch and Captain Hall, however, gave the assurance that the tea should return without touching land or paying duty.

In a short time, the other tea ships, the *Eleanor* and the

Beaver, arrived, and were moored near the Dartmouth, at Griffin's now Liverpool wharf, so that one guard might answer for all. There was much negotiation on the part of the committee of correspondence<sup>1</sup> with the owners of the ships, the consignees of the tea, and the revenue officers, but no satisfactory terms could be made.

"Thursday, December 16, came at last — *dies iræ, dies illa!* — and Boston calmly prepared to meet the issue. At ten o'clock the Old South was filled from an outside assemblage that included two thousand people from the surrounding country. Rotch appeared and reported that a clearance had been denied him. He was then directed, as a last resort, to protest at once against the decision of the custom house, and apply to the governor for a passport to go by the Castle. Hutchinson, evidently anticipating such an emergency, had found it convenient to be at his country-seat on Milton Hill, where it would require considerable time to reach him. Rotch was instructed to make all haste, and report to the meeting in the afternoon. At three o'clock the number of people in and around the Old South was estimated at seven thousand, — by far the largest gathering ever seen in Boston. Addresses were made by Samuel Adams, Young, Rowe, Quincy, and others. 'Who knows,' said Rowe, 'how tea will mingle with salt water?' a suggestion which was received with loud applause. When the question was finally put to the vast assembly it was unanimously resolved that the tea should not be landed. It was now getting darker and darker, and the meeting-house could only be dimly lighted with a few candles; yet the people all remained, knowing that the great question must soon be decided. About six o'clock Rotch appeared and reported that he had waited on the governor, but could not obtain a pass, as his vessel was not duly qualified. No sooner had he concluded than Samuel Adams arose and said: 'This meeting can do nothing more to save the country.' Instantly a shout was heard at the porch; the war-whoop resounded, and a band of forty or fifty men, disguised as Indians, rushed by the door and hurried down toward the harbor, followed by a throng of people; guards were carefully posted, according

<sup>1</sup> "That little body of stout-hearted men were making history that should endure for ages. Their secret deliberations, could they be exhumed from the dust of time, would present a curious page in the annals of Boston; but the

seal of silence was upon the pen of the secretary, as well as upon the lips of the members." — Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. ii. p. 119. The Old South was represented on this committee by Robert Pierpont and John Sweetser.

to previous arrangements, around Griffin's wharf to prevent the intrusion of spies. The 'Mohawks,' and some others accompanying them, sprang aboard the three tea-ships and emptied the contents of three hundred and forty-two chests of tea into the bay, 'without the least injury to the vessels or any other property.' No one interfered with them; no person was harmed; no tea was allowed to be carried away. There was no confusion, no noisy riot, no infuriated mob. The multitude stood by and looked on in solemn silence while the weird-looking figures, made distinctly visible in the moonlight, removed the hatches, tore open the chests, and threw the entire cargo overboard. This strange spectacle lasted three hours, and then the people all went home and the town was as quiet as if nothing had happened. The next day fragments of the tea were seen strewn along the Dorchester shore, carried thither by the wind and tide. A formal declaration of the transaction was drawn up by the Boston Committee; and Paul Revere was sent with despatches to New York and Philadelphia, where the news was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. In Boston the feeling was that of intense satisfaction proceeding from the consciousness of having exhausted every possible measure of legal redress before undertaking this bold and novel mode of asserting the rights of the people. 'We do console ourselves,' said John Scollay, one of the selectmen, and an actor in the scene, 'that we have acted constitutionally.' 'This is the most magnificent movement of all,' said John Adams. 'There is a dignity, a majesty, a sublimity, in this last effort of the patriots that I greatly admire.'"<sup>1</sup>

Without this repetition of the oft-told tale of the destruction of the "detested tea,"—which we have given in the condensed and graphic statement of a careful writer,—this history of the Old South Church would be incomplete. Not only did the church and congregation throw wide open the doors of their house of worship on this as on other occasions to their liberty-loving fellow-citizens, but some of the members took an active part in the negotiations which preceded the final act, and in the final act itself.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mem. History of Boston* (the Rev. Edward G. Porter), vol. iii. pp. 47-51. See, also, the second volume of Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*.

<sup>2</sup> George Robert Twelves (or Twelles) Hewes, the last survivor of the "Boston

tea-party," belonged to the Old South. He was the son of George and Abigail Hewes, and was baptized September 26, 1742. He died November 5, 1840, aged ninety-eight. His portrait is in the collection of the Bostonian Society.

The lieutenant-governor, Andrew Oliver, died after a short illness, March 3, 1774, aged sixty-eight. He had never been a robust man, and unable to endure the disquiet and anxiety caused by the position which he felt impelled to take in public affairs in these troublous times, he at length sank beneath the burden. "In private life," says Mr. Sabine, "he was a most estimable man; but his public career, though earnestly defended by his brother-in-law, Governor Hutchinson, is open to censure. No man in Massachusetts was more unpopular, and Hutchinson remarks, that the violence of party spirit was evinced even at his funeral; that some members of the house of representatives were offended because the officers of the army and navy had precedence in the procession, and retired in a body; and that 'marks of disrespect were also shown by the populace to the remains of a man, whose memory, if he had died before this violent spirit was raised, would have been revered by all orders and degrees of men in the Province.'" <sup>1</sup>

We have seen that Andrew Oliver took an active interest in the affairs of the South Church. This church had been the religious home of his family for more than a hundred years. Of his two grandfathers, one, Peter Oliver, was a founder, the other, Andrew Belcher, was one of the early members. His father, Daniel Oliver, was a member for more than forty years, and the father of his first wife, Thomas Fitch, for nearly as long a period; both were useful members in their care for its temporalities as well as for its spiritual concerns.

While the body of the lieutenant-governor was awaiting its burial, the anniversary of the massacre of the 5th of March was observed by the people of Boston in the Old South Meeting-House, and John Hancock delivered an oration on the dangers which attend the maintenance of standing armies in large towns and cities.

Mr. Hunt was invited to preach the annual sermon before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company this year, but he was obliged to decline, and Mr. Lathrop was chosen in his

<sup>1</sup> Sabine's *Biog. Sketches of the Loyalists*, vol. ii. pp. 136, 137. Judge Lynde says that the funeral took place March 8. For the portrait, after Copley, which we present on page 80, we are indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver, the owner of the original.

Andrew Oliver, Jr., was "more of a scholar than a politician, and found time, in the midst of political distractions, to publish treatises on comets, storms, and other natural phenomena. He was a member of many learned societies." — *Mem. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 146.



place.<sup>1</sup> The next sermon preached before the company was in 1787.

The new governor, General Gage, who superseded Governor Hutchinson on the 25th of May, was requested by the General Court to appoint a day of fasting and prayer, in view of the calamities then threatening, but he refused to do so. The Court then appealed to the clergy, and it was announced in the papers that "the associated ministers of Boston have agreed to propose to their several congregations that Thursday, the 14th day of July next, may be set apart and religiously kept as a Day of Fasting and Prayer." Of the observance of this day, we read in the *Boston Gazette* : —

Last Thursday was a solemn day in this town ; the shops and streets empty, and the churches full. May the day be followed with true repentance and amendment of life, and all the ills we suffer now, like scattered clouds, shall pass away.

General Gage wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth : —

The fast day appointed by the faction was kept in this town on the 14th instant as generally and punctually as if it had been appointed by authority. I might say the same of most other places, though it was not universal ; for, in a few places no regard was paid to it.<sup>2</sup>

Macaulay, speaking of the struggle between the Puritans and Charles I., says that they "brought to civil and military affairs a coolness of judgment and an immutability of purpose which some writers have thought inconsistent with their religious zeal, but which were in fact the necessary effects of it. The intensity of their feelings on one subject made them tranquil on every other." We have a striking illustration of this blending of earnest devotion to the cause of civil liberty, with an absorbing interest in what they regarded as the revealed truth of God, in the descendants, a century and a quarter later, of the men who successfully defied the House of Stuart. To humiliate and punish the people of Boston for their part in the destruction of the tea, an act had been passed by the British government, which took away from the port the privilege of receiving and discharging, as well as of loading and shipping, merchandise of every description. It constituted Marblehead a port of entry, and Salem the seat of government. This act

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hunt had been chaplain of the Council and of the House of Representatives two years before this, in 1772.

<sup>2</sup> [Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. ii. p. 201. The people had been especially urged not to watch the manœuvres of the soldiery on this day.]

went into effect on the 1st of June, on which day the custom house was closed at noon ; the harbor was shut up against all inward bound vessels, and after the 14th no vessels were to be allowed to depart. The bells of the town were tolled, and every proper token of mourning was shown by the people. "The warehouses of the thrifty merchants," says Bancroft, "were at once made valueless ; the costly wharves, which extended far into the channel, and were so lately covered with the produce of the tropics and with English fabrics, were become solitary places ; the harbor, which had resounded incessantly with the cheering voices of prosperous commerce, was now disturbed by no sounds but from British vessels of war."<sup>1</sup>

It was at such a time as this that the members of the Old South Church, dissatisfied with the doctrinal teachings of one of their ministers, entered upon a protracted discussion with him upon the questions at issue, which lasted almost to the day when the first blood of the Revolution was shed at Lexington and Concord. It is most suggestive to think of Thomas Cushing,<sup>2</sup> William Phillips, John Scollay, Henderson Inches, Robert Pierpont, John Sweetser, and others — members of the Continental and Provincial Congresses, of the General Court, of the Board of Selectmen, and of the Committees of Correspondence, Safety, and Donations<sup>3</sup> — just entering with their fellow-citizens upon a life and death struggle with the House of Hanover, and

<sup>1</sup> The Old South Meeting-House was opened for a town meeting, which overflowed from Faneuil Hall, on the 27th and 28th of June, when the last trial of strength in argument took place between the loyalists and the patriots. The former had failed in their efforts to obtain a popular vote in favor of paying for the tea which had been destroyed, notwithstanding the distress which attended the enforcement of the port bill. They now endeavored to obtain a vote of censure upon the conduct of the Committee on Correspondence, and for the annihilation of the committee. Samuel Adams had been chosen moderator, but resigned the chair to Thomas Cushing, and descending to the floor made one of his most memorable speeches in defence of the committee, in which "he drew a picture of the future greatness of America as she must one day become under the influx of population from Eu-

rope, and by her vast natural resources." See Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. ii. pp. 182-190.

<sup>2</sup> "As Speaker of the House, the name of Cushing was oftener before the British public than that of more influential men among the patriots ; and it was his prominent position, as the presiding officer of that body, which led Dr. Johnson, when writing of colonial affairs, to assert that one of the objects of the Revolution was to place a diadem on the head of Cushing ! This, however, was of a piece with the prevailing errors in England as to the political condition of America." — *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 490.

<sup>3</sup> Of one of these committees, Governor Hutchinson wrote to England that it was composed of deacons, atheists, and "black-hearted fellows, whom one would not choose to meet in the dark." — *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 497.

yet turning aside, evening after evening, to reason with their pastor concerning the relations of baptized children to the church, the nature of the atonement, and the imputation of Christ's righteousness to his believing people.

Whether there was anything in the personal relations of Mr. Bacon with the members of his church which made his position uncomfortable to himself and unsatisfactory to them, we cannot positively say. Probably there was. Mr. Ezekiel Goldthwaite, into whose family he had married, had been favorably disposed towards Governor Hutchinson, and his social affiliations, if not his political preferences, may have been with the loyalist party. Then, his manner of meeting opposition may not have been altogether judicious; we read of him that "he had a strong mind, was fond of debate, and tenacious of his opinions, but decided in prosecuting what he deemed his duty."<sup>1</sup>

Lord's Day August 21st 1774.

The Brethren of the Church were stayed after the Blessing was given: And Mr. Bacon, one of the Pastors of the Church, declaring to them that there were insuperable Difficulties in the Way of his continuing any longer to administer the Ordinance of Baptism to the Children of such Parents as own the Covenant, but do not come up to full communion, and there appearing to be Uneasiness in the Church, not only with Respect to this Matter, but also, with Respect to certain Points of Doctrine which the said Mr. Bacon hath deliv-

<sup>1</sup> *History of the County of Berkshire*, quoted by Dr. Wisner. Dr. Wisner's judgment upon this controversy is as follows: "Forty-two small folio pages of volume two of the records, are occupied with the proceedings of the church in relation to the difficulties between them and Mr. Bacon. In the testimonial given to him after his dismissal it is stated 'that the only difference which took place between Mr. Bacon and this church, was that which related to the great doctrine of the atonement and imputation, and the practice of administering baptism to the children of parents who own the covenant, but do not join in full communion.' He found conscientious difficulties in practising on the half-way covenant. On the other topic he held the views for a long time past prevalent among the orthodox ministers and churches of New England: the committees of the church, with whom a large

majority concurred, in their reports and statements on the subject, advocated limited atonement, and used language in relation to imputation which would seem to imply that they considered the sins of the elect as having been literally transferred to Christ, and his sufferings and obedience literally transferred to believers. That they could have really meant this seems impossible, yet if they did not, there was, in regard to imputation, no real difference between them and Mr. Bacon. A careful perusal of the whole proceedings has strongly impressed my mind with the belief that the facts of the case were, that Mr. Bacon had become unpopular with his people, and that some sermons he preached on atonement and imputation, (from which extracts are given,) were made the occasion of proceedings which led to his dismissal." — *History of the Old South Church*, p. 106.

ered, Voted, that there be a Meeting of the Church on Tuesday the 6th of September next, at 10 o'Clock in the Forenoon to take these Matters under Consideration.

Tuesday Sept. 6th. 1774

The Church met according to Appointment. Mr. Bacon opened the Meeting with Prayer, after which a number of the Brethren express their Minds freely on our present Practice of admitting Persons to own the Covenant and receive Baptism for their Children without coming up to full Communion. It was then Voted to adjourn to Tuesday the 20th. inst.

Sept. 20th 1774

Both the Pastors of the Church being out of Town, a small number of the Brethren met and adjourn'd the Meeting to Tuesday the 4th of October next. But the Pastors being at that time absent, and none of the Brethren attending, the Meeting died of course.

Lord's Day Octor 16th 1774.

The Brethren of the Church being stayed after the Blessing was given, It was Voted that there be a Meeting of the Church on Tuesday the 18th inst in order to take certain Matters which have heretofore been laid before the Church under further consideration.

Tuesday October 18th. 1774.

Mr. Hunt open'd the Meeting with Prayer with the church, who had met according to Adjournment, and after attending to several Matters adjourn'd to Wednesday Evening November 16th. in order to consider of, and act upon, those particular Matters which lie before the Church respecting Mr. Bacon.<sup>1</sup>

Novem. 16th 1774.

The Church having met according to Adjournment Mr. Hunt open'd the Meeting with Prayer, and the Evening was spent in conversing with Mr. Bacon on his Sentiments respecting the Atonement. The Meeting was then adjourn'd to November 23d at 5 o'Clock in the afternoon.

November 23. 1774

The Church met according to Adjournment. Mr. Hunt opened the Meeting with Prayer, and the Evening was again spent in conversing with Mr. Bacon on his Sentiments respecting the Atonement, after which the Meeting was Adjourn'd to Wednesday Evening 5 o'Clock P. M.

<sup>1</sup> [On the 9th of November, Samuel Adams, Thomas Cushing, and John Adams arrived in Boston from Philadelphia, where the first sessions of the Continental Congress had been held. They "were ushered into the town by the ring-

ing of bells and other demonstrations of joy. The approach of the delegates had been previously announced, and their friends had been all day expecting them." The first two took their seats immediately in the Provincial Congress.]



Wednesday Evening, Nov : 30th.

The Church met according to Adjournment. Mr. Hunt opened the Meeting with Prayer. The Evening was spent in hearing some part of Mr. Bacon's Sermons on the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness to Believers, and conversing with him on his Sentiments, and then adjourn'd to Wednesday Evening 21st of December at 5 o'Clock P. M.

December 21. 1774.

The Church met according to Adjournment. Mr. Hunt having opened the Meeting with Prayer, after some previous Conversation, the question was put, Whether this Church is satisfied with Mr. Bacon's Sentiments concerning the Atonement, and the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness to Believers, as expres'd in two sets of Sermons preached in publick on those Doctrines from Romans 4. 6, and Gal. 3. 13. Satisfied 2 — Neuters 5 — Dissatisfied 27.

The Meeting was then adjourn'd to Wednesday Evening January 4th at 5 o'Clock P. M.<sup>1</sup>

Janu. 4th 1775.

The Church met according to Adjournment. Mr. Hunt having opened the Meeting with Prayer, It was Voted, That a Committee of this Church consisting of Mr. Cushing, Deacon Mason, Deacon Phillips, Mr. Inches and Mr. William Whitwell take into Consideration the Subject Matter of this Evening's Conversation relative to the points of Difference subsisting between them and the Revd. Mr. Bacon, also to consider what further Steps ought to be taken in this Matter, and make Report at our next Adjournment, which was voted to be on Wednesday Evening, 5 o'Clock P. M. 18th January.

January 18th 1775.

The Church then met according to Adjournment. Mr. Hunt opened the Meeting with Prayer. The Evening was spent in attending to the Report of the Committee, which Report was as follows —

“Whereas the Rev'd Mr. Bacon has signified to this Church that he has insuperable difficulties with respect to Administring the Ordinance of Baptism to the Children of such Parents as, altho' by their Lives and Conversation, in a Judgment of Charity, we think are intitled to special Ordinances, but by reason of doubts and Fears are kept back from coming up to the Lord's Table, yet are desirous of renewing their Baptismal covenant, and publickly devoting their offspring to

<sup>1</sup> [“The new year opened with gloomy prospects. The poor of Boston, brought to the verge of starvation by the cruel blocking up of their port, were yet preserved from perishing by the continued donations from the neighboring towns and the other Colonies, though these gifts had generally to be brought in by tedious, circuitous routes over land, as no loaded boat was allowed to move in any part of the harbor.” — Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. ii. p. 254. Deacons Jeffries and Phillips were members of the Committee on Donations.]

God in Baptism, which has been the practice in this Church from its first settlement, and Mr. Bacon was particularly and expressly Informed of it previous to his Installment: and whereas the Rev'd Mr. Bacon was particularly questioned by a Committee of this Church previous to his settlement as our pastor, with respect to his Belief as to the great and fundamental Doctrines of the Gospel, and the Confession of Faith owned and consented to by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches, assembled at Boston in N. E. May 12th 1680, was tendered to him, as the faith of this Church, being as they apprehended, agreeable to the Word of God, and he was enquired of, whether the principles and Doctrines exhibited in the Confession before mention'd, were agreeable to his sentiments, to which he replied that they were, and that he acceded to the same, and whereas the great doctrine of Imputation, The Imputation of our Sins to Christ, and the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness itself unto us, are clearly held forth in said Confession of Faith, particularly in Chap. 8, . . . and in Chap. 11, . . . And whereas the Rev'd Mr. Bacon has preached and held forth Doctrines and Sentiments which we esteem Erroneous, and which are diverse from, and contradictory to, the Doctrines and Sentiments we have before recited from the Confession of Faith aforesaid, particularly in a Course of Sermons on Romans 4. 6, where speaking of the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness to Believers, he asserts: that the Righteousness of Christ in the propriety of it, is not so imputed to Believers, that what he has done is looked upon by God as if done by them, but that it is only in this sense Imputed that the Fruits, Benefit or reward of his Righteousness, which summarily consists in the remission of sin, is freely bestow'd on every one that believeth. And in a Course of Sermons on Gal. 3, 13, instead of holding up, asserting and maintaining (as might naturally and justly be expected upon preaching from such a Text,) that the Lord Jesus by his Death and Sufferings, underwent that Penalty which the Law denounceth, as the *punishment* due to *our Sins*, he expressly denies it, by asserting that the Curse that Christ endured, and that which the Law threatens against Transgressors, are not the same, but are in their Nature *essentially* and *widely* different, and in attempting to shew how Christ was made a Curse for Us, he supposes the Text itself plainly points it out, and goes on to observe in the fourth Sermon on Gal. 3. 13, that in the former Clause of the Text it is asserted that *Christ* was made a Curse for us, and that in the latter Clause, it is declared how and in what sense he was so, vizt. *by being hanged on a Tree*, for it is written *Cursed is every one that hangeth upon a Tree*. The Argument, he goes on to say, is simply this, Every one that is hanged on a Tree is thereby made Accursed, Christ was hanged on a Tree, Ergo — and if this be the Argument, then the Curse which Christ was made, must be the same, which every one is made that is

hanged as he was. In short Mr. Bacon's defects and Errors upon those important Doctrines are many and will fully appear upon the perusal of the Sermons above referred to. We do not deem it incumbent on us to point out all the passages in said Sermons which we judge to be deficient or Erroneous, as we think it will be fairest to refer to the sermons themselves, where the Exceptionable passages can be viewed and considered, as they stand connected with such as precede and follow them. As to the Summary of his sentiments respecting the Atonement which Mr. Bacon laid before the Church on Nov : 30, 1774, after what he has delivered in his sermons on Gal : 3. 13, it is very far from being satisfactory to us. He says in the summary that he believes an Infinite Atonement for Sin was absolutely necessary, but has not *plainly* and *explicitly* told us what he means by *Atonement for Sin*. He says that he believes that Christ hath made such an Atonement by offering up himself a Sacrifice for Sin, or to express it nearly in our Saviours own words, '*by giving his Life a ransom for many,*' in this offering up himself a sacrifice, but has not *precisely* and *determinately* given us his Idea of a *sacrifice* or of a *ransom*. They are all Scripture Expressions, and are variously interpreted and understood by different Expositors, and so as far from affording us, in a *plain clear* and *determinate* manner his sense of them ; and if they are to be construed with any degree of Consistency with the Doctrines and Sentiments he holds forth in his Sermons, we must still think and judge him to be Erroneous, and therefore to the sermons we must still appeal for his genuine Sentiments on this important Subject.

"Upon the whole, the general Tenor of Mr. Bacon's discourses are disagreeable to us, and as we find we cannot profit by his Ministry, we cannot sit quietly under his Administrations, and therefore think it will be for the Peace and Edification of the Church as well as for Mr. Bacon's comfort, that the pastoral relation between him and the Church be dissolved, and desire he would ask a Dismission accordingly. Which Request if he should comply with, without any further Altercation, and should think it necessary for his Vindication that the Sermons before referred to, should be laid before the Public, we are willing they should be printed, as they were delivered, at our Cost and Expence. At the same Time, we cannot omit taking particular notice of the Humbling hand of Gods providence, in permitting so unhappy a Breach taking place between our Reverend Pastor and this Church : We cannot but express our sincere Regret at the unhappy difference subsisting between us, and shall conclude by saying, that altho' we widely differ from him in sentiments on the foregoing subjects, and in consequence of it have desired a Dissolution of the Relation now existing between him and the Church, yet we cordially wish him Prosperity in this Life, and Eternal happiness in the World to Come."

The Church having spent the Evening in attending to the above Report the Meeting was adjourn'd to Wednesday Evening 5 o'Clock January 25th.

January 25th. 1775.

The Church then met according to adjournment. Mr. Hunt open'd the Meeting with Prayer. The Question being put, Whether the Church choose to consider the Report of their Committee now before them by themselves, passed in the Affirmative.

After mature Deliberation on the Report of The committee of this Church, who were appointed to take into Consideration the Matters of Difference subsisting between the Revd. Mr. Bacon and them, and also to consider what further steps ought to be taken in this Affair, the Question was put, Whether this Church accept the Report of their Committee?

Voted not to accept it — 6. Neuters — 5. Voted to accept the report — 24.

Voted, That the Proceedings of the Church this Evening be read to the Revd. Mr. Bacon, and that he be served with a copy of the same.

Voted, to adjourn this Meeting to February 1st 1775.

February 1st 1775.

The Church then met according to Adjournment. Mr. Hunt open'd the Meeting with Prayer. The Church being prepared for Business, the Rev'd Mr. Bacon read to them some Observations he had made on their Proceedings at their last Meeting, and also some Proposals he had to make to them respecting the Matters of Difference subsisting between him and the Church, which are as follows —

“ *Brethren*

“The Report of your Committee who were appointed to take into consideration the Matters of Difference subsisting between us, together with your Proceedings thereon at your last Meeting, you now expect my answer to. This, I shall now give you, after a short Rehearsal of Facts which have taken place, and a few Observations on the Report itself, which you have accepted, and thereby made it an Act of the Church.

“The particular Facts which, at this time, I think it expedient to mention, are these: vizt.

“Previous to your last Meeting but one, Mr. Cushing, one of the Committee, came to me and informed me that the Committee had drawn up a Report which they should lay before the Church at their next Meeting, which, if I mistake not, was to be on the Evening of the same Day; and that the Committee tho't that when they made their Report, it would be most proper for the Church to be by themselves, and first to have an Opportunity of conversing upon it; and proposed



that for this End, I should signify to the Church that I was willing to withdraw, as it would likely be more agreeable to the Church to have the Motion come from me, than for them to *desire* me to withdraw. Accordingly, after the Meeting was open'd, I mentioned to the Church what had been intimated to me, and proposed that if it was most agreeable to them to be by themselves, I would withdraw: Observing at the same time, that after the Church had heard the Report, and had Opportunity of conversing sufficiently upon it, I should expect to be called in, and also have Opportunity of hearing it, and of being heard as to any Matters therein contained, in which I might be interested, *before* the Church proceeded to act upon it. Accordingly I withdrew.

“The Evening, as your Minute says, was spent in attending to the Report of the Committee. The Meeting was then adjourn'd to Wednesday Evening, 25th January: the Church then met according to Adjournment: when, after the Meeting was open'd, I moved that if the Church had no other Matters to attend to, the Report of the Committee might be read, as I was not present at the last Meeting, and consequently, had not had an Opportunity of being heard as to any Matters therein contained in which I might be particularly interested. It was objected by several of the Brethren, that I had no Right to intermeddle in the Affair, and that there was a great Impropriety in my being present, till after the Church had acted on the Matter, and either accepted or rejected the Report. I plead that altho' I was willing to withdraw, if the Church desired it in order to give them Opportunity of conversing upon it by themselves as long as they pleased: Yet, as I was *peculiarly* interested, I had a *special* Right to hear the Report, and to be heard upon it; and that the Church not only had a Right to hear, but that it was *incumbent* on them to hear what I might have to offer relative to the particular Matters contained in said Report: that altho' I had not been permitted to hear it read in the Church; yet from what I had heard of its Contents from some of the Brethren, and from what I had seen, (having had Opportunity in private of once running it over in Haste while it was in the hands of one of the Deacons, since your last Meeting,) I had weighty Objections to offer against your accepting it, and therefore begged that I might be heard previous thereto. But it was so overruled by the Church that I was excluded: And you have adopted the Report as it now stands, without ever hearing what I had to say upon it or even allowing me so much as once to hear it read in the Church. Thus much concerning Facts which have taken place.

“I now proceed, (as I have been refused an Opportunity of doing it in what I take to have been its proper Place) to make some brief Observations on the Report itself. As to what you say of my having been informed of the Practice of this Church relative to the Administration

of Baptism to the Children of such Parents as do not come up to the Lord's Table ; I freely acknowledge that when I settled with you, I tho't that Practice might be indulged in the Church consistent with the Order and Rules of the Gospel : But upon further Consideration and searching the holy Scriptures, I have been fully convinced that I was then in an Error: and therefore have found myself obliged herein to alter my Practice.

“ With respect to what is said of my having, previous to my Settlement, acceded to the Confession of Faith of 1680, I acknowledge that I did adopt the said Confession of Faith, as being in substance agreeable to my Sentiments ; at the same time, as I well remember, I told the Church that there were some Things in it which were not expressed exactly as I should express my Ideas of the same Things, but that I did not recollect that there were any particular Passages but I could heartily consent to, with an Explanation, or in words to this Purpose. And I am not sensible at present of anything in those Passages which have been pointed out, concerning which I cannot still say the same : Altho' I will not say but that there are some Expressions in this Confession of Faith, which I should now find greater Difficulty in adopting without an Explanation, than I should have done at the time of my Settlement. However, as the Confession of Faith is no more than a Piece of human Composition, I conceive it to be a Question not of so great Importance, Whether I have deviated from that, as, Whether I have deviated from the Scriptures of Truth ?

“ It is intimated as tho' I deny the great Doctrine of Imputation: Which Doctrine I ever profess to maintain, as an essential and very important Doctrine of the Gospel of Christ. As an instance in which I am supposed to deny this important Doctrine, a Passage is quoted from one of my Sermons on Rom. 4. 6. where I assert that the Righteousness of Christ in the Propriety of it, is not so imputed to Believers that what he hath done is looked upon by God as if done by them, but that it is only in this Sense imputed, that the Fruit, Benefit, or Reward of Christ's Righteousness, which summarily consists in the Remission of Sin, is freely bestow'd on every one that believeth. As my business here is not to vindicate the Sentiments which I have advanced, since they have been already condemned by the Church : I shall only observe that when I speak of the Fruit, Benefit or Reward of Christ's Righteousness, as consisting summarily in the Remission of Sin, I use the term *Remission* in its most extensive signification, as including a full Release or Discharge from all the evil Consequences or Disadvantages to which the Person has rendered himself obnoxious, by reason of Crimes which he hath committed — as including a Deliverance, not only from what Divines call the *Punishment of Sense*, but also from the *Punishment of Loss*, that is, from the sensible, positive Punishment of Hell, and the Loss of, or an Exclusion from Heaven. . . .

“I shall only observe here, that the difference between me and the Church respecting the great Doctrine of Atonement, appears still to lie exactly where I at first placed it. The only Question about which we differ as to this Matter, so far as I can yet perceive, is this, vizt. Whether Christ in making Atonement for the Sins of the Elect did actually suffer that very Punishment in Kind and Quantity which they must have suffered, had it not been for the Atonement? I do not see that you have yet pointed out any other, notwithstanding you have been so often called upon to do it, if there was any: And therefore I must conclude that there is no other, at least, if there is, that it is such as you do not chuse to mention. . . .

“As to what you say relative to the Sermons before referred to ‘being printed *as they were delivered*’ at your Cost and Expence, provided I comply with Your Request in asking a Dismission, without any further Alteration, I cannot see my way clear to accept your Proposal under these Circumstances and Restrictions. For, 1st. I believe there are very few Ministers, even those who are in every Respect greatly my Superiors, who would be willing to publish so large a Number of their Sermons, written in Haste one after another, and those on Points which are at *present* so much controverted among us, without any Corrections at all. For my Part, I have not Vanity enough to suppose that *mine*, which were composed under these Circumstances, are fit for the publick View. Altho’ I am not sensible of any material Error as to the sentiment contained in them, yet I can see many Defects and Blemishes in the Style and Composition. And those who might view them with greater Discernment and Impartiality than I can be supposed to do, would doubtless see many more than I can at *present* discover. 2dly. It is not to be expected that People in general thro’ the Country who have heard the Report of my erroneous Sentiments, and of your Judgment concerning them, would be at the Expence and Pains of purchasing and reading a Volume of my Sermons, in order to satisfy themselves concerning the Truth and Justness of these Reports. 3dly. Those who might read these Sermons would be likely to do it under the Influence of great Prejudice, since they must make their appearance under the Opprobrious weight of a general Sentence of Condemnation that hath been passed upon them by a Church who have had Opportunity, not only of hearing them in Publick, but of accurately examining them in a more private Way. 4th. Should the Sermons here referred to, be printed, and meet with ever so favorable a Reception, this would not remove the unlimited Censure under which you have laid my discourses in general, And therefore, I cannot think that I should do Justice either to myself, or the Cause I am pleading, were I to accept your Proposal, and print the Sermons without taking any other Steps.

“Upon the whole, Brethren, it hath always been my Opinion that

when Disputes, Contention and Alienation of Affections take place between a Minister and his People, let which may be in the Fault, it is best the Relation between them should be dissolved. And therefore, upon taking into serious Consideration the present State of this Church, and the whole of your Conduct relative to me and the Matters of Difference between us, my Way appears clear to comply with your Request, in asking a Dismission from my Pastoral Relation to you. But I do it upon this Condition: that all Matters of Difference between us be laid open before a Council of the Sister Churches, and their Judgment and Advice taken thereon. For, as I consider myself under indispensable Obligation to stand up in the Cause of Truth, and to vindicate my own Character, so far as it is connected therewith; and as I look upon these to be greatly injured by what you have done, should Matters be suffered to rest quietly in the state in which they now are; and as I have been from the first, and am still, willing and desirous that my Sentiments should appear in their true Light: And further, as the Constitution of these Churches is such, as renders them accountable to each other for their Conduct in Matters of such great Importance as those which are now before us: All these Considerations, I say, taken together, with others that might be mention'd, it appears to me to be highly expedient that a Council of Sister Churches should be called to examine and judge of these Matters: that so, if I am that erroneous Man which you have judged me to be, your Judgment may be confirmed by that of the Sister Churches, and *they* more effectually guarded against my erroneous Doctrines. But if, upon thoro' Examination, it should appear to them that my Sentiments are agreeable to the Scriptures of truth, the Way may be open for them to recommend me to the Churches, or at least, to certify that in their Apprehension, the Doctrines which I maintain, and which you have condemned, are not inconsistent with that form of Sound Words which by Jesus Christ and his holy Apostles, hath been deliver'd unto us: That hereby, the Embarrassments which seem now to be laid in the Way of my continuing in the Work of the Gospel Ministry may, in some Measure, be remov'd, provided they should appear to be unjustly laid.

“I cannot desire this Church to act what would appear to me, and I suppose to them, to be so inconsistent a Part, as to recommend me to the Sister Churches as a Minister of Christ, while at the same time they condemn me, as being so erroneous in some of the fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Faith, that they can no longer receive me as *their* Minister. It is therefore my Request, that you would call in the Advice of the Sister Churches upon this Occasion. I am intirely willing that you should invite as many as you think proper. I am ready to join with you herein. I will not object to any Individuals that you may chuse to consult. I do not request that any Part of the



Business of the propos'd Council should be to advise, Whether my Pastoral Relation to you should continue, or not? For since it appears to be your Desire that I should be dismissed, it is my choice to take a Dismission. And therefore, on the Condition above mention'd, I do now consent that my Pastoral Labors among you, and my Salary for the same, should cease from this Day. . . ."

The Church having heard the above, it was Voted that a Committee consisting of Mr. Cushing, Deacon Jeffries, Deacon Phillips, Deacon Mason, Mr. Wm Whitwell, Mr. Inches and Mr. Scollay, take the same into Consideration and make report on Wednesday Evening February 8th, that being the time to which the meeting was adjourn'd.

We print only about one half of Mr. Bacon's letter, because of its length, but we have endeavored to select such parts of it as will clearly and fairly present his side of the controversy. His position was a very trying one; and we cannot withhold our sympathy from him, or our recognition of his dignified, frank, and straightforward behavior in the circumstances in which he was placed. At the same time, we can see that his usefulness in the Old South Church and Congregation, and probably in the town also, had come to an end. We suspect that underneath the multiplicity of words which passed between him and his parishioners upon subtle definitions and distinctions in theology, there lay a primal difficulty which aggravated if it did not produce all the differences which appeared on the surface, namely, incompatibility. Mr. Bacon had been trained and ordained in the Presbyterian Church; and although he honestly thought, no doubt, that he could come to New England, and settle down as a Congregational minister, yet it is evident that he failed, as Mr. Blair had failed before him, to enter heartily and thoroughly into the spirit and traditions of Massachusetts Congregationalism. Whether Mr. Cumming had altogether succeeded, under similar conditions, we think is an open question.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is rather strange that Dr. Increase Mather, in his *Seasonable Testimony*, when speaking of the release of a pastor from the solemn charge of a congregation, dwells almost entirely upon the reasons which may lead a pastor to desire a change, and hardly at all upon the reasons which a church may have for wishing to dismiss its pastor. He says, quoting from *Thirty Cases*: "A Pastor settled in the Service of a People, is to be so sensible of his Designation by the

Spirit and Providence of the Lord Jesus Christ for that Service, and of the Account that he must give unto God about his Behaviour in it, that his Removal must not be rashly attempted, but with much Consideration, Consultation, Supplication, and Sincere Desire to follow the Conduct of Heaven in it." He says, further: "If a Minister be upon a Removal from his Flock, especially when there are no sufficient Causes Evident for it, and the Flock earnestly Propound

Feby. 8th 1775.

The Church then met according to adjournment. Mr. Hunt open'd the Meeting with Prayer : after which the Question was put whether the Church chose to be by themselves? Voted, in the Affirmative, upon which Mr. Bacon withdrew.

After mature Deliberation upon the Report of the Committee chosen by the Church on 1st February Instant to take into Consideration the Observations Mr. Bacon had made on their Proceedings at their Meeting on January 25th 1775, it was

Voted, 1st. that the church will at present waive making any Remarks upon said observations, and refer what they have to offer upon this Head untill a Council of sister churches are convened, before whom the Difference between us may be laid.

2dly. Voted, that this church notwithstanding all Mr. Bacon has offered in the observations before said, are still of opinion that he has preached, and held forth Doctrines and sentiments we esteem to be Erroneous, and which are diverse from and contradictory to the Doctrines and Sentiments held forth in the Confession of Faith owned and Consented to by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches assembled at Boston, May 12 1680, which Confession of Faith he exhibited to this Church, previous to his Settlement, as agreeable to his Sentiments, which appears by the Records of the Church August 26 1771. And therefore

3dly, Voted, that this Church do now comply with Mr. Bacon's Proposal, and Dismiss him from his Pastoral Relation to this Church, and he is dismissed accordingly, and in pursuance of his Request we do further agree that all matters of Difference between Mr. Bacon and this Church be laid open before a Council of Sister Churches, and their Judgment taken ; not whether his Pastoral Relation to this Church shall be continued or not, for that we look upon as now settled and determined, but more especially whether Mr. Bacon is that Erroneous Person this Church have judged him to be, and has preached Doctrines and Sentiments diverse from, and contradictory to, the Doctrines held forth in the Confession of Faith before mentioned, and consequently to the Scriptures of Truth, to which we apprehend the said Confession is strictly agreeable.

4ly, Voted, that this Church is now ready to join with the Rev'd Mr. Bacon in inviting a Number of Sister Churches for the purpose before mention'd.

Voted, that the Council to be convened consist of Six Pastors, with their Delegate or Delegates.

Voted, That the Churches to be sent to on this Occasion, be as

and Request, that the thing may be laid before a Council of the Neighbour-Churches, but he refuse it; it may be feared that it is an Hour of Temptation with him, and that his Way is not Right before the Lord."

follows, vizt. The first Church of Christ in Boston, under the pastoral care of the Rev'd Doctor Chauncy. The Second Church in Braintree, under the pastoral care of the Rev'd Mr. Weld. The Church in Stoughton, under the pastoral care of the Rev'd Mr. Dunbar. The first Church in Dedham, under the pastoral care of the Rev'd Mr. Haven. The Second Church in Andover, under the pastoral care of the Rev'd Mr. French. The Church at Chelsea, Connecticut, under the pastoral care of the Rev'd Mr. Judson.

Voted, that the time for calling the proposed Council be on the 8th Day of March next, and that they be desired to meet on Wednesday Morning of the same day at ten o'Clock at the Parsonage House where Mr. Bacon now resides.

Voted, that Mr. Hunt and Mr. Bacon be desir'd to send Letters missive to the several Pastors and Churches above mention'd.

Voted, that a Committee consisting of Mr. Cushing, Deacon Jeffries, Deacon Phillips, Deacon Mason, Mr. William Whitwell, Mr. Inches and Mr. Scollay be desir'd to prepare all necessary papers to be laid before the propos'd Council, and to act in Behalf of this Church during their session.

Voted, that Major Dawes, Mr. Jeremiah Belknap, Mr. Joseph Belknap, Mr. Lucas and Mr. Torey be a committee to make suitable provision for the Council.

Voted, that this meeting be adjourn'd to this Evening three Weeks.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday Evening March 1.

The Church then met according to Adjournment. Mr. Hunt open'd the Meeting with Prayer. It appearing since the time of the last Meeting that the Rev'd Doctor Chauncy of Boston, the Rev'd Mr. French of Andover, and the Church in Dedham had for certain reasons excused themselves from attending the proposed Council, it was Voted at this, and two other Meetings, on two successive Lords days, that the Church of Christ at Southborough under the pastoral care of the Rev'd Mr. Stone, the Church at Rowley under the pastoral

<sup>1</sup> ["The Members of the Old South Church in this Town, after several Conferences with the Rev. Mr. Bacon, one of their Pastors, have mutually agreed that he is dismissed from the Ministerial care of that Church and Congregation:— A mutual Council, notwithstanding, we heer is soon to be called on the Occasion." — *Mass. Gazette*, February 16, 1775.

Mr. William Whitwell, a member of one of the committees mentioned above, died April 10, 1775. He was a prosperous merchant, one of the overseers of the poor, and a very useful man in the town.

His second wife, Elizabeth (Swett), died May 13, 1771, in her fiftieth year. He afterward married the widow of Royal Tyler, who survived him. His daughter Elizabeth, by his first wife, was the first wife of William Homes, Jr., "the honest goldsmith." His daughter Mary, by his second wife, married Josiah Waters, Jr.; her sister Catherine, married William Scollay; she died December 30, 1848, aged eighty-eight. Mr. Whitwell's brother, Samuel, was also an active member of the Old South, and survived until 1801.]

care of the Rev'd Mr. Chandler, the Church at Stoneham under the pastoral care of the Rev'd. Mr. Searl, be applied to in the stead of those who had excus'd themselves.

More than three years passed before the next entry was made upon either of the record books. The proposed council, as we suppose, was never assembled. It was evidently difficult to find ministers who were willing to sit upon it, and undertake to decide whether Mr. Bacon was "that erroneous person" the church had judged him to be, according to the Confession of Faith of 1680. The opinion of the council was not to be asked in reference to the dismissal of Mr. Bacon; that question both he and the brethren looked upon as "settled and determined." The theological question, both for his sake and theirs, might well be left to settle itself. Other concerns, however, of momentous importance, now claimed the absorbing thought of all parties.

The 5th of March coming on Sunday, the anniversary of the Boston Massacre was this year kept on the following day. The town was in the possession of the British troops; an unusual degree of coolness and determination, therefore, would be required in the orator, and Joseph Warren had been selected as the man for the occasion. Indeed, on learning that threats had been made, this patriot had solicited the post of danger for himself. It appeared afterward that there was an organized movement on foot to break up the meeting, should any expression escape the orator tending to reflect upon the king or royal family; and the occasion had been judged opportune for commencing an onslaught upon the people.<sup>1</sup> We have the follow-

<sup>1</sup> General Warren, at the time of his death on Bunker Hill, was engaged to be married to Mercy, daughter of John Scollay. His wife, Elizabeth (Hooton), died April 29, 1773. He left four children, who were dependent on their friends and the public. In a letter dated December 20, 1779, Samuel Adams wrote, that the eldest son, Joseph, was under the care and tuition of the Rev. Mr. Payson, of Chelsea, and that the eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was with her uncle, Dr. John Warren. "The two younger children," he added, "a boy of about seven years, and a girl somewhat older, are in the family of John Scollay Esq. under the particular care of his daughter, at her

most earnest request; otherwise, I suppose, they would have been taken care of by their relations at Roxbury, and educated as farmers' children usually are. Miss Scollay deserves the greatest praise for her attention to them. She is exceedingly well qualified for the charge, and her affection for their deceased father prompts her to exert her utmost to inculcate in the minds of these children those principles which may conduce to render them worthy of the relation they stood in to him." Elizabeth, the eldest daughter, married Arnold, son of Arnold and Susanna Welles, baptized at the South Church September 27, 1761, H. Coll. 1780.



ing account of the meeting, from the pen of a loyalist, in a New York paper: —

On Monday, the 5th instant [*sic*], the Old South Meeting-house being crowded with nobility and fame, the Selectmen, with Adams, Church and Hancock, Cooper and others, assembled in the pulpit, which was covered with black, and we all sat gaping at one another above an hour expecting! At last, a single horse chair stopped at the apothecary's, opposite the meeting, from which descended the orator (Warren) of the day; and entering the shop, was followed by a servant with a bundle, in which were the Ciceronian toga, etc. Having robed himself, he proceeded across the street to the meeting, and being received into the pulpit, he was announced by one of his fraternity to be the person appointed to declaim on the occasion. He then put himself into a Demosthenian posture, with a white handkerchief in his right hand, and his left in his breeches, — began and ended without action. He was applauded by the mob, but groaned at by people of understanding. One of the pulpiteers (Adams) then got up and proposed the nomination of another to speak next year on the bloody Massacre — the first time that expression was made to the audience — when some officers cried, “O fie, fie!” The gallerians apprehending fire, bounded out of the windows, and swarmed down the gutters, like rats, into the street. The Forty-third Regiment returning accidentally from exercise, with drums beating, threw the whole body into the greatest consternation. There were neither pageantry, exhibitions, processions, or bells tolling as usual, but the night was remarked for being the quietest these many months past.<sup>1</sup>

The front seats in the meeting-house had been reserved for the British officers, about forty of whom were present. Several of them, however, seated themselves on the pulpit stairs, and the whole of the military present continually interrupted Dr. Warren by laughing, hemming, and coughing. The oration must, indeed, have been unpalatable to them, for it treated of the baleful effects of standing armies in times of peace, while the assemblage itself was in fact a town meeting, — a portion of the democratic system which an army had been sent to suppress. One of the officers attempted to intimidate Warren by holding up one of his hands with several bullets on the open palm, but the orator, without pausing in his discourse, dropped a white handkerchief upon them. Every move on the part of the troops, as well as the people, showed that each was awaiting some action of the other for the commencement of blood-

<sup>1</sup> [Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. ii. pp. 278, 279.]

shed.<sup>1</sup> A volcano was ready to burst forth, and the time for the eruption was not far distant. Samuel Adams, soon after the meeting, wrote to Richard Henry Lee : —

I had long expected that they would take that occasion to beat up a breeze, and therefore (seeing many of the officers present before the orator came in), as moderator of the meeting, I took care to have them treated with civility, inviting them into convenient seats, so that they might have no pretence to behave ill ; for it is a good maxim in politics, as well as in war, to put and keep the enemy in the wrong. They behaved tolerably well until the oration was finished, when, upon a motion made for the appointment of another orator, as usual, they began to hiss, which irritated the assembly to the greatest degree, and confusion ensued ; they, however, did not gain their end, — which was apparently to break up the meeting, — for order was soon restored, and we proceeded regularly, and finished the business. I am persuaded, were it not for the danger of precipitating a crisis, not a man of them would have been spared.<sup>2</sup>

Thursday, March 9, was observed throughout the province as a day of fasting and prayer, in compliance with the recommendation of the Provincial Congress.

We need not repeat here the story of the expedition sent out from Boston on the evening of April 18, for the capture of Adams and Hancock, who were at the parsonage in Lexington,<sup>3</sup> and for the seizure of the military supplies collected at Concord, nor of what took place on the following day. But we must not fail to mention the important part borne by a member of the Old South Church, in the movement which made General Gage's plans unsuccessful. Paul Revere's ride over Charlestown Neck and through Medford has been celebrated in verses which have be-

<sup>1</sup> Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. ii. p. 280.

<sup>2</sup> [*Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 280, 281. The oration in 1776 was delivered in Watertown by the Rev. Peter Thacher, then minister of the church in Malden.]

<sup>3</sup> A gentleman in London, writing to a friend in Boston, April 25, 1775, said : "The administration [a friend had told him], on Friday, received advices from General Gage to the 18th of March, wherein he acknowledges the receipt of the king's order to apprehend Messrs. Cushing, Adams, Hancock, &c. and send them over to England to be tried ; but that the second orders, which were to

hang them in Boston, he said, the General had not then received. The General expressed his fears on the occasion ; and in hopes of their being reversed, he should delay the execution a while longer, because he must, if the orders were fulfilled, come to an engagement, the event of which he had every reason to apprehend, would be fatal to himself and to the King's troops ; as the Massachusetts government had at least fifteen thousand men trained for the onset, . . . in which unwelcome situation he earnestly wished for a reinforcement, if that disagreeable order must be effected." — *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 289, 290.

come a part of our national history, but he was not the only one with whom "the fate of a nation was riding that night." Dr. Warren, as soon as he learned of the intention of the British troops, determined to send out two trusty messengers by different routes, to rouse the country towns and to warn the patriot leaders. Of these, William Dawes was the first to start. He took the land route to Roxbury over the Neck, eluding the guard with difficulty, and, crossing Charles River at the Brighton bridge, proceeded through Cambridge to Lexington. Revere went by the water route through Charlestown, and arrived first at Lexington. Dawes, who had had the longer distance to travel, came in soon after.

"After a little delay for refreshment, they rode on towards Concord, accompanied by a 'high son of liberty,' young Dr. Prescott, who had been visiting his sweet-heart, a Miss Mulliken, of Lexington. About half-way along, near Hartwell's tavern, in lower Lincoln, they met British officers again; Prescott and Dawes being a hundred rods behind, alarming a house, when Revere discovered them. Prescott, who was best mounted, jumped the stone wall and escaped. Dawes, chased by the soldiers, dashed up to an empty farm-house, slapping his leather breeches and shouting, 'Halloo, boys, I've got two of 'em!' and his pursuers were fortunately frightened, and made off. In the excitement of the chase, Dawes pulled up so suddenly that he was thrown from his horse, and lost his watch, and did not get it again until some days later, when he returned to search for it. Here we lose sight of Prescott and Dawes; but we know that one of them got to Concord with the news about two that morning, or a little later, and both, no doubt, played their part in the later turmoil of the day. Revere did not escape so easily. Striking off for some woods near by, he rode into another party of British, and was forced to surrender."<sup>1</sup>

William Dawes, born April 6, 1745, was a tanner, and lived in Ann Street. His wife was Mehetabel, daughter of Samuel May. In 1769 they joined the church of which, in 1669, his ancestor, William Dawes, was one of the founders, and of which his great-grandfather, Ambrose, became a member in 1670, his grandfather, Thomas, in 1705, and his father, William, in 1735.

<sup>1</sup> *William Dawes and His Ride with Paul Revere*, by Henry W. Holland, pp. 9-13. During the dispersion of the congregation of the Old South, an infant

son of Mr. Dawes was baptized by the name of Israel Putnam, May 18, 1777, at Dr. Cooper's meeting house, by the Rev. William Gordon.

Major Thomas Dawes, who was one of the committee to make provision for the council called at the request of the Rev. Mr. Bacon, and who was chosen deacon in 1786, was his second cousin.

Boston was now besieged by the patriot forces, and was under martial law. The last meeting of the selectmen was held on the 19th of April, and the only fact recorded was the presence of three members of the Board. Mr. Scollay was absent.<sup>1</sup> The battle of Bunker Hill was fought two months later. In anticipation of the coming conflict, many families had left the town, and the British general now gave opportunity for all to go who wished to do so.<sup>2</sup> Most of the congregations were broken up, that of the Old South among the rest; but when it met for worship for the last time we have no means of knowing. The families of Deacon Mason, Deacon Phillips, and Mr. William Phillips, Jr., took up their residence at Norwich, Connecticut. We hear of "Mrs. Cushing and a good part of her family, Mr. Samuel Whitwell's wife, Mrs. Winslow, and Miss Polly Vans" at Attleborough.<sup>3</sup> Later in the year, Mr. Cushing was established with his family at Dedham. Robert Pierpont was at Milton,<sup>4</sup> and others were in or near Cambridge and Watertown,<sup>5</sup> where they were busy with public affairs. Mr. Hunt was visiting in Brookline when the siege began. On his return, he was told that he might enter the town if he would pledge himself to remain there. This he declined to do, and he went to his father's house at Northampton.

In Mr. Ephraim Eliot's Historical Notices of the New North Church we read:—

Some chose to stand by their property, others were not suffered to leave the town. Among these was Dr. Eliot. Most of his family

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Scollay lost a son during the siege—John Scollay, who graduated at Harvard College in 1764.

<sup>2</sup> It was estimated that before the battle in Charlestown, ten thousand of the inhabitants had left the two peninsulas.

<sup>3</sup> See Ezekiel Price's diary. Mary, daughter of Hugh Vans, and granddaughter of the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, third minister of the church, was married to Deacon Jonathan Mason, Lord's Day evening, December 20, 1778.

<sup>4</sup> After the siege Mr. Pierpont was commissary of prisoners. He had dis-

tinguished himself as early as 1773, by emancipating his slaves.

<sup>5</sup> The note addressed by Phillis Wheatley to General Washington, accompanying the lines she had written upon his taking command of the American forces, was dated Providence, October 26, 1775. Her line, "Columbia's scenes of glorious toil I write," was one of the first instances, if not the first instance, of the poetical use of the word Columbia in America. See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, Dec., 1885, and *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, July, 1886.



were sent into the country ; and he expected soon to join them. But this liberty was refused to him, probably through the influence of the selectmen and others in the whig interest, in order to keep up the worship of God in the Congregational way.<sup>1</sup> Most of the ministers of that persuasion were fortunately absent, when hostilities commenced ; and all communication between town and country was cut off by the provincial troops, after the rout of the British army on the 19th of April. Dr. Samuel Mather and Dr Eliot were the only Congregational ministers left in the town, excepting at the southern extremity, where Dr Mather Byles officiated, who, being in the tory interest, was neglected by most of the inhabitants, although he performed service for some time in one of the central meeting-houses. The New North was opened every Lord's day during the blockade, and was decently filled with hearers. A small congregation assembled at Dr. Mather's, and another at the Second Baptist meeting-house, then under the care of the Rev. Isaac Skilman.

The exigencies of war may properly be pleaded, under special circumstances, for the occupation of houses of worship for military uses, and especially for hospital purposes ; but there can be no question that, during the War of the Revolution, the British commanding officers, in many instances, needlessly and wantonly used and injured buildings set apart for the worship of God, and consecrated by the prayers and praises of His people. No doubt, these men despised the Puritan and Presbyterian meeting-houses of America, as they had been taught and trained to despise the "dissenting chapels" at home, for they seem to have discriminated carefully between non-episcopal and episcopal churches ; but in this they only added the offence of intolerance to the crime of sacrilege. In New York, they used the Middle Dutch Church in Nassau Street as a prison, and afterward turned it into a riding school. The Presbyterian Church in Wall Street they converted into barracks, and that in Beekman Street into a hospital.<sup>2</sup> In Boston, they took possession of several of the meeting-houses for barracks, and for the storage of

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Eliot wrote, April 5, 1776, to Mr. Isaac Smith : "I cannot repent my having tarried in town ; it seemed necessary to preserve the very face of religion. But nothing would induce me again to spend eleven months in a garrison town."]

<sup>2</sup> "The ruinous situation in which they left two of the Low Dutch Reformed Churches, the three Presbyterian Churches, the French Protestant Church,

the Anabaptist Church, and the Friends' new Meeting House, was the effect of design, and strongly marks their enmity to those societies. Boston, Newport, Philadelphia and Charleston, all furnished melancholy instances of this prostitution and abuse of the houses of God."—Miller's *Life of the Rev. Dr. John Rodgers* (p. 234), quoted by Dr. Wisner.

hay ; but upon none of them did they heap such indignity as upon the Old South. The "heart of iron beating in its ancient tower" had always been true to popular liberty ; its doors had been freely opened to the citizens, whenever necessary, for their great town meetings ; and its walls had reverberated with the applause that had come in response to the earnest words of James Otis, Samuel Adams, Joseph Warren, and other patriots. Such a record would almost certainly bring down upon it the vengeance of the men who wantonly injured Samuel Adams's house ;<sup>1</sup> who cut down the Liberty Tree ; and who "destroyed the steeple of the West Church, because they supposed it had been used as a signal staff." The New Brick, where Governor Hutchinson had worshipped, was not touched ; but the Old North, Mr. Lathrop's, which had stood for a century, was torn down for fuel.<sup>2</sup> Timothy Newell, a deacon of Brattle Street Church, and one of the selectmen, kept a journal during the siege, and recorded under date of October 27 : —

The spacious Old South Meeting house, taken possession of by the Light horse 17th Regiment of Dragoons, commanded by Lieut. Colo. Samuel Birch. The Pulpit, pews and seats, all cut to pieces and carried off in the most savage manner as can be expressed and destined for a riding school. The beautiful carved pew with the silk furniture of Deacon Hubbard's was taken down and carried to [John Amory's] house by an officer and made a hog sty. The above was effected by the solicitation of General Burgoyne.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "During the tedious months that the siege of Boston had continued, his residence in Purchase Street was occupied by royal officers, who had wantonly mutilated the interior, destroyed the out-houses, and, with spiteful hatred of the proprietor, had cut into the window panes obscene and blasphemous writings, some of them ridiculing his religious habits. Caricatures were displayed upon the walls, and the garden was completely ruined. . . . The family returned, with the design of occupying the house, soon after the departure of the British, but they found the premises uninhabitable." Mr. Adams was never pecuniarily able thereafter to repair the damage, and the family went to Dedham, and resided there until 1778. — Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. ii. p. 380.

<sup>2</sup> "At this time, most of the churches in the town were broken up ; and while the pastor of this church and the members in general were dispersed abroad, a number of evil-minded men, of the king's party, obtained leave of General Howe to pull down the Old North Meeting-house, under a pretence of wanting it for fuel, although there were then large quantities of coal and wood in the town." — *Second Church Records*.

<sup>3</sup> ["A Gentleman who lately came out of Boston affirms, That the Rebels in Boston, by Order of their General, Howe, have taken down the Pulpit and all the Pews in the Old South Meeting House, and are using it for a Riding School, — this he saw. Thus we see the House once set apart for the true Worship and Service of God, turned into a Den for Thieves !" — *Boston Gazette*, November

Everything inside the building was taken out and burnt for fuel, except the sounding board and the east galleries; the latter were left for the accommodation of the officers and their friends, and in the first gallery a place was fitted up where refreshments, including liquors, were sold to those who came to witness the feats of horsemanship. Many hundred loads of dirt and gravel were carted in, and spread upon the floor. The south door was closed, and a bar was fixed, over which the cavalry were taught to leap their horses at full speed.<sup>1</sup> In the winter, a stove was put up, and many of Mr. Prince's books and manuscripts were brought from the tower and used to kindle the fires.

The old parsonage also was torn down and consumed, — the house in which Governor Winthrop lived and died, the home of the Rev. John Norton, and, from the days of Mr. Willard, the abode of generations of ministers of the Third Church.<sup>2</sup> Dr.

13, 1775; this paper was published during the siege by Benjamin Edes at Watertown.

General Burgoyne occupied the Bowdoin mansion, directly opposite the Old South parsonage in Milk Street.

In the cellar of the old meeting-house there is an enclosed space which looks as if it had been built in for a guard-room, and may have been used as a place of confinement for disorderly soldiers. It has two small windows. We show a drawing of the door of this room at the end of this chapter. It has a wooden frame, and, instead of panels, a strong network of iron, for the admission of air. In the upper part of this network there is a small opening through which food may have been passed to those in confinement.

When the national flag was thrown to the breeze from the steeple of the Old South, May 1, 1861, the Rev. J. M. Manning, in the course of an eloquent speech addressed to a great assembly, said: "This building has served as an exercise-ground for horsemen, who sought to conquer the immortal emblem above us, The horse and his rider have perished, while the temple they profaned still stands, and the flag they hated still waves on high!"

<sup>1</sup> In reference to the tradition that a

common drinking shop was opened in the gallery, and that scenes of riot and debauchery on the part of the soldiery were witnessed in the holy temple, (see *Columbian Centinel*, November 17, 1821,) Dr. Wisner says: "Several aged persons with whom I have conversed, some of whom were here while the town was occupied by the British troops, and all of whom say they recollect the appearance of the church after their departure, and the conversation current respecting it at that time, say that the soldiers were not allowed to resort to the gallery, which was reserved for the officers and their ladies and friends, who used to assemble there to witness the performances, and that the erection in the gallery was to furnish them liquor and refreshments."

<sup>2</sup> There was a fine row of buttonwood trees on the parsonage green, which was also destroyed.

The occupants of the old parsonage, so far as we know them, and the approximate dates of their occupancy, were as follows: John Winthrop, 1644 to 1649; John Norton, 1656 to 1663; Mary Norton, 1656 to 1678; Samuel Willard, 1678 to 1707; Ebenezer Pemberton, 1708 to 1710; Joseph Sewall, 1714 to 1719; Thomas Prince, 1719 to 1758. John Osborne occupied it after the fire of

Holmes has said, in reference to another historic parsonage taken down not many years ago: "With its destruction are obliterated some of the footprints of the heroes and martyrs who took the first steps in the long and bloody march which led us through the wilderness to the promised land of independent nationality." A long procession of heroes and martyrs, in the cause of religious as well as civil freedom, passed in and out of this venerable South Church parsonage, during the century and a half of its existence.

Before the year closed, in which the people of the Old South saw their meeting-house desecrated and their parsonage destroyed, one more heavy blow fell upon them: their young minister, the Rev. John Hunt, sickened and died. When the gates of the town were shut after the battle of Lexington, he was visiting friends in Brookline, as we have said, and was forbidden to pass the barriers, unless he would pledge himself to remain. He then retired to Northampton to stay with his relatives there until Providence should open the way for his return to the people of his charge. He had a delicate constitution, and his health had been undermined by "the want of exercise, and the fatigue of study and public service." It became apparent that a pulmonary disease had fastened itself upon him, "and he had little doubt that it would have a fatal issue." "His mind," says Dr. Sprague, "now became more than ever absorbed in endeavouring to satisfy himself in respect to his own spiritual state. During the early part of his illness, he suffered much from doubt and apprehension; but, in the progress of it, his mind became composed, and, for a considerable time previous to his death, the cloud seemed to have entirely passed away. He conversed with great freedom and interest, not only in reference to his own immediate prospects, but on other subjects connected with religion, until within two or three weeks of his death, when both his body and mind had become so feeble that he was scarcely able to converse at all." He died on the 30th of December, in his thirty-first year.<sup>1</sup> His funeral sermon was preached by the

1761, perhaps until his death in 1768. Charles Dabney was living in it in 1770. Benjamin Pierpont hired it for business purposes in 1771; Gilbert Deblois was then keeping a wholesale and retail store in the next building, on the corner of Spring Lane.

<sup>1</sup> The congregation was in no condi-

tion at the time of Mr. Hunt's death, or for several years afterward, to erect a monument over his grave, and nothing was done until 1811. When Dr. Eckley died, and arrangements were in progress for his funeral, a committee was appointed "to consider the propriety of erecting a monument over the remains



Rev. John Hooker, from Job xiv. 19: "Thou destroyest the hope of man." In the application of his subject, the preacher said:—

Here is now before this assembly, the remains, and all that could die, of one that with great propriety might be called "the hope of man;" one from whom the public had raised expectations; who shone in a distinguished sphere of life and with eminent lustre—a burning and a shining light; one of singular accomplishments and furniture for usefulness in the church of Christ; one that was the hope of his parents and the comfort of the family; the hope of his native town—lately the hope of Boston—the hope of these New-English churches. But now he is cut down as a flower, and withered in the morning of life: his sun, before it reached the meridian, is set in darkness. . . .

The Father of spirits had endued him with an amiable natural disposition, a modest, sweet pacific temper; and superior natural genius and intellectual powers, improved and adorned by many valuable acquirements; which the good spirit inclined him to consecrate to the service of God in the gospel of his Son. Within these eight or ten years past, a great revolution has taken place in the moral state of his mind: it pleased God to touch his heart with a serious attention to matters of religion and his own eternal well being. After various painful solitudes and enquiries concerning the character of the blessed God and his conduct toward mankind—the real divinity of the Gospel and the doctrines he saw it contain—and the true ground of a sinner's hope towards God, he gained a good degree of satisfaction in his own mind, as to these things, and embraced the gospel as divinely true and the sovereign only relief of his own spirit: he thereupon devoted himself to studying and preaching it to others.

He entered into the christian ministry from principles of conscience; but with much diffidence and much self denial;—his natural disposition leading him to a more active course, and well knowing that a sedentary studious life was unfriendly to his health, he yet preferred this to a much more lucrative business which offered itself to his choice in competition with it. He dared not neglect making trial at least, of

of the late Rev'd Mr. John Hunt, formerly pastor of this Church, which lays deposited in the Cemetry of Northampton without any monument." There could not have been many in the congregation who had known the young pastor who died thirty-six years before; but a monument was erected, of which we show an illustration at the head of this chapter, with the following epitaph:

"The Reverend John Hunt A. M. Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston Died Dec 30 AD 1775 Æ 31 As an

Orator Scholar & Divine he gave bright presage of future eminence and his brief and exemplary life he devoted to the good of his fellow men until he was summoned to higher services By consent of his friends in Northampton where he drew his first and last breath the Church and Congregation in Boston who ordained him Sept 25 AD 1771 and whose ornament he shone untill death have raised this memorial of his worth his more lasting praise being in heaven to shine as the stars for ever and ever."

preaching the gospel. In the year 1769 he began to preach with uncommon acceptance: the approbation he met with encouraged him to continue: till providence, after some time, opened the way for his settlement at Boston, September 25, 1771: where he continued his public labours, with great acceptance both to his own congregation and the people of the town in general — till the fatal 19th of April last.

Indeed his public services as long as he lived everywhere met with singular approbation; he was truly a “workman that needed not to be ashamed.” In prayer he was peculiarly copious, grave and solemn, with an unusual variety and pertinency of sentiment and language: and perhaps in no part of public exercise did he more excel than in this. As a preacher he was eminent; his compositions were correct, manly and elegant; his sermons were rational, judicious and instructive — enriched with striking and important sentiments — adorned with a variety and noble turn of thought — enlivened by a strong animated and delicate stile — recommended by a delivery remarkably grave, deliberate and emphatical with a pathos and energy becoming the pulpit, and calculated to give every idea he meant to convey, its full weight upon the mind.

His imagination was lively and conducted with judgment. He had a ready invention, with a singular dexterity in collecting well judg’d images and metaphors, and contrasting ideas and expressions so as to engage the hearer. A lively and beautiful imagery usually appeared in all his compositions. He appeared fully possessed in his own thoughts of what he aimed to express; and to endeavor to convey it to the understanding and heart of his hearers; so that he usually commanded the attention of his auditors in an uncommon degree. It ever appeared to be his principal concern in his public discourses, to do good: he was solicitous to instruct the mind and affect the heart; — not merely to please; but to please in order to profit; — not to amuse his hearers with the empty sound of language or the speculations of philosophy, but to “feed them with that knowledge and understanding” which should save their souls.

He loved and he preached the peculiar doctrines of the gospel as they were understood by the fathers of this country, but with a most agreeable openness and candor of mind. The doctrine of redemption thro’ a mediator and atoning sacrifice he was particularly attached to, and dwelt much upon it in the course of his life; and it was the hope and comfort of his heart in death.

Mr. Hooker, towards the close of his sermon, spoke very sympathetically of the Old South Church, and of the almost unexampled trials through which, within a few years, it had been called to pass: —

With great pleasure, was it in my power, I should now address my-

self to the bereaved flock, broken and scattered and without a shepherd;—driven by cruel violence far from their own homes;—their house of prayer, which they left behind, vilely prostituted to the most disgraceful uses;—their beloved pastor now cut off by death; when he was far from any of his flock, and none of them near him to close his eyes or follow him to the grave—such is the disposal of the only wise God.

The dealings of Providence have been peculiar of late years towards that church and congregation. Though they have been from the beginning favored with a bright series of burning and shining lights, whose praise is still in all the churches; yet of late they have been bereaved in a very uncommon manner. Mr. Hunt is the sixth pastor of that church, that has been separated from it within seventeen years. Two were dismissed yet living: He is the fourth that has been taken away by death in that time;—Mr. Prince in the year 1758—Mr. Cumming in 1763; Dr. Sewall in the year 1769:—last of all this our deceased friend and servant of Christ, whose remains we are now to commit to the dust. And now the church and congregation itself, together with the rest of that miserable town, is scattered abroad to the four quarters of the country. But Christ the redeemer of his people still lives and reigns and has all power in Heaven and in earth given into his hands.—Pity them, O thou compassionate head of the church, and “gather them in thine arms and carry them in thy bosom” and return them to their own habitation; and again send forth laborers into thine harvest.

This afflicted church had indeed seen “the hope of man” destroyed. We cannot doubt, however, that in this, the darkest hour in its history, and in its dispersion, many of the members were able to make their own, the words of the psalmist: “Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God; for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance and my God.”

Oft dwell my thoughts on those thrice happy days,  
When to thy courts I led the willing throng;  
Our mirth was worship, all our pleasure praise,  
And festal joys still closed with sacred song.

By Jordan's banks with devious steps I stray,  
O'er Hermon's rugged rocks and deserts dear:  
E'en there thy hand shall guide my lonely way,  
There thy remembrance shall my spirit cheer.

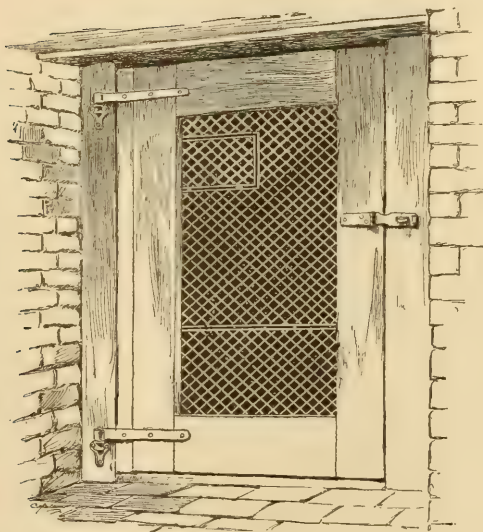
In rapid floods the vernal torrents roll,  
Harsh sounding cataracts responsive roar;  
Thine angry billows overwhelm my soul,  
And dash my shatter'd bark from shore to shore.

Yet thy sure mercies ever in my sight,  
My heart shall gladden through the tedious day;  
And 'midst the dark and gloomy shades of night,  
To Thee I'll duly tune the grateful lay.

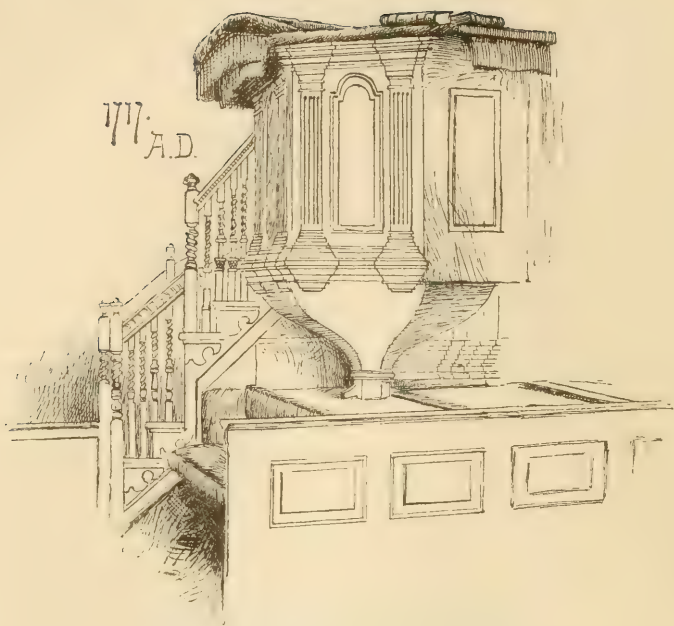
Rock of my hope! great Solace of my heart!  
O! why desert the offspring of thy care,  
While taunting foes thus point the invidious dart —  
"Where is thy God? abandon'd wanderer, where?"

Why faint, my soul? Why doubt Jehovah's aid?  
Thy God, the God of mercy still shall prove;  
Within his courts thy thanks shall yet be paid; —  
Unquestion'd be his faithfulness and love.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [From Bishop Lowth's paraphrase of the Forty-second Psalm.]







## CHAPTER V.

1776-1799.

### REHABILITATION.

THE British troops took their departure from Boston on Sunday the 17th of March, 1776, and the gates of the town were immediately thrown open to the army under General Washington. The siege had lasted less than a year, but it left marks of desolation which were not easily effaced. Hundreds of houses had been pulled down, many more had been damaged, much personal property had been destroyed, and many families were reduced from affluence to poverty. The summer that followed the evacuation was a sickly one, and the inhabitants who had escaped before or during the siege were slow to return. The Provincial Congress which had been in session at Watertown did not remove to Boston until November 12.<sup>1</sup>

One who on the afternoon of the 17th of March landed "at the bottom of the Common, near the high bluff which was taken

<sup>1</sup> The first issue of the *Boston Gazette*, town, was on the 4th of November, after its return to Boston from Water- 1776.

away a few years ago to make Charles Street," recorded long afterward in the *Columbian Centinel* the impressions made upon him during his first walk through the desolated town :—

On crossing the Common, we found it very much disfigured, with ditches, and cellars, which had been dug by the British troops, for their accommodation when in camp. To our great regret, we saw several large trees lying in the Mall, which had been cut down that morning. We were informed that the tories were so exasperated at being obliged to leave the town, that they were determined to do all the mischief possible, and had commenced destroying that beautiful promenade ; but it being told to some of the Selectmen, they went in haste to General Howe, and represented the circumstance, who kindly sent one of his Aids to forbid the further destruction of the trees, and to reprimand the tories for their conduct. General Howe could not but feel some degree of grateful regard and sympathy for the people of Massachusetts, as they had erected a monument in Westminster Abbey to the memory of his brother, whose urbane and gentlemanly deportment had gained the esteem and respect of the Massachusetts forces, and who was killed in a battle with the French and Indians in 1758.

The Mall was originally laid out with only two rows of trees, a third was added a few years before the war, which we found were all cut down for fuel, together with the intire fence which surrounded the Common, as was also a large magnificent tree which stood on the town's land, near the school-house, in West Street, of equal size with that which now stands in the middle of the Common, both of which I suppose to be aboriginals.

On passing into the town, it presented an indescribable scene of desolation and gloominess, for notwithstanding the joyous occasion of having driven our enemies from our land, our minds were impressed with an awful sadness at the sight of the ruins of many houses which had been taken down for fuel—the dirtiness of the streets—the wretched appearance of the very few inhabitants who remained during the siege—the contrast between the Sunday we then beheld compared with those we formerly witnessed, when well-dressed people, with cheerful countenances, were going to and returning from Church, on which occasion Boston exhibits so beautiful a scene—but more especially when we entered the Old South Church, and had ocular demonstration that it had been turned into a riding-school, for the use of General Burgoyne's regiment of cavalry, which formed a part of the garrison, but which had never ventured to pass the barriers of the town. . . . All these circumstances conspired to fill the mind with sombre reflections. But amidst the sadness of the scene, there was a pleasing satisfaction in the hope that men capable of such atroci-

ties, could not have the blessing of Heaven in their nefarious plan of subjugating our beloved country.<sup>1</sup>

Religious services had not been altogether suspended during the siege. Dr. Eliot, Dr. Mather, and one of the Baptist pastors had remained at their posts, and Dr. Byles had stayed in the town, but had been inactive.<sup>2</sup> The Thursday Lecture was preached for the last time on the 30th of November, by Dr. Eliot, who took his text from the message to the church in Sardis: "Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast, and repent." Four months later, the same faithful pastor had the privilege of reopening the lecture, and General Washington and many of the American officers were among his auditors.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Chauncy, Dr. Cooper, and Mr. Lathrop soon came back, but Mr. Howe had died at Hartford,<sup>4</sup> a few

<sup>1</sup> [*Col. Centinel*, November 17, 1821. Recollections of a Bostonian, No. 11.]

<sup>2</sup> "Dr. Mather Byles having rendered himself unpopular by his adherence to British principles, his people would not suffer him to preach after their return. The church laboured under great difficulties. At length they invited Mr. Ebenezer Wight [Harvard College, 1776] to take the pastoral charge over them. He was at a loss how to act, and prudently asked advice of the Association of Ministers; and they were as much at a loss to determine what advice to give. No desire was expressed by that church to call a council, having no specific charges to make against the doctor. He had never been dismissed; therefore there was no vacancy. He had not been active in political affairs; and the chief objection against him seemed to be, that he had indulged himself in a natural vein of low wit and ridiculous punning, which destroyed their respect. In February, 1778, they determined to proceed in their own way, and not to consider Mr. Wight as a colleague pastor. They invited the neighbouring churches to assist in his ordination. Dr. Eliot, ever circumspect, obtained a vote of his church, 'that they would assist, provided a majority of the other churches, who were invited, would be willing to do so.' This was the case, and the Rev. Mr. Wight was ordained accordingly." — *Historical Notices*, by Ephraim Eliot, pp. 27, 28. Mr. John

Clarke, Harvard College, 1774, was ordained July 8, 1778, as colleague with the venerable Dr. Chauncy at the First Church.

<sup>3</sup> "Thursday last [March 28, 1776,] the lecture which was established and has been observed from the first settlement of Boston without interruption until within these few months past, was opened by the Rev. Dr. Eliot. His Excellency General Washington, the other general officers, and their suites, having been previously invited, met in the Council Chamber [Old State House], from whence, preceded by the Sheriff with his wand, attended by the members of the Council who had had the small pox, the Committee of the House of Representatives, the Selectmen, the Clergy, and many other gentlemen, they repair'd to the old Brick Meeting House, where an excellent and well adapted discourse was delivered from the 33d chapter of Isaiah, 20th verse. ['Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities: thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down; not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken.']. — *Mass. Gazette*, April 4, 1776. After service there was "an elegant dinner," "provided at the public expense," at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, on the corner of Kilby and State Streets.

<sup>4</sup> August 25, 1775.

months before Mr. Hunt's death at Northampton. Dr. Pemberton resided during the siege at Andover. His health had been feeble, and for several months before he left his pulpit had been supplied by others. Indeed, for a long time previously he had generously relinquished his salary, and from the beginning of February, 1774, had not received anything from the parish. "I cannot ascertain," says Dr. Robbins, "that after the evacuation of the town, he once appeared in the pulpit. It is probable that his increasing infirmities prevented him even from attending worship. No notice is made of him at this time on our records; nor have I been able to ascertain anything more concerning the circumstances of his death than is contained in a single sentence in an old newspaper: 'On Tuesday morning last, Sept. 9, 1779 [1777], departed this life, after a long confinement, the Rev. Dr. Pemberton; his funeral to be attended this P. M. at three o'clock.'"<sup>1</sup>

The congregation at the New Brick, considerably diminished in numbers, had a meeting-house, but no active pastor. The congregation which had been accustomed to assemble in the Old North had a pastor but no meeting-house. The former society gladly offered its hospitality to Mr. Lathrop and his parishioners, and it was natural that the two should soon unite their forces. They worshipped together for the first time, March 31, 1776; on the 6th of May, 1779, they "agreed upon and adopted a plan of perpetual union, and were thenceforth incorporated under the name of the Second Church."<sup>2</sup>

Few churches have been favored with such prosperity as was enjoyed by the Third Church during the first century of its existence, and especially during the joint pastorate of Dr. Sewall and Mr. Prince; and few churches have been called to endure such trials as it passed through in the twenty years which followed Mr. Prince's death. At the close of the siege of Boston, its meeting-house was unfit for occupancy, it was without a minister, and the families of the congregation were widely dis-

<sup>1</sup> Robbins's *History of the Second Church*, p. 192. Dr. Pemberton was in his seventy-third year. The *Continental Journal* of October 9, 1777, contains a full and appreciative notice of him. His son, Ebenezer Pemberton, the third of the name, graduated at Princeton in 1765, and was principal of Phillips Academy, Andover, from 1786 to 1795. He married Elizabeth, daughter of the

Rev. William Whitwell, of Marblehead, and granddaughter of William Whitwell of the Old South. He died in 1835. The name was an honorable one in the churches and schools for nearly a century and a half.

<sup>2</sup> Robbins's *History*, p. 130. When Dr. Samuel Mather died, June 27, 1785, most of the members of his congregation joined themselves to the Second Church.



persed. Some of these, which had identified themselves with the cause of the Crown, never returned; the rest, as they came back, joined themselves for the time to other congregations. More than a year elapsed before arrangements were made for bringing together those who had been scattered abroad. The following paragraph, in the handwriting of Dr. Eckley, appears in the list of members, between the dates of March, 1775, and November, 1778:—

Remark. Owing to the possession of the Town by the British Troops in 1775 and 1776, to the demolition of the internal part of the house of Worship, with the Death of one of the Ministers, and Dismission of the other, the members of the Old South Church were dispersed, and did not again assemble in a Church State, by themselves, until November, 1777.<sup>1</sup>

The minister of King's Chapel, and a majority of his parishioners, had gone away from Boston with the royal troops; those who remained now generously placed their house of worship at the disposal of the Old South Church and Congregation. Nothing has been preserved of the correspondence between the two parishes at this date, except the following letter from Mr. Scollay to Dr. Bulfinch, which was copied into the records of King's Chapel:<sup>2</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> [On the 30th of May, 1875, at the beginning of the centennial celebrations, Dr. Manning preached a sermon on *The Old South During the Revolution*, from Psalm xlv. 1: "We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, what work thou didst in their days, in the times of old." He thus spoke of the state of the church and congregation immediately after the siege of Boston:—

"Without a pastor, without a sanctuary, few in numbers and greatly impoverished, their strong men in the armies of the new nation, the future full of uncertainties, we can ascribe it only to the special favor of God, that their name and organization survived. King's Chapel was the instrument which God chose to save them in this exigency. . . . In the midst of the general worldliness, the spirit of war, and the influences coming from infidel France, we marvel that the church had spiritual life enough to go into

King's Chapel, and sustain Christian ordinances within its walls. So little accustomed as they were to being without a pastor, [from 1670 to 1769 the church had never been without a pastor,] we wonder where they found courage and wisdom, in those times of weakness and peril, to hold up their sacred banner, and at length to choose for themselves a leader under Christ. Nothing but the good hand of God upon them can explain their escape. The angel of his presence defended them, and brought them out of their sore trials, into a large place. He made them able to walk onward through those days of feebleness, and in due season brought them again into a sanctuary which their own hands had made ready."]

<sup>2</sup> We are indebted to Mr. Foote for a copy of this letter in advance of the publication of the second volume of his *Annals*, and for the picture at the head of this chapter.

*Sir*

The Vote of the Proprietors of King's Chapel was laid before the Members of the Old South Church, their unanimous determination relating [to] our meeting in said Chapel was received gratefully. Care will be taken that no damage shall be done to the House, if any should happen it shall be repair'd, and their time of meeting shall not Interfere with the services of the Church.

JOHN SCOLLAY  
pr. order.

BOSTON, Sept 11. 1777.

The members of the Old South assembled for the first time for worship in the Chapel, November 9, 1777. Mr. Joseph Eckley, a graduate of the College of New Jersey, had come to Boston and had been preaching to some of the congregations with much acceptance. It was with a view to his settlement that the members of the Old South determined to resume public worship by themselves, and he began at once to preach for them. Nothing appears on the records however until July, 1778.

Lords day P. M. July 19th 1778.

The Brethren of the Old South Society were stayed, after the Blessing was given, when it was proposed to Consider what steps might be proper to take respecting our present Circumstances and the resettlement of the Gospel Ministry among us. Whereupon

Voted, That Wednesday the 29th of July current be set apart and observed as a day of Prayer and humiliation before God on Account of the very affecting dispensations of his Providence towards us, particularly in the death of our late worthy pastor the Revd. Mr. John Hunt whereby we were left as sheep without a Shepard; and in the destruction of the beautiful Building where we used steadily to meet for Publick Worship of God by those wicked and unreasonable men the British Troops, who in the year 1775 being in the possession of this Metropolis, entred the Building and in a wanton unprecedented and impious manner made Havoc of the inside work thereof, leaving only the sounding board and two East Galleries standing, and afterwards used the same as a school in which to train their Horses, if not for viler Purposes, and Whereas we have not a settled Pastor at this time, that we present our Supplications before our God, that he would be pleased to lead and direct us to the choice of an able faithfull and successful Minister of the New Testament, and in his own time set him over us. And the Deacons apply to the Associated Ministers of these Churches for their assistance in carrying on the religious Exercises of said Day. The Morning Exercise to begin at 10 O Clock and the Afternoon at three.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [This action was recorded immediately after the meeting of the brethren July 6, 1779. In our narrative, we place it where it properly belongs.]

Chapel.

Boston Augt. 18. 1778.

At a meeting of the Old South Church and Congregation, lately under the care of the Revd. Mr. Hunt, after prayer to God as usual, Voted Thomas Cushing Moderator.

Voted, That the preaching of the Rev. J. Eckley is very agreeable to the Brethren of this Church and Congregation, and that it would be agreeable to them if the Brethren of the Church would meet and confer together upon the expediency of the settlement of a minister at this time.

Voted, That Brothers Dawes, Deming and Kneeland be a Committee to settle with Brother Jeffries, with respect to Mr. Eckley's Board, with the Deacons with respect to the Contribution monies, since the Society met at the Chapel : and also relative to the rent of the Ministerial House and to Consider what further allowance should be made to Mr. Eckley.

Voted, That this meeting be adjourned to next Monday at five O Clock P. M.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Eckley was born in London, October 11, 1750. His father, Thomas Eckley, a respectable and well-educated man, migrated with his family to this country, and settled at Morristown, New Jersey, about the year 1767. Joseph, who was already fitted for college, went almost immediately to Princeton, and graduated there in 1772 with the highest honors of his class. He was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of New York, May 7, 1776, and began his ministry at Albany, where he spent several Sabbaths.

Monday August 24. 1778

At a meeting of the South Church lately under the Pastoral care of the Revd Mr. Hunt, David Jeffries Moderator ;

<sup>1</sup> [A venerable member of the Old South, Mary Ann Winslow, who was baptized by Mr. Eckley, May 16, 1790, and died December 13, 1882, gave the following account of the preservation of the Old South silver by her father, John Winslow, afterward General Winslow. Deacon Mason had charge of the silver, and kept it in his house No. 12 Cornhill, nearly opposite Williams Court ; he went to Newport, when hostilities began, leaving his house and store in the care of his nephew, John Winslow, then twenty-two years of age. "Winslow watched the battle of Bunker Hill from the Old South steeple, and going over the ground next morning, Drake says, in company with Dr. Jeffries, [son of Deacon Jeffries,] he was the first person to recognize the body of Warren. On his return to town, he made his uncle's premises as secure as possible, dug a hole in the cellar of the house, buried the Old South plate, carefully filled it in, and covered all with a heap of brushwood. He then purchased a suit of sailor's clothing, shipped on board a British war vessel bound to Newport, and not knowing one rope from another, received some lashes on the passage for his ignorance. As soon as the vessel reached Newport he ran away from her, joined his uncle, and entered the army as deputy paymaster under his friend Trumbull, and soon became captain of artillery under Major Eben Stevens."]

The Church took under Consideration the expediency of proceeding to the settlement of a Minister at this time ; and after some debate, the Question was putt, and it was unanimously Voted, That it was at this time expedient for the Church to proceed to the settlement of a minister.

Voted, that brother Cushing, Mr. Deming and Deacon Mason be a Committee to wait upon Mr. Joseph Eckley, (who has been Preaching with us for some months) and enquire of him whether he could see his way clear to Baptize a child when neither of the parents were in full communion.

The Committee after the Interview return'd to the Church at that time setting, and reported Mr. Eckley's Answer, which in substance was that he did not know but that there might be a Case where he could administer the Ordinance when neither of the parents were in full communion.

Voted, that the Deacons wait upon Mr. Eckley, and request his stay among us for two sabbaths more than the next vizt. the 30th current, as it was his Intention immediately after to have set out on his journey for the Jersies.

Voted, that this meeting be adjourn'd to Fryday the 4th September 3 o'clock P. M.

Monday Augt 24. 1778.

The Church and Congregation met according to adjournment, and Voted that the meeting be further adjourned to Friday the 4th Sept. at 5 o'clock P. M.<sup>1</sup>

Septemb. 4. 1778.

The Church met according to adjournment, and after some conversation respecting the practice of the church when persons apply for Baptism for themselves or their children, about which no Vote was passed, The meeting was further adjourn'd to Tuesday the 8th current at 3 o'clock P. M.

Sept. 4 1778.

The Church and Congregation met according to Adjournment and Voted the meeting be further Adjourned to Tuesday next the 8th Current at 3 o'Clock P. M.

Tuesday Septemb. 8. 1778.

The Brethren of the Church met according to adjournment. Mr. Eckley pray'd.

A Question was put, Whether it be the mind of this church now to proceed to the choice of a Pastor, it passed in the Affirmative.

Voted, that Brothers Peirce, Thomas Bumsted and Deacon Phillips be a committee to collect and count the Votes, and upon counting

<sup>1</sup> [Lafayette arrived in Boston, for the first time, on Saturday, August 29, stayed with John Hancock until Monday, and then returned to Rhode Island.]



said Votes, which were written, it appear'd that there were twenty seven Votes in favor of Mr. Joseph Eckley out of thirty, the whole number present ; three of the Brethren declined voting.

Voted, that Deacon Jeffries, Deacon Phillips, Brothers Scollay, Deming and Whitwell, be a Committee to waite upon Mr. Joseph Eckley and acquaint him with the choice which the church hath this day made of him to be their Pastor.

Voted, that the meeting be adjourn'd until tomorrow 3 o'clock p. m. to which time the meeting of the Church and Congregation stands adjourn'd.

DAVID JEFFRIES Modera.

Sept. 8. 1778.

The Church and Congregation met according to Adjournment, and Voted that Brother Joseph Peirce, Deming, Somes, Copeland, and Josiah Waters be a Committee to notify the Society that their meeting is further adjourned till tomorrow at 3 O Clock P M

DAVID JEFFRIES Moderator.

Sept. 9. 1778.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation met according to adjournment and the vote of the Church passed yesterday respecting their choice of Mr. Joseph Eckley to be their pastor, was now laid before them and the question being put whether they concurred with the Church in the choice of Mr. Joseph Eckley to be their pastor. It passed in the Affirmative.

Voted, That in case Mr. Joseph Eckley accept the call of this Church to be their pastor, that there then be allowed and paid to him Seven pounds Lawfull Money pr week as a salary, which sum is fixed upon in Consideration of the present price of the Necessaries of Life: also that he be allow'd Wood for his Study, also that he receive and apply to his own use the rent of the Ministerial House now in the Occupation of Brother Wm. Phillips Junr which several allowances are to commence and take place when he shall declare his Acceptance of the Call of this Church to be their pastor; and it is further Voted, That when Mr. Eckley shall see fit to settle in a family by himself, that he be allowed Wood for his Family; as also to occupy the Ministerial House.

Voted, That Messrs Wm Bant, Bartholomew Kneeland,<sup>1</sup> and Ziphion Thayer be a Committee with the Committee of this Church to acquaint Mr. Joseph Eckley with the choice and vote of this Church passed yesterday that he should be their pastor. Accordingly the Committee waited on him and communicated to him the foregoing Vote.

<sup>1</sup> [We suppose this Bartholomew Kneeland to have been a grandson of the deacon of the same name who died in 1732. The second of the name, who

owned the covenant in 1725, died in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1751. The third of the name, Bartholomew, son of Bartholomew and Hannah Kneeland, was

Voted, That the report of the Committee of Brother Dawes, Deming and Kneeland and the Account respecting Mr. Eckley's Board, rent of ministerial house and monies in the hands of the Deacons since our meeting in the Chapel be allowed and accepted.

Voted, That the ballance of the above mentioned Accounts being £92. 17. 3 be made up one hundred pounds and that the same be presented to Mr. Joseph Eckley by the Deacons in the name of this Society in Token of their respect and Affection to him.

Voted, That Brother Waters, Sweetser and Deming be a Committee to supply the pulpit during the absence of Mr. Eckley.

Voted, That there be allowed and paid to the persons or person who shall preach to the Society during Mr. Eckley's absence the sum of four pounds p Sabbath also that he be allowed for his board Occasional Horse Keeping.<sup>1</sup> DAVID JEFFRIES Moderator Pro Tem.

Lords day Novr 15 1778

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed and Voted that there be a collection for charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving the 26 Current and that the Brethren be reminded of this Vote the next Lords day

DAVID JEFFRIES one of the Deacons.

Jany 4 1779 at a meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation of the South Society in the chapel —

Voted, Brother Jeffries moderator. The Committee appointed to take an Account of the Arrearages on the pews, and what measures are necessary for the Society to take in order to support the charge of publick worship, reported.

Voted, That Brother Somes, Peirce, Oliver, Waters and Wiswell be a Committee to collect the arrearages due on the Pews.

Voted, That the Pews be taxed agreeable to the Assessment exhibited this day by the Committee and to begin next Lords Day on the 10th current.

Voted, That the Parsonage House be rented for six months at the rate of One hundred and fifty pounds p Annum.

Voted, That Brother Dawes, Deming and Kneeland be a Committee to settle with Wm. Phillips Jr. rent for the ministerial House from June last to this day, also to consider what allowance and pay should be made Mr. Eckley p Sabbath for preaching to us, also to Mr. Saml Duncalf the Saxton, for his services from Novr 1777 to Jany 10 1779.

baptized at the South Church September 24, 1727.]

<sup>1</sup> [On the return to the West Church of the Rev. Simeon Howard, who during the siege of Boston had gone with some of his parishioners to Annapolis, Nova

Scotia, his salary was fixed at £3. 12. 0 a week. October 1, 1777, it was raised to £7 a week for the next six months; December 11, 1780, it was fixed at £4 a week. — Lowell's *Discourse*, 1820, pp. 32-35.]

Also to receive Mr. Jeffries Accounts for boarding Mr. Eckley and Mr. Wheaton and report to the Society.<sup>1</sup>

Voted, That the meeting be adjourned to Monday the 18th Inst at 3 O Clock P M. and that the Society be notified of the Adjournment on the Sabbath preceeding.

DAVID JEFFRIES Moderator.

Monday Jany. 18. 1779.

The Brethren met according to adjournment and voted that the report of the Committee respecting a Ballance of Twenty nine pounds 3/9 due from Wm Phillips Junr for rent of the parsonage House to the 5th Current be accepted.

Voted, That there be allowed and paid to Mr. Joseph Eckley Eighteen pounds weekly for his services including his board ; to begin from the time when he returned from the Jersey last fall Novr. 20. 1778.<sup>2</sup>

Voted, That there be allowed and paid to Mr. Saml Duncalf the Sexton thirty pounds p Annum beginning from the 9th Novr 1777 to the 10th current and that in future he be allowed the use of the Pall or Palls belonging to the Society if any there be and the privilage of the Bell belonging to the old South meeting House.

Voted, That Brother Sweetser be added to the Committee, vizt. Dawes, Deming, and Kneeland, appointed Jany 4. as brother Dawes is under such Engagements that he cannot attend the Committee.

DAVID JEFFRIES Moderator.

The following record of meetings held in the month of May appears in the record book after the date of Mr. Eckley's ordi-

<sup>1</sup> [Soon after his settlement, Mr. Eckley married Sarah, daughter of Deacon David and Deborah Jeffries, baptized November 15, 1761.]

<sup>2</sup> ["A representation of the extreme injury and hardship thus inferr'd [by the depreciation of the currency] on the clergy, was, by the Rev. Dr. Chauncy of Boston, not long since made to the Council of this State, in a sermon at the public lecture — made with that noble plainness and fidelity which are among the distinguishing characteristics of that gentleman — and withal a redress of their wrongs was decently and solemnly urg'd. But altho the General Assembly has now been sitting for some time, no motion (as I can learn) has as yet been made, or is likely to be made for this purpose. The people of some parishes, 'tis true, have made their ministers a consideration. A small number have been so generous as

to give (as 'tis term'd) more than one-half of what was justly due. Others have fallen far short of this. And a great part have done nothing at all." Letter from a Clergyman, *Cont. Journal*, October 8, 1778.

"We hear from Easton, that they have voted the Rev. Mr. Campbell £400 L. M. From Braintree, that they have voted the Rev. Mr. Taft £450 L. M. From Bridgewater, that they have voted the Rev. Mr. Porter £500 L. M. as salaries for 1778. In these examples, we see displayed a degree of justice and generosity, together with a spirit to support the gospel ministry, which seems to be almost extinct in too many places at the present day." — *Ibid.*, December 10; 1778.

The same paper contains a letter, unsigned, but probably from the pen of Dr. Chauncy, in which the Rev. John Murray is rather sharply criticised.]

nation. We print it here, because the proceedings took place before Mr. Eckley's acceptance of the call, and were, no doubt, in response to his expressed wishes.

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church held May 7th 1779, Deacon Mason Moderator.

The meeting call'd at the desire of a number of the Brethren who exprest their uneasiness at our present practice upon what is call'd the half-way covenant.

Entered into free conversation upon the subject.

Voted, That this meeting be adjourn'd to Monday 17th. at 3 p. m.

Monday May 17th. The Brethren met according to their adjournment, and again freely discoursed upon the subject, and Voted that the meeting be adjourn'd to next Wednesday at 3 o'clock p m.

Wednesday May 19th 1779.

The brethren met according to adjournment, and further discoursed upon the subject. Chose Brother Waters Jr. Brother Deming, Brother Somes and Brother Thomas Bumpstead a committee to waite upon those Brethren that were absent to acquaint them of the adjournment and desire their attendance.

Voted that this meeting be adjourn'd to Fryday next at 3 o'clock p. m.

Fryday May 21. The Brethren met according to their adjournment. Enter'd again upon a free conversation on the subject.

Voted that this meeting be adjourn'd to Monday next at 3 o'clock p m.

Monday May 24 1779.

The Brethren met according to adjournment, and after freely conversing together, passed the following votes.

Whereas Nov. 3. 1769, it was voted that such persons as may hereafter seek admission to full communion, previous to their admission, give to the church orally or in writing a profession of their Repentance towards God, and Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, of their Belief of the Scriptures, and of their Resolutions by the Grace of God, to walk according to them ;

Voted that the Pastor communicate to the Church the substance of the conversation had between him and the Persons, which shall superceed the necessity of an oral or written Profession.

Voted, That it is the mind of this Church, that no person be admitted to special ordinances, unless he make a profession of repentance towards God and Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and obedience to all his commands.

JONA MASON Moderator.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 112.

toms was made [at the New North Church, Dr. Eliot's,] on the 16th of May,



From 1754 to 1775, both years inclusive, one hundred and eighty-nine persons had been admitted to full membership in the church, and sixty-four (about one third as many) under the baptismal covenant. There were no admissions of the latter kind under Mr. Eckley's ministry, until 1788.

July 6 1779 at a meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation of the Old South Society in the Chapel voted Wm. Phillips Moderator.

Voted, That Brother Deming, Kneeland, Sweetser Balnap and Hinkley be a Committee to settle with Brother Jeffries with respect to Mr. Eckley's wood and also all other demands on the Society : with the Deacons with respect to the Contribution money since the Society met at the Chapel and also relative to the rent of the ministry House and to consider what further allowance should be made to Mr. Eckley.

Voted, That Mr. Eckley be allowed and paid for his wood from Novr. 20 1778 to this Day, over and above the £18 p. week Voted Jany 18 1779.

Voted, that this meeting be adjourned to Monday the 12th Inst at 3 OClock P. M. and publick notice be given of the same next Lords day.

WM PHILLIPS Moderator.

Monday July 19 1779

The Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation met according to adjournment, and Wm. Phillips the Moderator not being present David Jeffries was chosen P Tem.

Several accounts were laid before the Society by Brother Deming and others a Committee chosen July 6 current all of which were brought into one General Account which left a ballance of three hundred

1773, viz. The candidates for full communion had been required to present to the church a relation of the time when, and the manner in which they had been wrought upon, and the experiences they had had during their religious course. This was read before the members of the church, nominally, but in fact before the whole of the society; as curiosity prompted most of the congregation, especially of the softer sex, to tarry, in order to hear what they had to say upon the matter. It had become a mere form, and was said to prevent many from joining the church; so that the pastor, thinking there was no direction in the Scriptures therefor, recommended that it should not be required; but if it should

be the desire of any persons to make such relation, the church will attend to it. A public profession of Christ, however, was still to be made, by assenting to the covenant in use in the church."—*Historical Notices*, by Ephraim Eliot, p. 25.

Those who applied for admission to Dr. Eliot's church under the baptismal covenant were required to assent to the same form of covenant as those who desired full membership, with the following words added: "You promise often to think of your obligations to come up to the table of the Lord, and that you will seek to have such difficulties removed as now prevent your approach to that holy ordinance."—*Ibid.*, p. 49.]

and sixty five pounds 2/9 due from the Society to Sundry persons and said Account was accepted. The report of said Committee which also was accepted is as follows.—

“The Committee to whom was refer'd the Settling all the Demands on the Old South Society since their meeting at the Chapel have attended that service and report that there appears to be a ballance of £365. 2. 9 due from the Society on the Several Accounts exhibited — that in this ballance Mr. Eckley will only receive £160. for his services for eight months past after paying his board, which we think very insufficient, we further report as our opinion, that for the present Mr. Eckley be allowed twelve pounds in Addition to the sum of Eighteen pounds p week already voted, in Consideration of the high price of the necessarys of life, also wood for his Study until he settle with us, also that the ministerial House improved by Mr. Wm. Phillips Jr be at the rate of three hundred pounds p Annum for the next three months, all which is Humbly submitted. JNO DEMING Chairman.”

After conversation had respecting a method for raising the Above mentioned Sum of £365. 2. 9 The question was put, Whether the money necessary for discharging the debts of the Society should be raised by Subscription. It passed in the Negative. The question was then put whether the money should be raised by an Assessment on the Pews. It passed in the Affirmative. Whereupon Voted that Mr. Samuel Whitwell, Mr. Joseph Pierce and Mr. John Hinkley be the committee for making said Assessment.

Deacon Phillips having informed the Society that he had in his hands of their money One hundred and ten pounds —

Voted, That the said sum of £110, be and is hereby appropriated for payment of the debt of the Society, so far as it will extend.

Voted, That the rate of the Pews from and after Lords day the 25th current be double to the rate paid by the pew holders for several Months past, that is to say a Pew that is now rated six shillings shall be rated twelve shillings, a pew that is now rated four shillings shall be rated eight shillings and so other pews in the same proportion, so much being necessary for defraying the Charges of the Society at the present time : also voted that the Society be made acquainted with the preceeding vote the next Lords day.

Voted, that Deacon Mason, John Scollay, D[eacon] Jeffries, Bart. Kneeland and John Hinkley be the Committee to wait upon Mr. Joseph Eckley and acquaint him the addition of twelve pounds for the present p week to the eighteen pounds already voted in Consideration of the high price of the necessarys of Life, and that they request Mr. Eckley to give his answer to the call of the Church to be their pastor so soon as Conveniently he can.

Voted, That the meeting be adjourned to Monday the 20th Current

at 3 OClock afternoon and that the society be reminded thereof next Lords Day.

DAVID JEFFRIES Moderator Pro Tem.

Monday July 20. 1779

The Brethren of the Old South Society met according to Adjournment. Voted, That Brother Jeremiah Bumstead, Ziphion Thayer<sup>1</sup> and James Foster be a Committee to wait upon the Brethren of the Church and Congregation for the several sums Assessed on their pews for raising the sum of Two hundred and eighty three pounds 9/4 it being sixteen times as much as their weekly contribution, and to acquaint them that at a meeting of the church and congregation, they voted to add Twelve pounds p week to Mr. Eckley's salary to make it up £30 p week. N. B. the Assessment is doubled on each Pew to make the sum.

Ten months had passed since a formal call was given to Mr. Eckley, and eight months since his return from New Jersey. In the mean time, he had been supplying the pulpit regularly ; but the brethren, as we have seen, desired that the question of a permanent relation might be settled as soon as he could conveniently give an answer. This he did in a letter dated July 31, which came into the possession of Dr. Manning several years ago, and was preserved by him. It bears the following endorsement : " Mr. Joseph Eckley's Answer to the Call given him by the Old South Church (so called) Septem 8. 1778, to be their pastor. Communicated to the Society by the Rev'd Dr. Gordon Lords day Aug. 1. P. M. which was a Communion Sabbath. David Jeffries."

To the Christian Church and Congregation, now usually assembling in the Chapel in Boston. —

*Dearly Beloved.*

May Grace, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied abundantly to you.

Having in the providence of God been called to settle among you in the work of the Gospel ministry, and in so important a place in the Church of Christ — it has become me to spread the case before the almighty, and seek his Counsel and direction.

It will be needless for me to mention, when it is so well known, that such an employment and undertaking is both difficult and important. In particular, must it be considered so, when the whole charge, and care of a Church and Congregation, is to fall on one person alone,

<sup>1</sup> [Ezekiel Price says in his diary kept during the siege of Boston, that "Ziphion Thayer and Nicholas Bowes got out of Boston in August." Mr. Thayer's store was at the sign of the Golden Lion, Cornhill.]

and especially on one, who is in the younger part of life. But knowing there is a being whom we serve, who is able to afford strength — and considering the encouragements as well as discouragements, which attend the work of the gospel ministry — after mature deliberation, I take this method to make it known, that if what I have yet to mention is satisfactory and agreeable, I accept the Call of the Society, beseeching their earnest prayers for me, that I may be assisted to be faithful and successful in my master's work, rightly dividing the word of truth.

One particular I had reference to, is concerning the constant supply of the Pulpit. So great an undertaking has this been thought, as formerly to have required two Ministers to a Church. And considering the importance of the doctrines of the Gospel, and the necessity of an increasing acquaintance with them, it must be obvious, that not only must time be allowed for the particular preparation of every publick discourse, but more so, for those other parts of study, which are necessary to furnish the mind with ideas, without which, neither is it possible for a person to do justice to himself, or the people committed to his ministry, — but his publick labours, must in the end, prove either futile and empty, or a tiresome repetition of the same things. I must take the freedom therefore to mention with regard to myself, that, if while I am blessed with health and strength, I see the Pulpit constantly supplied as was formerly the whole publick labour of two ministers, and preach myself as often as was formerly the business of one, that this, together with the other work which will necessarily fall to me, is as much as I can think my duty to engage, or that I shall have strength to perform.

What I had further in view to observe was, that as by the dispensation of providence which has called me, so if I should fix my residence in this place, I shall thereby be removed at a very great distance from my friends — it is my request, that once in every two years it be considered, that I be allowed time for the purpose of taking a journey, and visiting my friends, which will generally occasion my absence about six or seven Sabbaths.

These particulars being assented to, and nothing extraordinary or unforeseen preventing or making it improper — by the assistance of the divine being, I shall address myself to the work you have called me to and to labour among you in those things, which regard our common interest, and our only salvation. And considering the difficulties of the ministerial work, more especially in the present day — on you Gentlemen who have invited me thereunto I rely for encouragement and assistance, as it is thereon will very much depend the prospect of my comfort and success from a continuance among you. To you therefore I must look for your countenance and help, and also for that temporal support, which according to the rule that Christ has given, is to be afforded to those who dispense his word.



Concerning which latter particular I have only to say, that as from well known facts, it cannot in general be readily considered that the inducements to the work of the Gospel Ministry are of a temporal or worldly nature, so I trust, that a thought so dangerous to the interest of religion, will always be absent from our minds. But as *he* who engages in the Ministry, engages in a work which is sufficient to employ the whole of his time, and for the sake of the People among whom he labours, must renounce all other means of acquiring earthly things, hence the propriety of the rule enacted by our Saviour concerning those who preach the Gospel ; — on which subject I place the most entire confidence in the Society I am addressing.

That a spirit of love and unity may ever dwell among you, shall be my earnest prayer : And if it should please the great head of the Church, to unite us in the most intimate relation of a People and Pastor, may that trust and mutual confidence reign between us, which is necessary to our comfortably walking together, and helping one another in our Christian course. And being found faithful to our common Lord and Saviour — when we have run our course, may we then be received to live together in the upper world, and change these but weak beginnings of love and friendship, into the most perfect fruition thereof, and mutually join in singing the eternal praises of God and of the Lamb.

With sincere respect I remain,

Your affectionate Brother and Servant in Christ,

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

BOSTON 31 July 1779.

Chapel Lords Day Augt 15 1779.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed after the Blessing and voted to meet next Wednesday to Consider what steps they will take towards the Ordination of Mr. Joseph Eckley.

Wednesday Augt 18. 1779.

The Brethren (of the Old South Society) meet and Brother Wm. Phillips was Chosen Moderator. Mr. Joseph Eckley's answer to the Church's Call in the Affirmative was read. The Question being put, whether the same was satisfactory and that the Congregation desire the Church to proceed to the Ordination of Mr. Joseph Eckley, it passed in the Affirmative. (The Ordination was 27th Octobr 1779.)

Sabbath day August 22 1779.

The Church was stayed after the Assembly was dismiss'd and Voted a meeting of the Church tomorrow at 4 o Clock P. M. to consider what steps may be necessary to take towards the Settlement and Ordination of Mr. Joseph Eckley.

Monday August 23 1779.

The Church met agreeable to the preceeding Vote.

Voted, Deacon Phillips Moderator.

Voted that Deacon Mason, Brother Scollay, Deacon Phillips, Brother John Deming and Brother Samuel Whitwell be a committee to confer with Mr. Joseph Eckley relative to his sentiments with respect to Church Government, and know of him whether the method now practized by this Church is agreeable to him.

The Committee attended that service and reported that the method of Church Government as now practiced by this Church was agreeable to him.

WM. PHILLIPS Modr.

Monday Septemb. 27. 1779.

At a meeting of the Brethren of the South Church,

Voted, Deacon Mason Moderator.

The meeting open'd by prayer by Mr. Eckley.

At the same time Mr. Joseph Eckley declared generally his approbation of the Confession of Faith contain'd in the Cambridge Platform; and of the platform excepting what related to the ecclesiastical power of the civil magistrates. Also exhibited his dismissal and recommendation from the Presbytery of New York held at Springfield 13th Octob. 1778, signed by Simon Horton, Moderator.

Voted, that Mr. Joseph Eckley be admitted a member of this church agreeable to his request.

Whereupon it was Voted, That the day for the ordination of Mr. Joseph Eckley be, God willing. on Wednesday the 27th of October next at 2 o Clock p. m.

Voted, that the following churches be sent to, viz: The Old Church, the North Church, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Lothrop, the church in Brattle Street, the new North Church, the New South Church, the Revd. Doctor Mather's, the church under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Wight, and the church at Roxbury under the pastoral care of the Revd. Doctor Gordon, and that those churches be desired to assist by their Elders and Messengers in the Ordination.

Voted, that the Revd. Doctor Mather be desired to give the charge on this occasion.

Voted, that the Elders and Messengers be desired to meet at the House of Deacon Jeffries by 2 o'Clock p. m.

Voted, that Deacon Jeffries, Deacon Phillips, Deacon Mason, Brother Scollay, Brother Deming, Brother Sweetser, and Brother Thomas Dawes be a Committee to prepare and lay before the Church the Letters missive for their approbation.

Voted, that the Brethren of the Church sit together in the south side Gallery, and that such of our Brethren as constantly sit down with us at the Lord's table, tho' not yet formally admitted, be desir'd to sit with them.

Voted, that this meeting be adjourned to Monday next at 3 o'Clock P. M.

Monday Octob. 4. 1779.

The Brethren of the Church met according to their adjournment.

Voted, that the copy of the letters missive reported by the Committee be accepted.

Voted, that Deacon Phillips be desired to signe the letters missive.

Voted, that the committee for preparing the letters missive be desired to forward the same to the several Churches, and do what further may be thought necessary upon the present occasion.

JONATHAN MASON Moderator.

The interval between the date of the call to Mr. Eckley and his settlement, considering some of the circumstances in which the church was then placed, seems a long one. It is probable that he had difficulties on the subject of the half-way covenant, which his education as a Presbyterian made it the less easy for him to overcome. It should be remembered, also, that everything in the country was unsettled and uncertain. The currency was depreciating with fearful rapidity,<sup>1</sup> and the prices of all commodities were increasing at a ruinous rate. We have seen that the rent of the Old South parsonage was advanced one hundred per cent. in six months. It was the very crisis of the Revolution. On the 27th of March, 1779, General Washington wrote to George Mason that for the first time he was despondent, and had beheld no day in which he thought the liberties of the country so endangered. "The Massachusetts Legislature was in session nearly the whole of this year. Its efforts were directed towards a regulation of the State finances, and energetic, though almost hopeless exertions to alleviate the general financial distress. Most of these plans proved ineffectual, especially that to regulate the price of articles of living, for which purpose county conventions were also held. The continued depreciation of the paper currency augmented the difficulty, and compelled a resort to additional taxes to meet the State and Continental needs. Many who had ranked as prosperous merchants, mechanics, and farmers, before the Revolution, were now reduced to absolute want, while others had arisen from humble circumstances to affluence."<sup>2</sup> When we recall the condition of

<sup>1</sup> In February, 1779, the equivalent in Continental currency to \$100 in gold or silver was \$868; in May, it was \$1215; in September, it was \$1800; in January,

1780, it was \$2934. See *Indep. Chron.*, October 12, 1780.

<sup>2</sup> Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. iii. p. 74.

affairs in the country and in the state, together with the condition in which the Old South Church then was, — its meeting-house unfit for occupancy, and its membership “minished and brought low, through oppression, affliction and sorrow,” we cannot but admire the courageous spirit of the young man who was willing to become its pastor and leader, and to undertake the work of building it again on the old foundations.

To add to the general distress, rumors of an intended British descent upon the sea-coast made the people anxious for their personal safety, and increased defences in Boston Harbor were called for. The Constitutional Convention was in session at Cambridge, laying the foundations for the new Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It is not strange that in the midst of the prevailing excitement and alarm on public questions, the settlement of a new minister over the Old South Church within the walls of the Stone Chapel should have failed to receive notice in the newspapers. It is remarkable, however, that neither in the records of the church, nor by tradition, has any word come down to us about the services of ordination. Mr. Willard's installation in 1678 is the only other occasion of the kind in the history of the Old South pastorate of which we have not full information. It is probable that Mr. Eckley preached the sermon; and the presence of Dr. Mather, whom the church in accordance with usage had invited to give the charge, was in harmony with the associations of the past. Dr. Mather's great grandfather, the beloved Dorchester minister, had he lived a few months longer, would undoubtedly have assisted at Mr. Thacher's ordination; his grandfather, Increase Mather, gave the right hand of fellowship to Mr. Pemberton; both Increase and Cotton Mather took part in the services when Mr. Sewall and, a few years later, Mr. Prince were ordained; and he himself had been invited to assist at the settlement of Mr. Cumming, Mr. Blair, Mr. Hunt, and Mr. Bacon.

Lord's day 31 October 1779

The Church stayed after the publick exercises of the day. A letter from the New North Church lately under the Pastoral Care of the Rev. Dr. Eliot, was read, requesting the presence and assistance of the Old South Church by its delegates at the Ordination of Mr. John Eliot appointed to be on the Wednesday following. Voted to comply with the request. Voted that the Pastor of the Church, the Deacons, Mr. John Scollay, Mr. Thomas Dawes, and Mr. Samuel Whitwell be desired to attend on the occasion.

JOSEPH ECKLEY Pastor.



Dr. Eliot died September 13, 1778, and his son John, a graduate of Harvard College in 1772, was called to succeed him. The ordination sermon was preached by an older brother, the Rev. Andrew Eliot, of Fairfield, Connecticut ; Dr. Cooper, of the Church in Brattle Street, was moderator of the council and gave the charge ; and Mr. Howard, of the West Church, gave the right hand of fellowship.<sup>1</sup>

Lords Day 28th Nov. 1779.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were desired to stay after publick worship, and Voted to have a Collection on Thanksgiving Day 9th December for the benefit of the poor of the Society.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

July 18, 1780. At a meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation, Voted, That in consequence of the fluctuating and depreciating state of the paper Currency, [it was then as forty to one, compared with gold or silver,] the Salary of the Rev. Mr. Eckley be at the rate of four pounds Lawfull money p week in Gold and Silver money, in addition to the rent or use of the Parsonage House and a supply of Fire wood when required for a Family, and untill such money becomes the usual circulating medium the said four pounds p week be paid him in the present Currency reckoned at the common Exchange.

DAVID JEFFRIES Moderator.

Lords day 26 Novr 1780

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed as requested after publick Service, and Voted that there should be a Collection on the ensuing Thanksgiving Day 7th December for the benefit of the poor of the Society.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

The second Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts concluded its labors in the spring of 1780, and its work was approved by the people early in the summer.<sup>2</sup> The first General

<sup>1</sup> "It was by the persuasion of his friends, and with the advice of many ministers in and out of the town, that Mr. Eliot was induced to accept the call ; but it was with great reluctance. He could have been settled more to his mind. He was aware of the invidious reflections to which he would be subject in settling with a society in which he had been brought up, and as successor to a man of his father's established reputation. In fact his engaging in the clerical profession was always in opposition to his own wishes. He had seen how very precarious is a dependence upon the affections

and regards of a people towards their minister. Of this he had some experience himself afterwards." His salary was about \$636 per annum ; and to guard against his suffering from the depreciation of the currency, it was "to be adjusted according to the quantity of wheat reckoned at five shillings the bushel. Had he insisted upon a literal adherence to this rule, his income during a great part of his life, would have been very large." He refused, however, to take this advantage. — *Hist. Notices*, pp. 32-34.

<sup>2</sup> The Constitution of 1778 had been rejected by a large popular vote.

Court of "the Commonwealth of Massachusetts" assembled on the last Wednesday in October. John Hancock was chosen governor, and Thomas Cushing lieutenant-governor, James Bowdoin declining the office. It was at this election that Samuel Adams was defeated by the influence of Hancock and his friends for the office of secretary of state.<sup>1</sup> He was then in Congress, and the condition of his private affairs caused him much anxiety. Writing from Philadelphia to his wife, he said: "Have you a sufficiency of fire-wood and other necessities for the approaching cold season? Are your family cares alleviated with the visits and cheerful conversation of your friends and mine? You must answer these questions, for I am greatly interested in them."<sup>2</sup>

We have already spoken of Mr. Cushing in connection with the speakership of the House of Representatives. He held the lieutenant-governorship until his death in 1788. John Adams, writing in his diary of the Caucus Club, in 1765, says: "Cushing is steady and constant and busy in the interest of liberty and the opposition, is famed for secrecy and his talent at procuring intelligence." He adds, in speaking of Harrison Gray, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, and James Otis: "The *Il Penseroso*, however, is discernible on the faces of all four." Mr. Wells says of Mr. Cushing: —

<sup>1</sup> James Warren wrote to Mr. Adams: "But in the whole system, (for a system it is), nothing excited my resentment so much as the neglect you are treated with. Neither your beloved town, the country, the State, nor the two Houses have shown any gratitude for your many and great services; and the man who had the greatest hand in the greatest Revolution in the world, in the choice of Secretary, could not be supported in competition with Mr. Avery. I have feelings on this occasion which I shall not attempt to describe in a letter. Everything past is forgotten; everybody that will not worship the great image [Hancock] is to be treated in that way; and the man that formed and fashioned it, not for the purposes of idolatry, but public good, has not escaped." — *Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. iii. pp. 116, 117.

In 1782 Mr. Adams was elected to a seat in Congress, against his expressed

wish, and declined the honor. He resumed his place in the State Senate, however, to which he was chosen in 1781, and was again chosen president of that body.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Everett, speaking in 1825, of the "incorruptible poverty" of Mr. Adams, said: "His family, at times, suffered almost for the comforts of life, when he might have sold his influence over the counsels of America for uncounted gold, when he might have emptied the royal treasury if he would have betrayed his country. Samuel Adams was the last of the Puritans, — a class of men to whom the cause of civil and religious liberty on both sides of the Atlantic is mainly indebted for the great progress which it has made for the last two hundred years; and when the Declaration of Independence was signed, that dispensation might be considered as brought to a close."

The collected letters of Cushing evince none of the controlling force of character and tenacity of purpose found in those of Samuel Adams. For a number of years before the departure of Hutchinson, he prudently kept on social terms with the governor, holding private interviews for the purpose of eliciting information serviceable to the cause. Though his letters to correspondents in England breathe the purest patriotism, he is solicitous to have the authorship concealed, rather than incur "the resentment of some people which he would choose to avoid." He was not, and from his nature and temperament could not be, a leader of the people; he was in doubt as to the wisdom of most of the great, decisive measures of the Massachusetts committees, and, as late as in January, 1776, wavered and sided with the proprietary interests at Philadelphia against the bolder members who rallied around Samuel Adams in the movement towards independence.<sup>1</sup>

Governor Hancock, always fond of display, set an example of show and expenditure in equipage and entertainment which was very distasteful to the more sober-minded members of the community. Mr. Adams, especially, we are told, "saw with dislike any departure from the frugality and economy becoming a people just emerging from a long struggle for life and freedom, and reduced to the last resource for the means of meeting the public liabilities. With financial ruin impending, he could not conceal his displeasure at the pernicious example set by the rulers of the infant republic,—an example which, at length, helped to produce a formidable rebellion against its very existence." He thus wrote from Philadelphia, December 30, 1780, to his friend John Scollay:—

Our government, I perceive, is organized on the basis of the new Constitution. I am afraid there is more pomp and parade than is consistent with the sober republican principle with which the framers of it thought they had founded it. Why should this new era be introduced with entertainments expensive, and tending to dissipate the minds of the people? Does it become us to lead the people to such public diversions as promote superfluity of dress and ornament, when it is as much as they can bear to support the expense of clothing a naked army? Will vanity and levity ever be the stability of government either in states or in cities, or, what let me hint to you is of the last importance, in families? Of what kind are those manners by which we are truly informed in a late speech, "not only the freedom, but the very existence of republics is greatly affected"? How fruitless is it to recommend "the adapting the laws in the most perfect manner possible to the suppression of idleness, dissipation, and ex-

<sup>1</sup> [*Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. i. p. 490.]

travagancy," if such recommendations are counteracted by the example of men of religious influence and public station? I meant to consider the subject in the view of the mere citizen. But I have mentioned the sacred name of *religion*. I confess I am surprised to hear that some particular persons have been so unguarded as to give their countenance to such kind of amusements. I wish Mr. ——— would recollect his former ideas. When his friend Whitefield thundered in the pulpit, he disclaimed diversions, in some instances, which to me have always appeared innocent. Has he changed his opinions, or has the tendency of things altered? Do certain amusements tend to quench the spirit of religion at one time, and are they harmless at another? Are morals so vague as to be sanctified or dispensed with by the authority of different men? He does not believe this. But I will not be severe, for I love my friend. Religion out of the question for the present.

Mr. Adams wrote another letter to Mr. Scollay in the same strain, a year or two later:—

It was asked in the reign of Charles the Second of England, How shall we turn the minds of the people from an attention to their liberties? The answer was, By making them extravagant, luxurious, and effeminate. Hutchinson advised the abridgment of what are called English liberties by the same means. We shall never subdue them, said Bernard, but by eradicating their manners and the principles of their education. Will the judicious citizens of Boston be now caught in the snare which their artful, insidious enemies, a few years ago, laid for them in vain? Shall we ruin ourselves by the very means which they pointed out in their confidential letters, though even they did not dare openly to avow them? Pownall, who was indeed a mere fribble, ventured to have his riots and his routs at his own house to please a few boys and girls. Sober people were disgusted at it, and his Privy-Councillors never thought it prudent to venture so far as expensive balls. Our Bradfords, Winslows, and Winthrops would have revolted at the idea of opening scenes of dissipation and folly, knowing them to be inconsistent with their great design in transplanting themselves into what they called this "outside of the world." But I fear I shall say too much. I love the people of Boston. I once thought that city would be the Christian Sparta. But alas! will men never be free? They will be free no longer than while they remain virtuous. Sydney tells us, there are times when people are not worth saving; meaning, when they have lost their virtue. I pray God this may never be truly said of my beloved town.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Wells's *Life*, vol. iii. pp. 114, 115, 158.

"Boston affords nothing new but complaints upon complaints. I have been

credibly informed that a person, who used to live *well*, has been obliged to take the feathers out of his bed, and sell them to an upholsterer, to get money to



As we said in the last chapter, there is no evidence that the council called, at the request of the Rev. Mr. Bacon, at the time of his dismissal from the pastorate, ever came together; and, owing to the distracted state of public affairs at the time, his ministry had terminated in a somewhat abrupt and unsatisfactory manner.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bacon had now entered upon political life, in which he was to distinguish himself, and to serve the commonwealth of his adoption with much acceptance. He had removed to Stockbridge, had served in the convention which framed the State Constitution, and had been elected to the legislature.<sup>2</sup> Naturally, he was desirous that his relations to the church of which he had been a pastor should be properly defined and declared upon the record; and there would seem to be no doubt that the attitude of the membership towards him personally was altogether friendly. At his request, and after friendly intercourse between him and his former parishioners, they gave him an unqualified testimonial of their confidence and respect.

Lords Day 17 June 1781.

The Church stayed after the publick exercise, at the request of the Revd. Mr. Bacon, the former Pastor; who desired that some publick testimonial might be given to him relative to his Dismission and specifying the reasons of it.

Voted that the Church meet on Monday Evening, and that Mr. Bacon be desired to be present and make his request.

JOSEPH ECKLEY Mod.

buy bread. Many, doubtless, are exceedingly distressed; and yet, such is the infatuation of the day, that the rich, regardless of the necessities of the poor, are more luxurious and extravagant than formerly. Boston exceeds even Tyre; for not only are her merchants princes, but even her tavern-keepers are gentlemen. May it not be more tolerable for Tyre than for her! There can be no surer sign of a decay of morals than the tavern-keepers growing rich fast." — *Belknap Papers*, Hazard to Belknap, April 1, 1780.]

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Pemberton, in his *Description of Boston*, says that Mr. Blair and Mr. Bacon were dismissed from the Old South Church "by mutual consent."

<sup>2</sup> In the *Independent Chronicle*, September 23, 1779, we find an excellent

speech made by Mr. Bacon, in the Convention of 1778, in opposition to the words "except Negroes, Indians, and Mulattoes," in the 23d article of the constitution as reported by the committee. It was a noble argument for political equality, but it did not prevail with the convention. See *Notes on the Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, by Geo. H. Moore, pp. 187-191. After Mr. Bacon left the Old South pastorate, he became a justice of the peace; a representative in the legislature; associate and presiding judge of the Court of Common Pleas; a member and president of the state senate; and a member of Congress. In politics he was a Jeffersonian democrat. He died October 25, 1820. His son Ezekiel Bacon, Yale College, 1794, held many public offices.

Monday June 18 1781

The Church met according to appointment. After prayer had been offered, Mr. Bacon presented his request, and then withdrew.

Voted that a written testimonial be drawn up to be given to Mr. Bacon agreeably to his desire, and that the Church meet the next evening to hear the same.

J. ECKLEY.

June 19. 1781.

The Church met according to agreement. The testimonial that had been drawn up was read, and after the brethren had given their opinions, it was voted that it should be presented to him in the form which follows :

“At a meeting of the Old South Church in Boston, 19 June 1781.

“Whereas in the providence of God a difference in sentiment relative to the great doctrine of Atonement and Imputation, and also the practice of administering Baptism, took place some time past, between the Old South Church in Boston and the Reverend John Bacon, then one of the Pastors of said Church, which difference was such, as that by mutual consent the relation of Pastor and People was dissolved ;—and whereas no written testimonial was at that time given by the Church specifying the reasons of this Separation ;—and it being now the request of Mr. Bacon that such a testimony, together with the sentiments of the Society concerning his character and deportment, while connected with it, should be presented to him ;—we therefore the Brethren of the Old South Church in Boston, think it our duty, in compliance with this desire, and as a manifestation of Christian affection and brotherly love towards Mr. Bacon, hereby to make known and declare —

“That Mr. Bacon came to this Church amply recommended by the Presbytery of Lewes ;—that together with the Rev. John Hunt, he was unanimously called to take the sacred charge and oversight of it, after having preached three months on probation ;—that during the time he was with the Church, his conversation and deportment was evidently such as became the gospel ;—that he and his Colleague the Revd. Mr. Hunt, notwithstanding a difference in sentiment, in some doctrinal points, always appeared to live in friendship, and to discover a Christian affection for each other :—

“That the principal difference which took place between Mr. Bacon and this Church was that which related to the great doctrine of Atonement and Imputation, and the practice of administering Baptism to the Children of Parents who own the Covenant, but do not join in full Communion ;—and that while the difference or controversy aforesaid continued, Mr. Bacon manifestly conducted with that Christian meekness which befitted a Gospel Minister.

“By desire of the Church

JOSEPH ECKLEY Pastor.”

Voted also that a Copy of the recommendation of the Lewes Presbytery be taken from the records of the Church and presented to Mr. Bacon.

Concluded with prayer.

J. ECKLEY Modr.

Lords Day 24 June 1781.

The Church again stayed in consequence of an objection Mr. Bacon had made to the following clause contained in the recommendation which had been presented to him, viz: "That the principal difference which took place between Mr. Bacon and this Church was that which related to the great doctrine of Atonement and Imputation, and the practice of administering Baptism to the Children of Parents who own the Covenant but do not join in full Communion."

The objection was, that the expression "*principal* difference" might be liable to be considered by those who read the recommendation, as implying that there were other matter or matters of difference, besides what was specified in the article. —

Upon the mention of this objection, it appeared to be the opinion of the Church that the difference specified in the above article was the *only* difference which took place between Mr. Bacon and the Church.

Whereupon, it was voted, that the word "*principal*" be erased, and the word "*only*" be inserted in its room; and that the whole paragraph run as follows — "That the only difference which took place between Mr. Bacon and this Church was that which related to the great doctrine of Atonement and Imputation, and the practice of administering Baptism to the Children of Parents who own the Covenant, but do not join in full Communion."

The meeting of the Church was then dissolved.

JOSEPH ECKLEY Pastor.<sup>1</sup>

In the autumn of 1781, or early in the following winter, Samuel Adams wrote a letter to his kinsman, John Adams, then in France, in which he said: —

Matters go on here just as you would expect, from your knowledge of the people; zealous in the great cause, they hesitate at no labor or expense for its support. Anxious to have a code of laws for the internal government adapted to the spirit of their own Constitution, the General Court have appointed the supreme judges with Mr. Bowdoin, who is at present perfectly at leisure, to revise the laws and report proper and necessary amendments. The two great vacancies in the offices of President and Professor of Mathematics &c. in our university, are filled with gentlemen of learning and excellent character,

<sup>1</sup> [This action of the church was printed by Mr. Bacon (1782), in his Letter to the Rev. Joseph Huntington, D. D., in the course of a controversy which grew out of the dismissal by the Stockbridge church of one of its members, a widow, for marrying a man who was reputed to be profane and immoral.]

the Reverend Mr. Willard of Beverly, and the Reverend Mr. Williams of —. The Academy of Arts and Sciences is in a flourishing way. A new society is incorporated by the name of the Medical Society; and this metropolis has lately appointed a committee to consider the present management of the schools, and report what further improvements may be made, in which the better education of female children is designed to be comprehended.

The surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown to the combined forces of America and France took place on the 19th of October; seven days later the welcome news reached Boston, by way of Providence, and was joyfully received as an earnest of the speedy termination of the war.<sup>1</sup>

Octr. 19. 1781.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation being informed by the Deacons that they had received notice from the Wardens of the Chapel that being in weekly expectation of obtaining a Minister of their own denomination, they should want to occupy their own House of Worship, Voted that the Deacons be a Committee to make the proper application for the use of the Representative's Room in the State House, for the Society to worship in on Lords Days until the publick state of affairs will with propriety, allow them to commence the repairs of their own House of worship, or they can be better accommodated for a season in some other place.



DAVID JEFFRIES Moderator.<sup>2</sup>

Novr. 27. 1781.

At a meeting of the Society. The Brethren having received a mes-

<sup>1</sup> The *Evening Post* of October 27, says: "Every token of joy was expressed by the good People of this City. The Bells of the various Churches were ringing thro' the greater Part of the Day, and with as merry a Peal as we have heard since they rung the Departure of Francis Bernard."

<sup>2</sup> [We find the following paragraph in the *Continental Journal* of November 22, 1781:—

"Last Lord's Day a Brief was read in the several Churches in this Town, and a generous Collection made for our unfortunate Brethren of South Carolina and Georgia."]



sage from the Wardens of the Chapel passed the following Vote, That the Deacons be a committee to consider the message from the Wardens of the Chapel and report to the Society the proper steps to be taken thereon. The Committee reported the following letter, which was accepted and voted to be sent as a reply to the message —

*Gentlemen*

Having been favoured with a Communication that the wardens of the Chapel apprehended it will not be in their power to open the Church so soon as they expected, and that they desire (if agreeable to us) that we would continue to improve it, till we should be notified further respecting it, We would, after expressing our sincere thanks to the Wardens for this instance of friendship, inform them that as we have, in consequence of the request of the Proprietors of the Chapel, tolerably well accommodated ourselves for the present, and as from the above message its uncertain how long we could occupy the Chapel if we should now remove thither, we think best to worship for the present in the Chamber where we have lately obtained. But we would nevertheless beg leave to mention, that as our tarry there is uncertain by reason of the publick improvement of that place, we may hereafter gratefully accept your offer of friendship, and be glad to enjoy the Chapel, whilst the present place of our worship is improved by the publick or our own meeting house repairing for our more fixed occupation.

We are, Gentlemen, with sentiments of real regard,

In behalf of the Old South Society      Yours &c

DAVID JEFFRIES

WM. PHILLIPS

JONA. MASON.

DAVID JEFFRIES Moderator.

Lords Day Decr 2 1781

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation after publick service Voted that there should be a collection as usual on Thanksgiving Day the 13th December, for the benefit of the poor of the Society.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

During all this time, while the brethren of the Old South were enjoying the Christian hospitality of the proprietors of the Chapel, their hearts must often have turned with eager longing towards the house in which, in happier days, their fathers and they had worshipped God, and there was, no doubt, much anxious deliberation among them on the subject of restoring its interior, in order to the resumption of the services of the sanctuary there. They had long prayed ; and now they were moved to say with the Psalmist : “ Thou shalt arise and have

mercy upon Zion : for the time to favour her, yea, the set time is come. For thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof." We may believe, also, that they adopted the language of another ancient worthy, to give expression to the confident and courageous purpose of their hearts : "The God of heaven, he will prosper us ; therefore we his servants will arise and build." The task to which they were called to address themselves was a very serious one, under the circumstances ; they were not as strong numerically or financially as they were seven years before ; and it was only in devout expectation of the Divine blessing upon their endeavors, that they could hope to succeed. The first step taken of which we have any record was the adoption of the report of a committee, the original of which has been preserved,<sup>1</sup> as follows :—

BOSTON, Jany. 1. 1782

William Phillips, David Jeffries, Jonathan Mason, Thomas Dawes, Josiah Waters Junr. Bartholomew Kneeland and Jonathan Mason Junior, your committee appointed to consider of the most prudent ways and means to be chosen in repairing the Old South Church, having mett, and duely attended that business, beg leave to report to the Society the following Votes to be adopted by them —

1st. Voted. That we the proprietors of the Old South Church, will begin to repair said Church immediately and compleat it as our abilities will permit, and that the plan for making such repairs, as presented by the Committee be adopted.

2d. Voted. That the different pews upon the floor of said Church in the plan exhibited, be prized not higher than 30 pounds, 24 pounds, 21 pounds, 18 pounds and 15 pounds agreeable to the numbers in said plan and the paper annexed to it, to those who shall immediately subscribe for the same, and that the pews in the gallery in said plan be prized at 12 pounds, 9 pounds, four pounds ten shillings and 3 pounds agreeable to the numbers therein and the paper before mentioned.

3dly. Voted. That we will open a Subscription among ourselves for the repairs of said Church immediately : That the Subscription be for pews, and that the form of the Subscription paper as presented by the Committee be accepted.

4thly. Voted. That the Subscription paper be offered to all those, who were Pew holders in said Church previous to the 19th of April 1775, and to the heirs of those who are deceased.

<sup>1</sup> This report came into the possession of the author, with other Phillips papers, after the death of Mr. John Charles Phillips, by the intervention of Mr. Henshaw Bates Walley. There is no reference to it in the Society's records.

5thly. Voted. That those persons, to whom it is not convenient to pay the money they shall Subscribe immediately, be allowed to pay the same in three different payments. One third part immediately, One other third part in three months, and the remainder in six months.

6thly. Voted. That by a Petition to the General Assembly of this Common Wealth we will request their assistance in repairing said Church and that the form of said Petition, together with the form of a Subscription paper to be handed to the publick, as presented by the Committee, be accepted.

Signed in behalf of the Committee —

WM PHILLIPS p. order.

All the above passed unanimously.

It was natural that the society should look to the Commonwealth for help in the restoration of its meeting-house, seeing that the great political gatherings held within its walls in the years immediately preceding the Revolution had brought upon it the exceptional damage and disgrace which it suffered at the hands of the public enemy; but to have granted its petition would have been to establish a precedent and to enter upon a course of expenditure in which the legislature would hardly have been justified.<sup>1</sup> The cost of the restoration was the price, or rather, a part of the price, which the society had to pay for its public spirit; the remainder, and by far the larger part, has had to be paid by the present generation, as will appear later.

In the Independent Chronicle of January 17, there is a communication, signed "A Friend to the Public," as follows:—

Riding into Town, and passing the Old South Meeting House, the last Afternoon, I could not but observe a Quantity of Lumber lying by the Door, which, upon Enquiry, I find is there deposited by the Members of that Society, for the Purpose of repairing the House, the Inside of which was laid waste by the public Enemy.

This is a laudable Undertaking, and, I think, has a Claim on Christian Charity! When I consider the Efforts of so small a Number to

<sup>1</sup> In the Journal of the House of Representatives we find the action taken on the petition recorded as follows: "Wednesday, Jan. 17. 1782. The Petition of the Revd. Joseph Eckley, David Jeffries, William Phillips and Jonathan Mason Esqrs. relative to refitting the old South Meeting House—Read and committed to Mr. Frazier, Gen. Titcomb, and Capt. Wales." "Wednesday Jan 23. 1782.

The committee who had in charge the Petition from the Society of the old South Meeting,—report, read, thereupon, ordered, that the Petitioners have leave to withdraw their Petition."

The committee consisted of Moses Frazier and Jonathan Titcomb, of Newburyport, and Ebenezer Wales, of Dorchester. Mr. John Bacon was member of the House for Stockbridge.

rebuild what was destroyed by public Enemies, from public, political Motives — I think there ought now to be given some public Assistance : — But as what is Every-Body's Business is No-Body's, the Work ought to begin with Some-Body — I will throw in my Mite, The Committee of that Society, by calling on the Printer hereof, shall receive a couple of Guineas, towards assisting in the Work aforesaid. This Donation is small indeed ; but if a Hundred others, who are more able to give Twenty Guineas a piece than I am to give those two, would only contribute Five Guineas each to the said Work — confident I am that what from such an Assistance, and what from the present Efforts of the Society, one of the first public Buildings in this City would not so long lie desolate, and a Reproach upon brotherly Love.

We find no response in the papers to the appeal of this public-spirited individual ; nor does it appear that the society received any outside assistance in the work of restoration upon which it had entered.<sup>1</sup>

#### Lords Day 17 February 1782

The Brethren of the Church were desired to stay after the services of the day. A letter was read from the New South Church requesting the presence and assistance of the Old South Church by its Pastor and other Delegates at the Ordination of Mr. Oliver Everett on the 27 instant.

Voted to comply with the request. The Pastor, the Deacons, Mr. John Scollay, Mr. Thomas Dawes and Mr. Samuel Whitwell were appointed to attend on the occasion.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Mr. Everett graduated at Harvard College in 1779. His brother, the Rev. Moses Everett, had been pastor of the First Church, Dorchester, since 1774. After a ministry of ten years Mr. Oliver Everett moved from Boston to Dorchester, and his distinguished son, Edward Everett, was born there in 1794.

#### March 31. 1782.

At a meeting of the Society, information was given that the Wardens of the Chapel were in no expectation of obtaining a minister to officiate for them as they had reasons some time since to suppose, and had therefore again offered the use of their Church. Voted that the society will accept of the friendly and Kind Offer, and return to the Chapel the next Lords Day.

With the exception of five months at the Representatives' Chamber in what is now known as the Old State House, the society worshipped at the Chapel five years and a quarter. The

<sup>1</sup> The streets of Boston were paved and repaired "at great expense," in 1782.



Christian hospitality of these laymen of the Anglican communion at this time made full amends for the prolonged aggression on the rights of the proprietors of the South Church by Sir Edmund Andros and his party one hundred years before.

Lords Day July 21. 1782.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed after the Blessing was given, and Voted that there be a meeting of the said Brethren on Monday the 29th current at 3 O Clock PM. at the Chapel, to enquire into the State of the Societys Contribution: to receive the report of any committee, or to chose other committees, also to take into consideration and determine upon such matters and things as may be thought necessary and proper for finishing the Repairs of their house for publick Worship of God where they used to meet; also any other matter or thing by which the Interest of the Society may be promoted.

Voted, That the Revd. Mr. Eckley be desired to communicate the votes to the Society: and request the *punctual* attendance of all the Brethren upon matters of such importance.

DAVID JEFFRIES Moderator.

Monday July 29th 1782.

The Brethren then met at the time and place appointed, and Voted unanimously, That when any of the Brethren loan moneys for the repairing the South Society Meeting House, they shall have leave to subscribe for any number of Pews that are not subscribed for at the time they loan the money, to the amount of the sum Loaned and not repaid before drawing, and may draw for as many Pews, with other subscribers upon equal terms, as will be adequate to said Sum, which Pews shall be held as their property until the monies so advanced are paid by the Society. And when any person applies to the Committee hereafter to be chosen, for the purpose of conducting the Sale of Pews, and any pew is by them disposed of being the property of the person who has Loaned money as aforesaid, said Committee shall pay the same to the person loaning, who shall be charged with so much as said Pew or Pews sold for against his Credit on his receiving the money, and so on, untill all the Pews so holden for payment shall be sold. And said Pews given as a Security to the Loaners of money aforesaid shall not be occupied untill they are disposed of; And the owners of said Pews shall not be held to pay for the support of the minister untill sold as aforesaid.

DAVID JEFFRIES Moderator.

Lords day Octr 5. 1782

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were desired to stay after the Blessing was given. It was represented by the Deacons that Dr. Bulfinch, senior Warden of the Chapel, and Mr. Ivers, had given

them information that the Chapel had engaged Mr. James Freeman to lead them in the public duties of religious worship, and were desirous and expected to meet in said Chapel the next Sabbath; at the same time they said it was the wish of their Society further to accommodate the Old South Society; and they therefore proposed that untill the repairing of the Old South Church was completed, the members of their Society should meet in the *forenoon* of each Sabbath when Mr. Freeman should officiate; and the members of the Old South Society in the *afternoon* of the same Sabbaths when their minister Mr. Eckley should officiate; and further that when the communion Sabbaths of the Old South Church returned, [on every fourth Sabbath], the Society might meet in the Forenoon of those Sabbaths, and the members of the Chapel Society in the Afternoon. After some conversation on the subject, the question moved for and seconded was put, Vizt. Whether the Society will accept of the afore mentioned proposal and it passed in the Affirmative by a very considerable Majority.

Voted that the Deacons be a Committee to acquaint Doctor Bulfinch with the determination.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Remarks. As the Church voted afterwards that in the present situation of things, the Sacrament of the Lords Supper should be administred in the *Afternoon*, the whole Society stately met on that part of the day. A great proportion of the members of *both Societies* attended together the whole of the Day.

Lords Day 17th Novr 1782.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were desired to stay after the Blessing was given, and Voted that they would have a collection on the ensuing Thanksgiving Day vizt. Thursday 28 Novr. for the benefit of the poor belonging to the Society.

JOS: ECKLEY.

Mr. James Freeman, a young man of twenty-three years of age, then living in Walpole, was invited by the wardens of the Chapel to officiate as reader for six months. He was a native of Charlestown, and graduated at Harvard College in 1777. At the Easter meeting, April 21, 1783, he was chosen minister of the Chapel. In the letter of invitation addressed to him it was said: "The proprietors consent to such alterations in the service as are made by the Rev. Dr. Parker; and leave the use of the Athanasian Creed at your discretion."<sup>1</sup> "The society still desiring to retain its connection with the Episcopal Church, Mr. Freeman applied for ordination to Bishop Seabury, of Connecticut, and then to Bishop Provoost, of New York, — to the latter not without reasonable hope of success; for American

<sup>1</sup> *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. iii. p. 450.

Episcopacy was still so far inorganic as to admit into its administration what would now seem the grossest irregularities. On the failure of these applications recourse was had to the doctrine of the Cambridge Platform, that the greater right of election, which resides in the members of the church, includes the lesser right of ordination."<sup>1</sup>

The coming to New England this year of John Murray, who is recognized as the founder of the Universalist denomination in this country, led to a spirited but not unfriendly discussion among the ministers on the question of future punishment. An expectation of the final triumph of good over evil throughout the universe had long been cherished by a few leading men among them, but, except by inference, it had found no place in their preaching, because, as they believed, it had no direct bearing upon the practical and pressing duties of the life that now is. When Mr. Murray came here, and made this particular dogma the burden of his ministry, and proposed to establish a sect upon it, some who did not differ so widely from him in his opinions thought it their duty to oppose him, and, at the same time, to state their own views definitely and distinctly. The "stranger," as he was called, had been imperfectly educated in England, and his credentials as a minister of the gospel were regarded as defective. The clergy of Boston, therefore, without exception, refused to receive him. An anonymous pamphlet appeared shortly, with the title "Salvation for all Men," which, it is believed, was written by Mr. Clarke, with a preface, probably from the pen of his colleague, Dr. Chauncy, although it is signed T. W. In this preface, passing reference is made to Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Jeremiah White, one of Cromwell's chaplains, David Huntley, and John Wesley, and the writer proceeds:—

It may not be unseasonable to add here, that it is freely and fully acknowledged by all the above writers, that many, among the sons and daughters of Adam, will pass through a state of unutterable misery; before they will be prepared for, and admitted to the joys of God's presence in the heavenly world. This I judge proper to mention, because the doctrine of Universal Salvation has in this and some other towns, been held forth by a stranger, who has, of himself, assumed the character of a preacher, in direct contradiction not only to all the before mentioned writers, but to the whole tenor of the New-Testament-books, from their beginning to their end. According to

<sup>1</sup> *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. iii. p. 472.

this preacher, a man may go to heaven, notwithstanding all the sins he has been guilty of in the course of his life. Such a doctrine looks very like an encouragement to libertinism, and falls in with the scheme of too many in this degenerate age, who, under pretence of promoting religion, undermine it at the very root.

Answers to this pamphlet soon appeared from Dr. Mather, Dr. Gordon, and Mr. Eckley, and vigorous rejoinders followed. Dr. Belknap, to whom we shall have occasion to refer more particularly, as this chapter goes on, throws a good deal of light on this controversy in his correspondence with Mr. Ebenezer Hazard, then of Philadelphia. In a letter dated December 19, 1782, he speaks of a work by Mrs. Stevens, of Gloucester, afterward Mrs. Murray, "a sensible lady, and of an amiable character, but so thoroughly dipped in Murrayism as to be a mere Priscilla," and then says :—

The other pamphlet is the work of Mr. Clarke, Colleague with Dr. Chauncy, who wrote the preface to it. The design of emitting this piece was good ; but I am not altogether pleased with its execution, because it seems to be an attempt to recommend the doctrine by the force of human authority. There is a piece in one of your Bailey's papers which gives a better reason for it, and I believe the writer was honest in saying what he does. However, the truth of the case is this : The doctrine of universal restitution has long been kept as a secret among learned men. Murray has published some undeniable truths concerning it, mixed with a jargon of absurdity ; and one Winchester among you has followed his example. Many serious minds were unsettled, observing that the Scriptures contain very universal expressions respecting the redemption and reconciliation of the world, which are eagerly laid hold of by Murray, and yet not being able to give into his forced allegories and mystical nonsense ; while, on the other hand, libertines swallow all at once, and deny any future state of punishment, and from thence take occasion to "continue in sin that grace may abound." This view of things occasioned very earnest and repeated applications to a venerable gentleman, whom I have already mentioned, [Dr. Chauncy,]—who has had for some years prepared for the press a very laboured, judicious, and strongly argumentative, as well as deeply critical, treatise upon the subject, — that he would publish to the world the true state of the doctrine, as supported by Scripture, and void of all mystical trash. In consequence thereof, the above pamphlet, entitled "Salvation for all Men," came forth as a forlorn hope, or, rather, as a scouting party, to make discoveries and try the temper of the public. The consequence has been that some serious minds are disgusted, some are agog for further discover-



ies, some are vexed beyond measure &c. Dr. Mather has wrote a weak but well-meant pamphlet, which he calls an answer to it, and I hear there is to be a reproof administered to him. All this I am sorry for : it does no good ; it is only the skirmishing of light infantry, while the main body lies still, and nothing decisive will come of it. The passions of the contending parties will be embittered, and I am afraid that such prejudices will be raised against the doctrine that, if it should be properly published, it will not be so generally received, at least in the present day. There are several reasons given for not printing the large work yet, one of which is the want of Greek and Hebrew types, of which there are none in Boston . . . As to the doctrine itself, of which you desire my opinion, I frankly own to you that I have for several years been growing in my acquaintance with it and my regard to it. I wished it might be true, long before I saw any just reason to conclude it was so. I once, however, set myself to oppose it in a sermon, but was brought to a stand by that text where Paul says, "I have hope towards God that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both just and unjust." My query here was, Why should the resurrexion of the unjust be an object of hope to a benevolent mind, if that resurrexion should be the beginning of not only a never ending, but perpetually increasing, state of misery?

Mr. Hazard wrote in reply :—

As to the doctrine you mention, I confess I am not unfriendly to it, because reason certainly approves of it, and I do not think that Revelation contradicts it. The other hypothesis (an eternity of punishment) is utterly subversive of every idea of mercy in the Deity, and degrades his justice into revengeful cruelty. Are these the thoughts we ought to have of God? By no means. He surely could not punish thus without delighting in the death of sinners. However, although I believe the doctrine of a general restitution, I would wish to see all men live as if the other were true ; and, after all, it is of little moment what our sentiments may be. The council of God will stand, and our duty is to fear Him, and keep his commandments.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Eckley's pamphlet was entitled "Divine Glory Brought to View in the Condemnation of the Ungodly, or, the Doctrine of Future Punishment Illustrated and Vindicated, as Rational

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Belknap wrote to Mr. Hazard, September 12, 1787, of a sermon of John Murray: "It is a jewel in its kind,—as complete a specimen of a twisted, tortured, hunted metaphor, as ever I saw." Mr. Hazard wrote in reply: "I have read part of Murray's sermon, but can not read it all. I hate such trifling. In a sermon which Mr. Carmichael preached

to Captain Ross's independent company at Lancaster in Penn. he says: 'Above all, my friends, be careful not to jar the blessed unison of the American Harpsichord, which is so well set to the tune of Liberty by those grand artists, the American Congress.' This would do; but such a mess as Murray gives is absolutely intolerable."]

and True, in reply to a late pamphlet, entitled *Salvation for all Men. By a Friend to Truth.*" He says in the preface : —

The compiler of the pamphlet on Universal Salvation seems to promise that it will act as an antidote against the sentiments of a "stranger, who has of himself assumed the character of a preacher," and discoursed on this subject "in direct contradiction to the whole tenor of the New Testament books from their beginning to their end." It is true, that learning and human judgment must be at a very low state indeed, when it shall become necessary to reason in a formal manner against opinions of this kind, or in opposition to the writer [James Relly] from whom they are selected or deduced. But, since the compiler, just mentioned, while he promises unconditional and eternal salvation to all men, attempts not to ascertain any precise period to the duration of the punishment which is to proceed — and it may be judged, that the most of men, from a disposition to self-flattery, and an unconsciousness of the evil of sin, will be ready to believe it will be very short, it ought to have occurred to his mind, that the opposition he is professedly making against those who presume there will be no degree of punishment after the judgment day, is very trifling ; — that they will be ready enough to esteem him as one of their own party, and imagine that a coalescence in opinion is not far remote.

In the body of the pamphlet, Mr. Eckley endeavors to explain the passages of Scripture which have been offered in defence of universal salvation, and then argues on the necessity of future punishment, and the ends it answers in the moral government of God. Believing in the universality of the atonement, as well as in that of the fall, the author explains that the consequence of Adam's offence is that the whole world has forfeited the privilege of being in a probationary condition, for judgment, which is the desert of sin, is come upon all men to condemnation. He then asks, What is the consequence of the righteousness of Christ? and he thus answers the question : —

"The free gift is come upon all men unto justification of life," the natural explanation of which is, the free gift, or the grace of the gospel, is come, or proposed unto all men, bringing with it justification, which justification produces, or ends in life : That is, as by the sin of Adam, which introduced sin among his descendants, all men have fallen from a state of probation, and are under condemnation, so by the righteousness of Christ, the proposal of grace and pardon, or the free gift, has come upon or unto all ; — whosoever will may be saved, being in fact put into an equal state of probation, and entitled to an equal privilege with that, which existed before the fall, and any state

of trial whatsoever ; or which would have existed, if Adam had never sinned, and his posterity had not joined in rebellion.<sup>1</sup>

Of this pamphlet Dr. Belknap wrote : —

Mr. Eccley has written in favour of the common doctrine a modest, sensible pamphlet, entitled “ Divine Glory displayed in the Condemnation ” &c. I have not the book or would send it you. He has said some things very handsomely on the subject, and *ad rem*. Nothing has yet appeared on the side of the restitution since the first pamphlet, but the Murrayites are bestirring themselves, and reprinting Relly’s Epistles.

An answer appeared soon after this, written by Dr. Chauncy,<sup>2</sup> or Mr. Clarke, from which we will quote a few sentences : —

Though unconvinced by your arguments, I am pleased with the temper you discover ; and am happy to find, you can unite the moderation of a fair disputant with the candour of a Christian. Unlike some others, who have engaged in the controversy, you attack opinions, and not their author, wisely considering others may differ from you in sentiment, without being insidious foes to the innocence of mankind. However — though recommended by so much candour and moderation, I am still under the disagreeable necessity of dissenting from your religious system. Nor can I calmly resign up a number of my species to everlasting misery, notwithstanding all you have said to prove it consistent with the justice of God, and essential to his glory. I have such a veneration for my Creator, as to suppose he needs no foil to set off his perfections : Such an opinion of the saints, as to imagine they could relish their felicity, without being spectators of the misery of the damned. I place such a value upon the merits and death of my Redeemer, as to conclude all will be happy for whom he suffered on the cross. And I pay such a regard to the positive declarations of Scripture, as to anticipate the restitution of all things ; when the ruins of the fall shall be more than repaired, and the creature which now groans shall groan no more.

<sup>1</sup> [An anonymous critic, less courteous in his tone than Dr. Chauncy and Dr. Belknap, said in his reply to Mr. Eckley : “ Your principles and those of Arminius and his followers, agree with each other, and conspire to the destruction of the very essentials of Calvinism. Had your sentiments been published in the days of our fathers, they would not merely have reprobated you, but loudly exclaimed against you, as you have done against the one tenet of the Universalists, warning all to take care that they be not drawn aside by your dangerous errors.”]

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Charles Lowell attributed the authorship to Dr. Chauncy.

Some doggerel lines in the *Evening Post*, April 2, 1783, seem to show that Dr. Mather and Mr. Thacher made the doctrine of everlasting punishment prominent in their preaching, and that Dr. Chauncy, Mr. Clarke, and Shippie Townsend (see *ante*, vol. ii. pp. 97, 98) were the most prominent on the other side. Mr. Thacher was not yet settled in Boston, but what he preached at Malden would be well known in town. He came to Boston in 1785.

Mr. Eckley brought out a brief "Appendix," in reply to this writer, closing the discussion with these impressive words : —

In regard to the author of the letter now replied to, although this Appendix bears the form of controversy, the writer wishes him to accept his undissembling and fervent desire, that the spirit of all truth may so influence both their hearts, as that when the designs of the Mediatorial government shall be displayed in inconceivable glory at the resurrection of the just and the last great day, they may mutually unite in worshipping the one true God, and join with the prophets and apostles — the saints and angels, in sublimely chanting his eternal praise.

Dr. Chauncy's book was printed in London, and appeared in Boston early in the summer of 1784. Dr. Belknap wrote, May 24 : —

The Metropolitan's [Mr. Buckminster, of Portsmouth,] nerves are much agitated by the prevalence of these sentiments in his diocese ; he is totally opposed to them ; consequently he and I are not of a mind, for though I am warmly set against the antinomian part of Rely's scheme, yet I cannot oppose the universal extent of redemption, provided repentance and holiness are taken in as necessary to the completion of the work ; and without these essential prerequisites it is absurd to talk of salvation. I have been waiting for the publication of Dr. Chauncy's book, and it is now printed and coming over in the same ship in which I expect my brother Eliot every day. When it arrives, and begins to be read, I intend to be more open and explicit on the subject than I have yet been. Hitherto I have been loth to anticipate what the Doctor has said, and said in such a manner as must carry conviction to many minds, though I fear not to so many as would have been open to it, if there had been no skirmishing among the light infantry upon the subject.

We have this estimate of the work from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Rufus Ellis : —

The reader of his book upon this subject, if there can be any such person in our own day, will be delighted to find how manfully, as well as tenderly, he has opened and argued his theme, and how steady is his appeal to Scripture, whilst at the same time he recognizes most earnestly the absoluteness of the moral sense. He is much broader in his handling of this high argument for our larger hope in God than many modern writers, because in mercy he remembers truth and justice and the inevitable retributions which they constantly disregard and practically make light of. He has left little to be added to the Scripture argument. He is free from mere sentimentalism. He does not explain away the terrible and yet kindly warnings of Jesus, or



deny that only a few are saved from great sinfulness and great consequent suffering, because he sees that in the end good, which is infinite, shall overcome evil, which is finite, and light, which is a reality, prevail over darkness, which is a nonentity.<sup>1</sup>

Lords Day 23 Feby 1783.

The Old South Society met in the Chapel for the *last time*. The Pastor preached a sermon adapted to the occasion. After the service, the Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed, and a letter and vote of thanks, directed to the Wardens of the Chapel were agreed to, communicating the sentiments which the members of the Old South Society entertained of the kindness of the proprietors of the Chapel, in affording them the use of their Church so long a time, and expressive of their good wishes towards them. JOS: ECKLEY.

Remarks. The Old South Society assembled in the Chapel for publick worship about *Five years, three months and half* from Novr. 1777 to 23d Feby. 1783, excepting however from this time the five months when they met in the Representatives Room at the State House. On the aforesaid 9th Novr 1777, the members of the Society convened for worship by *themselves* for the *first time* after their dispersion occasioned by the siege of the Town, with the decease of their former Minister, and Mr. Eckley, having been previously invited, began the same day, to officiate among them.

Lords Day 2 March 1783.

The Repairs of the Old South Church being completed, the Society met in it for the *first time* since the destruction of all the inside work by the British Troops in the year 1775. A great number of people, brought together by the peculiarity of the occasion, attended the publick service performed by the Minister of the Society on both parts of the day.<sup>2</sup>

We know little about these interesting services, except the texts upon which Mr. Eckley preached. The morning discourse was founded on Heb. xii. 22, 23: "But ye are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect." The text of the afternoon was Ezra vi. 16: "And the children of Israel, the priests and the Levites, and

<sup>1</sup> [Ellis's *History of the First Church*, pp. 196, 197.]

<sup>2</sup> ["Last Lord's day Divine Service was perform'd at the Old South Meeting House in this Town, being the first

time since the mercenaries of the British Tyrant transpos'd the same into a riding-school in the year 1775." — *Cont. Journal*, March 6, 1783. See Wisner's *History*.]

the rest of the children of the captivity, kept the dedication of this house of God with joy."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Wisner tells us that the following words were sung to music composed by William Selby, then organist of the Chapel:—

Behold, God is my salvation! I will trust, and not be afraid: For the Lord Jehovah is my strength and song; he also is become my salvation. He hath raised up the tabernacle of David, that was fall'n; he hath closed up the breaches thereof; he hath raised up the ruins; he hath built it as in the days of old, and caused his people to rejoice therein. Praise the Lord, call upon his name, declare his doings among the nations, make mention that his name is exalted. Sing unto the Lord, for he hath done excellent things; this is known in all the earth. Cry out and shout, thou inhabitant of Zion, for great is the Holy One of Israel, in the midst of thee. Hallelujah, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. Amen.<sup>2</sup>

With these feelings of joy and exultation there must have been in the hearts of many an undertone of tender sorrow and regret. The congregation was gathered again within the walls reared by the fathers half a century before, but how changed was everything since the days immediately preceding the Revolution. The pulpit of Sewall and Prince was gone,—the pulpit in which Benjamin Wadsworth, Benjamin Colman, Samuel Phillips, Nathaniel Appleton, and Samuel Hopkins had stood, and from which Whitefield had preached so often during his various visits to Boston; and the family pews in which the Bromfields, the Belchers, the Willards, the Olivers, the Hubbards, and others had worshipped, were gone also. And how many changes had passed upon the congregation itself; war, exile, and death had done their work; and those who remained

<sup>1</sup> These texts were recorded by the Hon. Jeremiah Powell on a scrap of paper two inches square, which was preserved with his other papers, and which Miss Eliza Susan Quincy gave to Dr. Manning, May 23, 1869, on the two hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the church. The following note is on the same paper: "1783. Jan. 25. Draw'd the pews in the Old South Meeting House newly fitted up, and new pews, very Elegantly repair'd and Neat, perhaps the best on all Accounts in the Town, or in the Common Wealth, (Rev'd Mr. Joseph Eckley the Minister,) the Pew No. 78. on the left hand in the Broad

Alley, prized at £30—money at 6/8 p. oz—draw'd by Jer. Powell, and Widow Quincy, Daughter to William Phillips Esqr. Each one paid £15—and to pay each one half the tax, or contribution towards the Minister and charges, and £7. 1. 10 for Cushings &c."

Mr. Powell was president of the Senate as the immediate successor of Thomas Cushing, and predecessor of Samuel Adams. He married Sarah Bromfield, who was aunt of Mrs. Quincy, the widow of the patriot. He died in 1784.

<sup>2</sup> [Wisner's *History*, p. 109. After Dr. Wisner's sermon, Sunday afternoon, May 9, 1830, this anthem was sung.]

were entering upon a new epoch, politically, socially, and religiously, which was separated from the pre-revolutionary period as by a great gulf.<sup>1</sup>

A few days later, March 28, news reached Boston of the peace which had been concluded in Paris on the 20th of January. "Happy, inexpressibly happy, in the certain intelligence of a general peace," wrote General Washington to Samuel Adams and Tristram Dalton, in replying to a letter of congratulation from the two branches of the Massachusetts legislature. Public celebrations, however, did not take place until the announcement of the definitive treaty of peace, nearly a year later. Samuel Adams wrote to Richard Henry Lee:—

I thank God, that I have lived to see my country independent and free. She may long enjoy her independence and freedom if she will. It depends on her virtue. She has gained the glorious prize, and it is my most fervent wish (in which I doubt not you heartily join me) that she may value and improve it as she ought.

Monday 21 April 1783

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation, Voted to adopt the Certificate or Instrument now in use by the Society in Brattle Street, which shall be given to every pew holder in the Old South Church.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We suppose that stoves were now placed in the Old South Meeting-House, for use during worship, for the first time. The innovation was regarded with suspicion by many. In the *Evening Post* of January 25, 1783, we find some verses, one of which will show the spirit of the whole:—

Extinct the sacred fire of love,  
Our zeal grown cold and dead,  
In house of God we fix a stove,  
To warm us in their stead.

For a reference to foot-stoves, see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> ["The following is a Copy of the Certificate or Instrument afore named, provided by the Committee and by the Society.

"No. —. To all people to whom these Presents shall come Know ye. That we — the Deacons of the Church and Congregation usually assembled for publick Worship in the South Brick Meeting House in Marlborough Street,

Boston, for and in consideration of the sum of — to us in hand paid by — the Receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge, Have assigned and by these presents do assign to the said — a Pew in said Meeting House No — to have hold and enjoy the same, to him and his Heirs upon Conditions following Vizt. that he the said — and his Heirs shall well and truly pay or cause to be paid so long as he or they shall possess the said Pew the sum of — on every Lords day, and whatever else shall be further assessed on the said Pew, for the purpose of publick Worship in the said House; and towards such charges as from time to time may be voted to be defrayed, such Votes and Assessments to be passed and ordered by the major part of the Proprietors of Pews that shall be present at any meeting of the Proprietors to be called for that purpose; But if the said — or his Heirs shall neglect to contribute on every Lords

Voted, That the Deacons with Mr. Thomas Dawes Jr. be a Committee to provide the above mentioned Certificate or Instrument printed and bound in a Book containing such a number as will be sufficient for the purpose.

Voted, That the Committee formerly appointed for the Repairs of the Church be a Committee to consider what is further necessary to be done for completing the out door repairs which they are desired to do in the most frugal manner.

Voted, That the said Committee be desired to procure an outside covering for the pulpit cushion and curtain.

DAVID JEFFRIES Moderator.

Sabbath Day 28 July 1783.

After the usual publick service of the morning, and immediately preceding the Communion, the Pastor informed the Brethren that — — one of the members of the Church had waited on him and acknowledged the fault of intemperance in drinking, and had put into

Day or to pay to the Deacons for the time being the said sum of — weekly, and whatever further sums shall be assessed as aforesaid, and by such neglect cause an arrearage of nine months, the same shall be demanded by one of the Deacons for the time being, and in case of denial on such Demand or neglect of payment three months after such Demand, it shall then be lawfull for the said Deacons together with the Committee of the said Church and Congregation for the time being or the major part of them, to sell the said pew for the most it will fetch to any one Person upon the Conditions specified in this Instrument, and deduct out of the money arising from such Sale whatever Arrearages shall be due on the Account of the said Pew paying the remainder to the said — or his Heirs if demanded, and also that if the said — or his Heirs should leave the said Meeting House, he shall first offer the said Pew to the Deacons for the time being, for the afore said sum of —, which if they for the space of thirty days refuse to pay, after deducting all arrears that shall then be due, it shall then be lawfull for the said — or his Heirs on paying such Arrears to sell the said Pew to any one Person and to *one Person only*, upon the same conditions as are contained in this Instrument and upon

no other. But if the said — or his Heirs upon his or their leaving the meeting House should neglect to offer the said Pew as aforesaid, then he or they *shall forfeit* the same to the Deacons and Committee for the time being, for the use of the Proprietors afore said. And the said — and his Heirs shall annex his or their Name or Names with the Number of the Pew to the money from time to time put into the Contribution Box that the Clerk or Deacons of the Society may credit the said Pew for the same. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, this — Day of — in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven Hundred and —

To be signed by the Deacons.

“I the Above named — do hereby freely acknowledge that I receive the above mentioned Pew upon the Conditions afore said; and if I or any of my Heirs shall neglect to perform all or any of them, that upon such neglect, It shall be lawfull for the Deacons and Committee for the time being or the major part of them, to take the said Pew as afore said, and sell the same as above mentioned. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, this Day and Year above mentioned.

“Witness.

To be signed by the Purchaser.”]



his hands a letter, to be communicated, — expressive of sorrow and penitency — the desire of forgiveness, and the usual enjoyment of the privileges of the Church. The letter having been read, the question was put whether the same be satisfactory. It was unanimously voted in the affirmative; which the Pastor then announced to the restored member, who accordingly partook at the Communion as before.

JOSEPH ECKLEY Pastor.

On the 22d of August the store of a prominent citizen and an officer of the church was burned, but his safe, which probably held valuable papers belonging to the church, was saved. A stable took fire, and was consumed, with its contents: —

Then the Fire took another Course, and caught that elegant, that superb Building, owned and occupied as a Store by the Honourable William Phillips Esq, facing on Oliver's Dock, [near Kilby Street,] which was also entirely consumed, together with a Quantity of Flour, Dry Goods &c. &c. An iron Chest which was in the Cellar of the Store, and which is said to contain a considerable Sum of Money, was, however, through Fire and Water, recovered.<sup>1</sup>

Lords Day Novr 30 1783.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation Voted that as all the money collected for the poor the last year is expended, there shall be a Collection on the next Thanksgiving, for the use of the indigent members of the Society.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Friday, February 27, 1784, was the day fixed for celebrating the definitive treaty of peace in Boston. The morning was ushered in with the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon. At noon Major Davis, with the artillery company, escorted the lieutenant-governor, Thomas Cushing, the Council, the judges, the General Court, the selectmen of Boston, and others, from the State House to the Old South Meeting-House, where, we are told, the Rev. Mr. Eckley, chaplain to the two Houses,<sup>2</sup> made "a striking and elegant" address, and offered "a well adapted prayer." Two anthems were sung. The procession then returned to the State House, from the balcony of which the secretary of state, Mr. Avery, made proclamation of the ratification of the treaty of peace; after this a salute of thirteen guns was fired by the artillery company. There was a dinner at Faneuil Hall; and in

<sup>1</sup> [*Evening Post*, August 23, 1783.]

<sup>2</sup> On the death of the Rev. Dr. Cooper, chaplain of the Senate, Mr. Eckley

was elected, January, 1784, to fill the vacancy. He was already chaplain of the House.

the evening the governor, who had been unable to attend the public exercises, entertained at his house the lieutenant-governor and the Council, the president of the Senate, the speaker of the House, and other gentlemen.

Sabbath Day 2 January, 1785.

A letter was read from the Church in Brattle Street lately under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper, requesting the presence and assistance of the Old South Church by its Pastor and other Delegates at the Installation of the Rev. Peter Thacher on the 12th instant.

Voted to comply with the desire. The Pastor and Deacons, Mr. Samuel Whitwell, Mr. John Scollay, Hon. Thomas Dawes, and Mr. John Deming were appointed to attend on the occasion.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

We have already spoken of Mr. Thacher.<sup>1</sup> He was happily settled at Malden, but the pressure brought to bear upon him to induce him to come to Boston was more than he could resist. Public opinion was divided on the propriety of the step he was taking, as it was still an uncommon occurrence for a church in want of a pastor to give a call to a settled minister, and for such a minister to accept a call.

Last Evening [Friday, August 19] the Monthly Lecture was held at the Old South Meeting-House. The Rev. Mr. Stillman [pastor of the First Baptist Church] preached the sermon.<sup>2</sup>

Lord's Day 16 October 1785.

A letter was read from the Church in Salem usually meeting in the Tabernacle, requesting the presence and assistance of the Old South Church by its Pastor and other Delegates at the Ordination of Joshua Spalding on the 26 inst.

The Brethren voted that in consideration of certain difficulties which they were informed had existed in the Church at Salem, but of which, at such a distance, they could not readily be competent judges, the Pastor be desired to write a letter to the said Church to excuse their attendance on the proposed occasion.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

A letter was accordingly written.

The church from which this invitation came was the one formed in 1735, by a secession under Mr. Fisk from the First

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. ii. pp. 123, 132. The sermon on this occasion was preached by the Rev. Mr. Osgood, of Medford, and the right hand of fellowship by Mr. Clarke.

<sup>2</sup> [*Massachusetts Centinel*, August 20, 1785.]

Church.<sup>1</sup> For several years it claimed to be the First Church of Salem, but in 1763 it took the name of the Third Church, and, later, that of the Tabernacle. Previously to the installation of its fourth minister, the Rev. Dr. Whitaker, it adopted the Presbyterian form of government, but, February 11, 1784, it voted to reassume the Congregational mode.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Spaulding was ordained October 26, and continued in the pastorate until April 23, 1802, when he was dismissed, and, with a number of his parishioners, formed what was then called the Branch Church, and, later, the Howard Street Church.

Two Congregational ministers of long standing in Boston died in 1785, the Rev. Samuel Mather, D. D., and the Rev. Andrew Croswell. In accordance with the desire of the former, expressed on his deathbed, the members of his church joined themselves to the Second Church, from which he and his friends had withdrawn themselves more than forty years before. The meeting-house was sold to the Universalists, who organized a society under the auspices of the Rev. John Murray. After Mr. Croswell's death his church disbanded, and the meeting-house, built and originally used by a congregation of French Protestants, came into the possession of the Roman Catholics, — their first place of worship in New England.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 470, 584; vol. ii. p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> "The churches that at different periods had been constituted after the Presbyterian mode (of which seven or eight have been noticed in this sketch), had generally assumed the Congregational form. This seems the more remarkable when it is known that the ministers were rather verging to the opposite side. The most vigorous treatise that New England has ever produced in defence of Presbyterianism is that of Dr. Nathaniel Whitaker, of the Tabernacle Church, Salem, published in 1774 as a 'confutation' of John Wise. But it did not avail to turn the ebbing tide. Unluckily for the Presbyterian cause, the doctor's main point, namely, that 'the brotherhoods of the churches, acting collectively, are more likely to do wrong and tyrannize, than an aristocracy' (that is, an eldership), was just what the people felt politically bound to disbelieve and to disprove. Aristocracy, oligarchy, mon-

archy, — the tyranny which these could inflict they had suffered, and were determined to throw off. They were fighting for popular sovereignty. It was an unfortunate time to ask them to abandon that mode of governing in the church, from which they had derived their best ideas of self-government in the state; for they had too much discernment, or else too little, to believe Dr. Whitaker's theory would work any better in the one case than in the other. Even his own flock, which had been kept under Presbyterian rule during his fifteen years' ministry among them, reverted to their original form of government immediately after his departure in 1785. Indeed, it was their strong proclivity in that direction which induced him to go." — Clark's *Historical Sketch of the Cong. Chhs. in Mass.*, pp. 227, 228.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Joseph S. Clark says that at the close of the Revolutionary War, the comparative strength of the various religious denominations in Massachusetts,

The Quarterly Charity Lecture was preached Sunday evening, December 5, at the Old South, and the collection amounted to £45. The following notice had appeared in some of the newspapers : —

Singers of every denomination, both male and female, are desired to attend and give their assistance at the Old South on the first Lord's Day in December. The intent of said meeting is for the purpose of relieving the distressed. Your compliance with this will oblige many, but none more than your humble servant, WILLIAM BILLINGS.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Billings has been called the father of American Psalmody. "He was the first teacher of singing in this country, introduced the first musical concerts, the first instrument — the bass viol as an accompaniment, formed the first choirs to unite in singing in churches, and kept the first music store in Boston."<sup>2</sup>

The distress at this time among the poorer classes, in both town and country, was very great. The Continental currency was worthless, that of the commonwealth was almost so. There was no good circulating medium, and payments in kind were legalized. The popular discontent culminated in 1786, in what is known as the Shays Rebellion, which was speedily suppressed under the vigorous policy of Governor Bowdoin, but the provoking causes of which time only could remove.

Lords Day 8 October 1786.

The Brethren of the Church were desired to stay after the public service of the afternoon.

Voted that on Friday of the following week there shall be a meeting of the Brethren for the purpose of coming to the choice of a new Deacon, in the room of Deacon David Jeffries deceased.

Voted that the Minister give public notice of this proposed meeting, on the next Lords Day, and desire a punctual attendance of the Brethren.<sup>3</sup>

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

as indicated by the number of churches connected with each, was : Roman Catholics, one ; Universalists, three ; Quakers, six ; Episcopalians, eleven ; Baptists, sixty-eight ; Congregationalists, three hundred and thirty. The Methodists made their first appearance in the state in 1790, and their first society was incorporated three years later. — *Historical Sketch*, pp. 218, 226.

<sup>1</sup> [*Col. Centinel*, November 26, 1785.]

<sup>2</sup> Drake's *Dict. of Am. Biography*.

<sup>3</sup> [In 1786 Mr. Eckley made the following list of "Pewholders in the Old South

Church arranged according to the numbers and situation of the Pews : " —

No. 1, Deacon Phillips. 2, Thomas Dawes. 3, Nehemiah Somes. 4, Jeremiah Belknap and Miss Rann. 5, Doctor Townsend. 6, Bart. Kneeland, and Mrs. Simpkins, and Miss Foxcroft. 7, Joseph Peirce. 8, Elizabeth Peck. 9, Thomas Bumstead. 10, —. 11, Miss Hunt. 12, William Homes. 13, Samuel Dyer and Ruggles. 14, John Sweetser. 15, Jeremiah Bumstead. 16, Joshua Loring. 17, John Holland and Widow Pease, Capt. West and Holland, Junr.



Deacon Jeffries died December 26, 1785. He had been a member of the South Church forty-five years, and one of its deacons twenty-two years. "If an uniform course of uprightness, — a firm belief in the system of Christianity, accompanied with the practice of its duties, and the whole closed with a happy serenity of mind at the approach of death, are marks of the existence of internal piety and religion, his friends may entertain the pleasing hope that he is gone to reap the bright prospects and rewards of a glorious immortality."<sup>1</sup>

18, John Deming. 19, Eph. Copeland and — Eustis. 20, John Procter. 21, Widows Pew. 22, Ministers Pew. 23, Widow Waters. 24, Barnabas Webb and Mrs. Cowley. 25, William More. 26, David Devens, — Devens and Mr. Green. 27, Adam Colson. 28, John Winslow. 29, Polly Eyres. 30, Nath. Foster and — Fenno. 31, John Scolly. 32, James Thomson. 33, Samuel Bass. 34, John Lowell. 35, Widow Fosdick. 36, —. 37, John Ballard. 38, William Breed. 39, —. 40, —. 41, Calvin White. 42, Joseph Ward. 43, Ben. Clarke, and Mrs. Foster, and Cris. Clarke. 44, Josiah Waters and Aunt. 45, Jona. Mason, Junr. 46, William Scolly. 47, Ann Allen. 48, Lemuel Gardner. 49, Miss Fleet. 50, John Stutson. 51, Deacon Moody. 52, Abraham Foster. 53, James Foster. 54, Silas Ewers. 55, Miss Belknap and Cutler. 56, David Brewer. 57, Joseph Eaton. 58, Samuel Bryant. 59, Sarah Salter. 60, Samuel Whitwell. 61, Gideon Thayer and —. 62, Deacon Chevers, Mrs. Edwards and Province. 63, Eben. Foster. 64, William Dawes, Junr., and Mrs. Cooledge. 65, Poors Pew. 66, James Nebon and Widow Arnold. 67, Andrew Oliver. 68, — Martin and —. 69, Luke Baker. 70, Eliz. Boyer, Widow, and Mrs. Cooledge. 71, Jacob Sweetser. 72, Samuel Ballard. 73, Samuel Harris and Son. 74, —. 75, Mrs. Collins, — Vose and —. 76, Mrs. Broadstreet. 77, —. 78, Widows Powel and Quincy. 79, Samuel Henshaw. 80, William Phillips, Junr. 81, Widow Gray. 82, Joshua Brackett. 83, Deacon Mason. 84, Deacon Salisbury. 85, Thomas Dawes Junr.

"In the Gallery." No. 93, John Fen-

no. 95, William Clark. 96, Jacob Homer. 97, Thomas Crane. 100, Sally Kneeland. 113, Widow Nuttage. 114, Benj. Cox. 125, Edward Maylem. 91, Isabel Tate, Widow. — Mr. Tate. — More. Widow Wheat. Widow Adams. — Adams. Widow Andrews. — Haslett. Mr. Robertson. Bela Clapp. Widow Walland. — More. Widow Parks. Samuel White, Mr. Sibley. John Durant and Cousin. Mr. Adlington. Mr. Peak.

"Widows, Aged men, and others, not being Pew-Holders." Mr. Fenno and Wife. The Sexton and family. Mr. Mullen. Patty Merret. Mrs. Holland. Sarah Whitcomb, Mr. Robertson. Mrs. Armstrong. Mrs. Bass. Mrs. Wisell. Mrs. Prout. Mrs. Richards. Miss Betsy Lyde. Miss Sally Winslow. Mrs. Cole. Widow Walcut. Joanna Powars.

The same sheets contain the names of the congregation grouped according to the neighborhoods in which they lived. The MS. bears the name of the Rev. Lemuel Willis, Warner, N. H., and the following: "This MS. was presented to me by Mr. W., who found it among papers given to him by the sister of the late Charles Ewer, a bookseller in Boston. (J. M. M.)"

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Chron.*, January 5, 1786. Deacon Jeffries bequeathed two hundred acres of land, in the eastern part of the state, to the overseers of the poor for the town of Boston, the proceeds to be used for the purchase of tea, coffee, sugar, etc., "for the use of those unfortunate persons who may be reduced to the necessity of seeking refuge in the almshouse." Hannah, third wife of David Jeffries, died December 10, 1783.

Friday 20 October 1786.

The Brethren of the Church met according to appointment, for the purpose of electing a Deacon. After Prayer was offered by the Minister, written Ballots were given in ; and it appeared that the Hon. Thomas Dawes was chosen by a large majority of Votes.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Mr. Dawes was born August 5, 1731, and was baptized three days later at the South Church. He became a member November 26, 1749. He was fourth in the line of descent from William Dawes, one of the founders of the church, and his great-grandfather, Ambrose, his grandfather, Thomas, and his father, Thomas, were members before him. When he joined, in 1749, his grandfather and father were living, so that there were three of the same name, representing three generations, in the membership together. By trade he was a mason, and became one of the first great mechanics of Boston. He was the builder of the meeting-house in Brattle Street, built in 1773, and of the State House on Beacon Hill. "Upon the adoption of the state constitution he became an intimate friend of Hancock, and began to figure in public life, for which his talents, industry, wealth, and patriotism well qualified him. He was representative, senator, and councillor." His son, Thomas, was the first of the name to graduate at Harvard College — in 1777. He joined the Old South in 1800, but a few years later transferred his relations to the Federal Street Church. He was for many years judge of the Superior Court.

Dr. Wisner says that at this time Watts's Psalms and Hymns were substituted for Mr. Prince's Revision, which had been in use since 1758.

Lords Day 5 November 1786.

A Letter was communicated from the Church at Malden, desiring the presence and assistance of the Old South Church at the Ordination of Adoniram Judson on the 15 instant.

The Deacons being nominated and excusing themselves, owing to particular engagements, Mr. John Deming<sup>1</sup> and Mr. John Scollay were chosen with the Pastor to attend on the occasion.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Mr. Judson was born at Woodbury, Connecticut, in 1751, and graduated at Yale College in 1775. His ordination at Malden did not take place until January 23, 1787. "He settled there

<sup>1</sup> [Sarah, wife of John Deming, died June 16, 1783.]

amid a tempest of opposition, and not till after three councils had convened and separated without ordaining him. He was dismissed September 29, 1791."<sup>1</sup> He was afterward pastor at Wenham and at Plymouth.<sup>2</sup> Having changed his sentiments on the subject of baptism, he was dismissed from his church in Plymouth, and thereafter preached in the Baptist connection.

Lords Day 14 January 1787.

The Brethren of the Church were desired to stay after the public service of the afternoon, on the request of a number of the members, to consider the expediency of appointing a meeting for conversation on several subjects relating to the interests of the Society.

Voted that there be a meeting of the brethren at the Minister's house, at 6 o'Clock on Friday Evening next. JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Friday Evening 19 January 1787.

The Brethren of the Church met according to appointment. After prayer, they entered into conversation on the subjects proposed.

It appeared to be the general opinion that it would have a good tendency to improve the state of religion, if the Brethren would engage to meet together once in every Quarter of the Year with the view to cultivate a greater acquaintance with each other — converse on religious subjects as well as on the state of religion in the Society, and mutually offer up their prayers to God for the further communications of his Spirit and of his Blessings both general and particular.

Voted that this measure be adopted.

At the same time a number of the Brethren expressed their sentiments concerning the terms which should be enjoined on Parents whose children are admitted to Baptism. Whilst it was thought that there might be cases in which persons could present their offspring to God in baptism with sincerity and devotion, and with the prospect of advantage, who notwithstanding had doubts and fears concerning a personal approach to the ordinance of the Lords Supper, it was yet judged that a more particular connection should be considered as existing between those of this description, and the members who partook at the Sacramental Supper than had been usually contemplated; and that the Church should not only attend with care to the purity of their morals, but professedly engage its watchfulness, direction and assistance in regard to the whole of their Spiritual concerns.

A Committee consisting of Deacon Dawes, and Mr. John Scollay, with the Pastor, were chosen to prepare in writing a form of Covenant,

<sup>1</sup> Sprague's *Annals*, vol. ii. pp. 22, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Judson was settled over the Third Church in Plymouth, which was formed by a secession from the First, growing out of dissatisfaction with the

theological views of the Rev. James Kendall, who, by a majority of one vote in the church, was settled as successor of the "highly evangelical Dr. Chandler Robbins." — Clark's *Hist. Sketch*, p. 232.

conformably to the sentiments of the brethren communicated on the present occasion ; and to present the same for further consideration on the Friday evening following, to which time the meeting adjourned.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Friday Evening 26 January 1787.

The Brethren of the Church met according to adjournment.

When Prayer had been offered, the following form of Covenant for those who offer their children in Baptism, was exhibited by the Committee chosen at the last meeting ; and after serious deliberation, was accepted by Vote as the form to be used in the Society —

“ — You do now in the presence of God, before his holy angels and this assembly, solemnly profess to give up yourself to God the Father as to your Chief good — to the Son of God, as to your mediator, head and lord, relying upon him as the prophet, priest and king of your salvation, — to the holy Spirit of God as your sanctifier, guide and comforter, to be a temple for him to dwell in.

“ You also profess your belief of the holy Scriptures of the Old and new Testaments as a *revelation* from God which contains the words of eternal life, and is the only perfect rule of faith and practice.

“ You also engage to bring up the children which God may give you in the nurture and admonition of the Lord ; and that by the help of the Spirit you will adorn this your profession by a holy life and conversation.

“ This you engage.

“ We therefore of this Church affectionately profess our pious regard towards you, and our readiness to encourage and assist you in the religious duty you have now engaged to perform : We will, in a Christian manner, watch for your spiritual good, and afford you that counsel and advice, which your circumstances being known to us, may require.”

Voted, that each person proposing to take this Covenant, after conversation with the Pastor, shall be publicly propounded at least a week before it is given ; so that if any objection arises to the moral character, there may, in the meantime, be an opportunity to make it.

Voted, that persons of moral lives and conversation, who have owned baptismal Covenants in other religious Societies, and may apply for the baptism of their children in this Society, may be admitted to the privilege, under the same rules and obligations with the other members, without the form of publicly giving to them the Covenant again.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

No one had owned the covenant at the Old South since 1774. In 1788, it was owned by two persons ; in 1789, by one ; and from 1788 to 1818, both years inclusive, by sixty-one, averaging about two a year. Since 1818, or near the close of Mr. Huntington's ministry, there have been no admissions under this



form, although the action of January 26, 1787, has never been rescinded. Speaking of this action, Dr. Wisner said, in the fourth of his *Historical Discourses*:—

These are the latest proceedings on the subject, and, of course, present the basis of the arrangement as now existing, and on which alone persons can be received within its provisions, if any should desire it.

Dr. Chauncy died on the 10th of February, 1787, aged eighty-two. He had been in the ministry of the First Church nearly sixty years. "He was really a great and good man," writes one who was decidedly opposed to him in doctrine, "a man of profound learning and great integrity, of sound judgment and quick apprehension, of unaffected piety and most extensive benevolence. His own errors did not appear to do him any harm, but rather increased his love to God and man."<sup>1</sup> A writer in one of the papers which announced his death said: "Such was his love of the truth whenever he discovered it, and such the honest independence of mind which he possessed to a great degree, that he frequently advanced sentiments which did not comport with generally received opinions; he was therefore subjected to those temporary inconveniences which always attend on such as cannot fall in with all the common opinions. He placed the firmest confidence on the grace of the Gospel, and entertained the highest expectations from the mediatorial undertaking of Jesus Christ."<sup>2</sup>

Lords Day 25 March 1787.

A letter was read after the Service of the afternoon, from the Church in Long Lane, desiring the presence and assistance of this Church at the Instalment of the Reverend Jeremy Belknap to the Pastoral Charge of the said Church on the 4 of April next.

The Pastor and Deacons, Mr. Jeremiah Belknap, Mr. Samuel Whitwell and Colonel Josiah Waters, were appointed to attend on the occasion.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

The church in Long Lane (Federal Street) was established by Scotch Presbyterians in 1728. Its minister, until his death in 1773, was the Rev. John Moorhead. Friendly relations had always subsisted between him and the Congregational pastors of Boston.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, there was a fraternal feeling between Con-

<sup>1</sup> Ellis's *Hist. of the First Church*, p. 195. June 7, 1730, says: "Mr. Sewall and Mr. Thatcher preach in Long Lane for

<sup>2</sup> *Mass. Gazette*, February 13, 1787. Mr. Moorehead in his absence from

<sup>3</sup> Benj. Walker in his diary, Sunday, town." The Rev. Robert Annan was

gregationalists and Presbyterians in Massachusetts from the outset, the former saying to the latter that "they might exercise their Presbyterial government at their liberty, walking peaceably towards us, as we trusted we should do towards them." Dr. Clark says that it was by a "peaceful yet firm and consistent adherence to their own principles, and not by the arts of proselytism, that the Congregational churches of Massachusetts so generally drew the Presbyterians who came among them to their views of church-government."<sup>1</sup>

Jeremiah, or Jeremy Belknap, as he is usually called, was the eldest child of Joseph and Sarah (Byles) Belknap.<sup>2</sup> He was born June 4 (baptized June 10), 1744, and graduated at Harvard College in 1762. He became a member of the Old South Church in 1764, of which his ancestor, Joseph, was one of the founders, in 1669, and which his great-grandfather, Joseph, joined in 1688, his grandfather, Jeremiah, in 1711, his grand-uncle, Joseph, in 1712, his father, Joseph, in 1735, and his uncle, Jeremiah, in 1741. He was the first of his family to graduate at Harvard College. After graduation he taught school for a time, and on the 18th of February, 1767, he was ordained pastor of the church in Dover, New Hampshire, as colleague with the Rev. Mr. Cushing.<sup>3</sup>

We have the following newspaper account of the ordination at Dover: —

The Candidate having exhibited a Summary of his Knowledge of the Gospel, and proper Satisfaction being given to a Council of Twenty Churches, as to his Qualifications for the Work of the Ministry, and Motives in Enttring upon it; The Ordination was unanimously voted.<sup>4</sup>

minister for a short time, after the Revolution, as successor to Mr. Moorhead.

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Sketch*, pp. 164, 165.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Sprague says of Mr. Belknap's parents: "His father's occupation was that of a leather dresser and dealer in furs and skins. Both parents were members of the Old South Church, were persons of most exemplary Christian character, and lived to a good old age, to enjoy, for many years, the devoted filial attentions of the subject of this sketch."

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Belknap married Ruth, daughter of Samuel Eliot, bookseller, and niece of the Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot. His salary, when he was settled at Dover, was £100 (\$333.33) *per annum*, with

£150 to provide a house for himself. Small as it was, this salary could not be collected; and "he was often obliged to labor in the field to keep his family from want." His salary, when he came to Boston, was fixed at £2.8.0. a week, or about \$416 *per annum*, with a stipulation for an increase, if the society should increase. To eke out his income, he received at his house a few young men to instruct in higher branches than were then taught in the public schools. *Belknap Papers*, Part I. Prefatory Note, pp. vii., viii.

<sup>4</sup> [*Post Boy and Advertiser*, February 27, 1767, and *Boston Gazette*, March 2, 1767.]

The sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Haven, from 1 Tim. iv. 15. Mr. Cushing gave the charge, and Mr. Pike the right hand of fellowship.

Mr. Belknap's ministry at Dover was an arduous and self-denying one; and while he and his family suffered at times almost for the necessities of life, they hungered even more for educational advantages and for the society of congenial friends. It is not strange, therefore, that Mr. Belknap was led to accept the call of the Long Lane congregation, which, small as it was, — "thirty families, and, excepting three or four, not opulent," — and unable to give a large salary, would pay promptly whatever amount was agreed upon, and would add to the stipend as circumstances should permit. The call, too, opened an opportunity to return to Boston, to his own home and that of his wife, and to intercourse with cultivated and appreciative friends. The Rev. Samuel Macclintock, of Greenland, New Hampshire, preached the installation sermon; prayer was offered by Mr. Eckley, Dr. Lathrop, and Mr. Eliot; Mr. Jackson, of Brookline, gave the charge, and Mr. Thacher, of Brattle Street, the right hand of fellowship.

April 17. 1787.

At a meeting of the Old South Church and Congregation, Voted, That a Committee of Nine persons, vizt. five of the Church and four of the Congregation, be chosen to take care of all necessary Repairs of the meeting House and Ministerial House—to have the direction and ordering of the affairs relative to the Pews and Seats in the meeting House and all temporal matters of said Society for the year ensuing. The following persons were chosen by written Vote, Vizt. Ziph. Thayer, John Sweetser Esq. Capt. Neh. Somes, Samuel Whitwell, Samuel Salisbury, William Scollay, Andrew Oliver,<sup>1</sup> John Deming and Col. Josiah Waters.

JONA. MASON Moderator.

<sup>1</sup> [The name of Andrew Oliver occurs in several connections, both in the baptismal and church records. We quote from the records and from other sources:

1731. Andrew, son of Andrew (afterward secretary and lieutenant-governor) and Mary (Fitch) Oliver, baptized December 19.

1746. Andrew, son of Peter (afterward chief-justice) and Mary (Clarke) Oliver, baptized September 21. (Harv. Coll. 1765, died 1772.)

These were grandsons of Daniel Oliver. The first of the two married Mary Lynde.

1748. Andrew, son of Andrew and Susanna (Boyer) Oliver (Olivier), baptized June 5.

The father, in this case, was a son of Anthoine and Mary Olivier, who were Huguenots; his wife was a daughter of James Boyer, and a granddaughter of Daniel Jonhannot, also Huguenots. Andrew Oliver and Susanna Boyer were married by Dr. Sewall, July 9, 1747.

1750. "Andrew Oliver, formerly admitted to the First Church here in full communion is dismissed to the South Church in Boston." — Felt's *Ipswich*.

Lords Day 22 April 1787.

The Brethren of the Society were desired to stay after the service in the Afternoon.

Voted, That a Subscription be immediately opened for the distressed and needy sufferers by the Great Fire on Friday Evening last, at the South End of the Town.

Voted, That the monies subscribed be payed to the Deacons to be by them delivered into the hands of such persons as may be appointed by the Subscribers throughout the Town to distribute it among the Sufferers.

Voted, That Col. Josiah Waters, Capt. Somes and Mr. Samuel Salisbury be a committee to wait upon those of the Society who are now absent with the Subscription paper.

Voted, That the Committee of the Society chosen on Tuesday last be impowered to wait on the Deacons of the Church in Hollis Street at the South End of the Town, and offer them this Church to worship in together with the Old South Society—their own having been destroyed by the late terrible Fire.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Remarks — before the members of the Society left the Church 800 Dolls. were subscribed. It was a rainy afternoon and the Congregation by this means had been less than usual. By the close of the next day the whole Subscription in the Old South Society amounted to upwards of sixteen Hundred Dollars which was immediately paid to the Deacons for the purpose afore said.

The Deacons and members of the Hollis Street Society accepted the Offer of the use of the Old South Church and the greater part of them stately met for worship together with the Old South Society on Lords Days. The Revd. Mr. White [Wight] pastor of the Hollis Street Church generally officiated one part of the day on Communion Sabbaths. Being at this time in an ill state of health he removed and lived with his family in the Country.

Dr. Belknap describes this fire in a letter to his friend Mr. Hazard, then postmaster-general. It began in a malt house, near the dock, just south of Beach Street, and had there been

1752. Andrew Oliver joined the church, by letter from the First Church, Ipswich, March 15.

1772. Andrew Oliver, Jr., married Abigail, daughter of William Boardman. Abigail Oliver joined the church August 14, 1774.

1773. Andrew Oliver advertises in the papers, at the New Auction Rooms, south side of the Town House.

1776. "Feb. 17 Heard at Watertown

of the death of Mr. Andrew Oliver jeweller." — Ezekiel Price's diary.

1786. Andrew Oliver became a member of the artillery company.

1796. Andrew Oliver, 35 Cornhill. Boston Directory.

The Olivers whose names appear in the records of the Old South after the Revolution were connected with the Essex County family of the name, or with the Oliviers.]



no wind it would have ended there. But a dry northeaster had prevailed for two days, and the flakes of fire were carried across the dock to some barns and outhouses adjoining the main street; "and, so rapid and irresistible was its progress that between six and nine in the evening it destroyed between seventy and eighty dwelling-houses, with Mr. Wight's meeting-house, and other smaller buildings in a S. W. direction, as far as there was anything to be burned; and, had the town extended ten, fifteen, or twenty miles in that direction, and wooden houses in the way, dry as they then were, the fire would have been equally extensive. No lives were lost, though much substance, but I have the pleasure to assure you that a very curious and valuable orrery constructing by Mr. Pope, watchmaker, was carefully and happily saved. Dr. Byles's house was in imminent danger: his hoards of books, instruments, papers, prints etc. etc. were dislodged in an hour from a fifty years' quietness to an helter-skelter heap in an adjoining pasture. He removed for the night to a neighbour's house, and returned the next day." The loss of property in round numbers was £20,000.<sup>1</sup>

The Hollis Street congregation began at once to rebuild. In his sermon at the installation of Mr. Holley in 1809, Dr. Eckley said: "On this day I recollect the time, though more than twenty years have now elapsed, when many of you formed a part of the congregation, and worshipped with the people to whom I yet enjoy the privilege and honour statedly to officiate. On the first floor which was laid on the supporters of this goodly fabrick — the arched heaven for our only canopy, I took the lead in your devotions, and we offered our united prayers to the Almighty Builder of the temple above, for his favour in the erection, and his presence at the future religious services of this his temple below."<sup>2</sup>

During the year 1787 there was a revival of the missionary spirit in the churches of Massachusetts. The Propagation Society, incorporated by the English Parliament in 1649, stopped

<sup>1</sup> *Belknap Papers*, Part I. pp. 470-472. An act was passed November 21, 1788, granting a Lottery for the purpose of purchasing the orrery made by Mr. Pope, for the use of Harvard College. The managers were Samuel Eliot, Henry Hill, and Aaron Dexter. — *Ind. Chronicle*, November 28, 1788.

<sup>2</sup> It was dedicated August 31, 1788,

and stood until 1810, when it was removed to give place to the third meeting-house; this was dedicated in 1811, and was occupied by the society until 1885. The congregation then removed to the corner of Newbury and Exeter streets, and, in 1887, was joined by the South Congregational Society, the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, pastor.

its remittances to New England soon after the War of the Revolution began, and notified the treasurer in Boston, Mr. Isaac Smith, that no more bills drawn by him would be honored "until the restoration of peace, order and good government." The "good government" referred to in this notification meant good government under the British crown; for, after the achievement of American independence, the Society, in 1786, transferred its operations to New Brunswick.

The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge was willing to continue its coöperation with the New England churches in evangelistic labors among the Indians; and, on the withdrawal of the English society, sent a new commission to a number of gentlemen in Boston and its vicinity, authorizing them to act in its behalf, and promising the needed pecuniary aid. "Ashamed that more solicitude for this object should be discovered by foreigners than by themselves, these gentlemen revived the former plan [that of 1762], and associated for the purpose of forming a society similar to that in Scotland. They petitioned the General Assembly for a charter, which was granted them, with the adequate powers, at the close of the same year, 1787."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Brief Account*, by the Rev. Peter Thacher, 1798.

See also, *ante*, vol. ii. pp. 67, 68. The new society was chartered November 19, 1787, in response to the following petition:—

"To the Honourable the Senate, and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"Humbly shew Moses Gill, Oliver Wendell, Francis Dana, Increase Sumner, Richard Cranch, William Hyslop, Jonathan Mason and Ebenezer Storer, Esquires, Joseph Willard D. D. Edward Wigglesworth D. D. Samuel Williams LL. D. Phillips Payson, Levi Frisbie, Timothy Hilliard, Peter Thatcher, John Eliot, Joseph Eckley, John Clarke, Nathaniel Emmons, Ebenezer Wight, and Eliphalet Porter, Ministers of the Gospel,

"That they have been impowered by the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge to distribute their charitable donations from time to time made for the benevolent purpose of

propagating the gospel among the Indians in North America.

"That they feel themselves deeply interested in prosecuting so good a design; and cannot but regret that so much should be done by foreigners, and so little by their own countrymen in spreading the gospel of our salvation among the natives of this land. They are also persuaded that if a number of gentlemen should be vested with corporate powers to receive and dispose of the donations and bequests of pious and charitable persons, much might be done in accomplishing this design.

"They should not have needed now to make this application to the Honourable Court, had it not been for the jealousy of the government of Great Britain. For, in the year 1762, an act passed the General Court confirming a corporation for this purpose, but it was disallowed by the King in Council.

"They therefore, request your Honours that they may be permitted to bring in a Bill incorporating a number of Gentle-

Lieutenant-Governor Cushing died February 28, 1788, in his sixty-third year. He was a prominent figure in the province and in the commonwealth, from early manhood to his death. He held for many years the speakership of the House of Representatives ; he was for two terms a member of the Continental Congress, and, afterward, councillor, judge of the court of common pleas, judge of probate, and, from 1780 until his death, lieutenant-governor. The governor, John Hancock, directed that he should be buried with every demonstration of respect. The funeral took place March 3. The bearers were James Sullivan, Thomas Dawes ; James Warren, John Scollay ; James Bowdoin, Samuel Adams. The legislature, which was in session, participated in the exercises, together with the governor, the council, the judges of the Supreme Court in their scarlet robes, the president and fellows of Harvard College,<sup>1</sup> and other dignitaries. The independent cadets, the artillery company, the Boston regiment, and other troops marched in the procession ; three volleys were fired over the grave, and minute-guns were discharged at Castle William.

Mr. Cushing had for a third of a century been a member of the Old South Church. Of his religious character, an obituary notice, written perhaps by Mr. Eckley, said :—

Plied as he was with publick energies, he forgot not the more private duties of life. He was from early youth a professor of religion, and a serious and devout attendant upon its offices, in publick and private. The principles and motives of the gospel lay with great weight upon his mind ; they had an evident influence upon his conduct in life ; they dispersed from before him the terrours of death, and enabled him to look forward, with calmness and composure, to a state of glory and felicity beyond the grave.<sup>2</sup>

Fast Day 17th April 1788.

The Brethren of the Society were desired to stay after the public Service of the afternoon. The accounts of the Committee for the last year, relating to the singing Choir &c. were accepted. It was then Voted to proceed to the choice of a Committee of nine for the ensuing year ; and on counting the written votes it appeared that the same members of the Church and Congregation were elected as on the year before.

JOS : ECKLEY.

men for the purpose of propagating the gospel among the Indians of North America, and extending Christian knowledge therein."

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cushing was a fellow of Harvard College at the time of his death. He graduated in 1744.

<sup>2</sup> [*Mass. Centinel*, March 1, 1788.]

Lords Day morning 20 July 1788.

After the Congregation was dismissed a Letter was read to the Church by the Pastor from ——— one of the members, acknowledging a transgression of the Seventh Commandment (occasioning the birth of a child at a time too early after marriage) expressive of contrition and sorrow, the desire of forgiveness, and restoration to the privileges of the Church.

The question was put, whether the Letter be satisfactory. It was voted in the affirmative. The Pastor then declared the said member to be restored to the fellowship of the Church, with the right of partaking at the Communion as on preceding occasions.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Sabbath Day 27th July 1788.

The Brethren were desired to stay after the Blessing was given. The following letter signed by the Deacons of the Hollis Street Society and directed to "The Church and proprietors of the Old South Meeting House" was communicated.

BOSTON July 23 1788.

*Honored and Beloved*

Having thro' divine goodness completed our House for public Worship, where we expect to meet on the last Lords Day in this month, we now take our affectionate leave of you, who were amongst the first of our kind friends that compassionated our distressed situation when our former house was destroyed, and not only kindly invited us to worship with you but generously accommodated us with seats in your House.

We desire you to accept our most grateful thanks for that early notice you was pleased to take of our afflicted circumstances, and for the tender regard and brotherly love you have constantly manifested towards us. We desire also to express our grateful acknowledgments to your Revd Pastor for his kind and constant attention in visiting the sick and attending the funerals of our Society during the absence of our Revd Pastor. Be assured, Beloved Brethren, that we shall ever retain a most grateful sense of your kind offices of love, and that it is our earnest prayer that you may constantly enjoy the divine favour and blessing, and be increased with increases of God.

We request an Interest in your Prayers to God for us, and are Brethren in the Faith and Fellowship of the Gospel of Christ,

In the name and by the order of the Church and Society under the pastoral care of the Revd Mr. Wight,

CALEB DAVIS.

THOMAS BAYLEY.

WM. BROWN.



Sabbath Day 1 March 1789

After the Service of the Day, a letter was read from the Church in Hollis Street, lately under the Pastoral care of the Rev: Mr. Wight, inviting the Old South Church, by its Pastor and other delegates, to assist at the installation of the Rev: Samuel West, on Thursday the 12 instant. The Deacons, Mr. John Scollay and Mr. Samuel Whitwell were chosen to attend, with the Pastor, on the occasion.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Mr. West was a son of the Rev. Thomas West, who preached on Martha's Vineyard, and afterward at Rochester. He graduated at Harvard College in 1761. The Hon. Thomas Hubbard,<sup>1</sup> who was then commissary of the province, was his friend, and obtained a chaplaincy for him at Fort Pownal, on the Penobscot; he remained for a short time at this post, and then returned to Cambridge to complete his studies in divinity. He was ordained at Needham in 1764, but suffered greatly because his salary, small as it was, was not paid to him. He preached at Federal Street, and at Dr. Gordon's church on Jamaica Plain, when those pulpits were vacant, and might have been settled, probably, in either of them. He preached his own installation sermon at Hollis Street, from 2 Cor. iv. 1: "Therefore, seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not." Mr. Belknap gave the charge, and Mr. Eckley the right hand of fellowship, together with an address to the people, in which he said:—

The connexion which existed between us some time ago, as it will not be forgotten on my part, neither will it, I trust, on yours also. Often have we mingled our souls together at the same Church, in humble adoration of the God of heaven; often have we sat as brethren around the same table of our Saviour, when in his course of duty, your late worthy and pious Pastor, has carried our spirits to the Almighty's throne, and in able, solemn and pathetick prayer, presented us before the Lord. . . .

We shall not forget the time when the edifice, wherein you formerly worshipped on this spot, was wrapt in flames;—when the houses in which you dwelled, were laid in ashes by the fire, and many a heart was swelled with terrour at the sight, and many an eye was bathed with tears. We behold already a great reverse of scenes;—and whilst the elegant and goodly fabrick in which we are now assembled, affords a very pleasing specimen of the taste and genius of the gentleman

<sup>1</sup> In 1742 Deacon Hubbard gave to bread plates, or patens, which are in the Hollis Street Church two silver scribed with his name.

[Mr. Charles Bulfinch] who gave the plan, it is a monument to you, my friends, of the great goodness of almighty God, who in his providence has assisted you to repair the waste places, and after your dispersion, enabled you to worship him in the spot where his name was known before.<sup>1</sup>

Lords Day 19 April 1789.

A letter was communicated to the Brethren from the Church in Charles Town requesting the presence and assistance of this Church at the Installation of the Rev: Jedidiah Morse on the 30 instant. The Paster and Deacons with Mr. Deming and Mr. Whitwell were chosen to attend on the occasion.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Mr. Morse was born at Woodstock, Connecticut, in 1761, and graduated at Yale College in 1783. He was ordained in New York, November 9, 1786, and preached in Presbyterian churches at the South, and afterward in New York. He received the call to Charlestown through the influence of Mr. Belknap, with whom he had much in common in his taste for geographical and historical studies. Mr. Belknap preached the installation sermon from 1 Peter v. 3: "Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock." Mr. Jackson, of Brookline, gave the charge, and Mr. Osgood, of Medford, the right hand of fellowship.

Mr. Belknap wrote to Mr. Hazard, May 2, 1789:—

I have had a fatiguing week, and have been very sick part of the time; nor am I well yet. Mr. Morse's instalment was well conducted, and every one seemed to be pleased. He has the character of an agreeable and a growing man, and I am glad he is settled where he can have so many literary advantages as at Charlestown.<sup>2</sup>

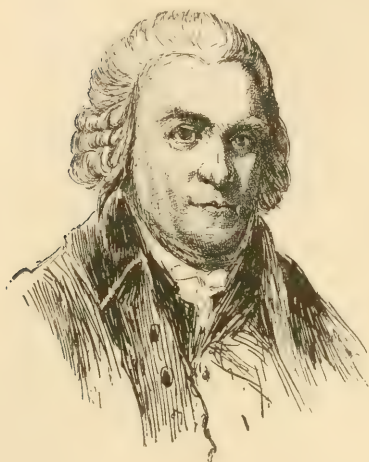
<sup>1</sup> ["The Revd. Mr. Eckley, in his pathetic address to the brethren of the Church, took occasion to pay an elegant compliment to Mr. [Charles] Bulfinch, the gentleman under whose direction and superintendence the Meeting House was built.

"On this occasion we congratulate the public that each of the parishes in the metropolis are supplied with able ministers."—*Independent Chronicle*, March 19, 1789.]

<sup>2</sup> [Mr. Morse was offered a salary of eleven dollars a week, but declined to receive more than ten. Mr. Belknap thought that in taking this course he endangered the interests of some of his

ministerial brethren not so well off as himself; he wrote, May 8, 1789: "Mr. Morse, though he meant perfectly well, may be the occasion of doing an injury to his neighbour. A minister should consider, not only what he can or ought to receive, but what the people can or ought to give. If they are able and willing to give eleven dollars per week, he ought to receive it. If it is more than he wants, there are ways enough in which he may dispose of it to serve the interests of his people; but, if he declines accepting it, he may do an injury to his neighbours and to his successors. I had experience of this kind when I lived at Dover. I had only my salary to live

"In the spring of 1789 the reconciliation between Adams and Hancock, which had taken place socially in 1787, became of political significance, and their names were now brought forward together for the two leading offices of the commonwealth. Their long alienation had been the fountain of wide-reaching enmities among their friends; that is, among the influential men in Massachusetts. Taken in connection with other questions,



*S. Adams*

it had helped to determine local politics in Boston, and only gave place to the more absorbing state issues raised by Shays's Rebellion, which, in turn, at the close of the insurrection, were soon merged in the grand question of a stronger federal government. This union of the two chiefs was therefore a matter of much public interest, the more so as the relative importance of their respective Revolutionary services had lately been the subject of a noted newspaper discussion." John Hancock was again elected to the governorship, which dignity he had held since 1780, with the exception

of two years, during which James Bowdoin was governor, and which he continued to hold until his death in 1793. Samuel Adams was chosen lieutenant-governor, in place of Benjamin Lincoln, who had succeeded Thomas Cushing the year before. "The public pleasure at seeing the two proscribed patriots and signers of the Declaration of Independence reconciled was testified in various ways, and the election tickets, some of which are still preserved, bear their names ingeniously printed in letters of gold. Perhaps, too, the omission of Adams from any participation in the national government, either by appointment or popular election, had some weight in the result."<sup>1</sup>

upon. A rich neighbouring minister had a less salary than I, but was able to live independent of his people; and one year, in the course of paper money, he gave up his salary at a time when I was

struggling to have mine made good. It had an ill effect on my people."—*Belknap Papers*.]

<sup>1</sup> Wells's *Life*, vol. iii. pp. 282, 283.

The legislature attached a salary of

Upon the adoption of the Federal Constitution, only one name was thought of in connection with the presidency, but it was not so easy to agree upon a candidate for the vice-presidency. Why Samuel Adams was not placed on the ticket with George Washington has been well explained recently by an historical writer : —

There would have been the most striking poetic justice in coupling with the name of Washington that of Samuel Adams, since these two men had been indisputably foremost in the work of achieving the independence of the United States. But for the hesitancy of Samuel Adams in indorsing the Federal Constitution, he would very likely have been our first vice-president and our second president. But the wave of federalism had now begun to sweep strongly over Massachusetts, carrying everything before it, and none but the most ardent Federalists had a chance to meet in the electoral college. Voices were raised in behalf of Samuel Adams. While we honor the American Fabius, it was said, let us not forget the American Cato. It was urged by some, with much truth, that but for his wise and cautious action in the Massachusetts convention the good ship Constitution would have been fatally wrecked upon the reefs of Shaysism. His course had not been that of an obstructionist, like that of his old friends, Henry and Lee and Gerry ; but at the critical moment — one of the most critical in all that wonderful crisis — he had thrown his vast influence, with decisive effect, upon the right side. All this is plain enough to the historian of to-day. But in the political fervour of the election of 1789, the fact most clearly visible to men was that Samuel Adams had hesitated, and perhaps made things wait.<sup>1</sup>

On the 14th of June Samuel Adams became a member of the Old South. He brought the following letter of commendation : —

At a meeting of the church of Christ in Brattle-Street, Boston, June 7 1789.

Our brother Samuel Adams who, in the year 1742, was admitted to full communion with this church but who, for many years past, has

about five hundred dollars to the office ; and this sum, with the insignificant fees arising from his membership in the council, constituted the entire public income of Mr. Adams for some years.

<sup>1</sup> [Fiske's *Critical Period of American History*, p. 347. In the vote of the electoral college in 1797, Mr. Adams stood fifth on the list, having been preceded by John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas

Pinckney, and Aaron Burr. Mr. Wells says : " The honor was unsolicited, and was probably due, if not to the direct influence of Jefferson, at least to that of some of the old Revolutionary friends of Adams in Virginia, who were of the Jefferson school of politics, then rapidly growing in power." The vote of Virginia was for Jefferson for president and Samuel Adams for vice-president.]



congregated and communed with the church in Summer Street, being desirous to enter into a more immediate connexion with the church under the pastoral care of the Revd. Mr. Joseph Eckley ;

We do hereby recommend him to the charity and fellowship of the said church, as he hath always (so far as is known to us) conducted agreeably to his covenant engagements.

Attest

PETER THACHER,

Pastor of the church in Brattle Street.

Boston June 8 1789

Mr. Adams graduated at Harvard College in 1740, and, May 2, 1742, joined the church in Brattle Street, of which Dr. Colman was then the minister. In 1749 he married Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Checkley, pastor of the New South, whose ministry he attended for many years. There were considerations of convenience as well as family reasons for this, as his home prior to the Revolutionary War was in Purchase Street. We infer from Mr. Thacher's letter that he had been worshipping for some time at the Old South, when at length he was desirous to enter into a more immediate connection with it.<sup>1</sup> In doing this, he was but returning to the religious home of his ancestors. His father was a member there from 1706 to 1715 ; his mother,<sup>2</sup> Mary (Fifield), was baptized there in 1694, and became a member in 1711. Her mother,<sup>3</sup> Mary (Thurston), was a member from 1690 until her death in 1713. Mary Thurston's father, Benjamin Thurston, and her grandfather, Robert Walker, were founders in 1669.<sup>4</sup>

In a sermon on the Religious Character of Samuel Adams, preached December 21, 1873, from the text, "Who through faith subdued kingdoms," Dr. Manning said :—

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wells's statement on this subject is not strictly accurate. He says : "Owing, it is said, to some circumstance displeasing to him, which occurred at the New South, or Summer Street Church, where he had worshipped from childhood, he removed about the year 1792, to the Old South, which he attended ever after."—Wells's *Life*, vol. iii. p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> Of Mrs. Adams, Mr. Wells says : "The mother of Samuel Adams was a woman of severe religious principles, and she early embued her children with reverence for the Christian virtues which she practised. To the scrupulous attention of his parents to devotional objects must have been greatly due the religious

turn of mind which was a prevailing trait throughout the life of the son."

<sup>3</sup> Of Mrs. Fifield, Judge Sewall said at the time of her death (March 3, 1712-13) : "She was a diligent, frugal, chaste woman."

<sup>4</sup> "I dined yesterday in company with Lieutenant Governor A. ; and he talked about 'personal and domestic rights,' as in his late public speech. The liberty of the press is so valuable in his view, that he had rather be abused in print than that liberty should be abridged. Security of person and property, and trial by jury, were also mentioned as necessary to be considered."—Belknap to Hazard, June 14, 1789.

If you turn to the list of members in our church, which has been kept from the beginning, you will there find, among the admissions for June 14, 1789, the name of Samuel Adams. It stands in small Roman letters, undistinguished by any mark from the names of two other persons admitted the same day.<sup>1</sup> Oh, what a beautiful witness to the equality which we all enjoy in the Church of Christ is that simple name, standing without prefix or suffix, without note or comment, with no honorary title or hint of greatness, just as every other name should, and as most do, in the long succession! "One is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren," says that record, — the record of a name which just now, more than any other in our national history, is spoken everywhere with reverence, and covered with glowing eulogy.<sup>2</sup> Dear old church, ever true to the least as to the greatest of her children! May God teach us to love her more; and to seek membership in her, not for the sake of any personal advancement, but, that she alone, together with Christ who is head over all things to her, may be exalted. . . . For some thirteen years, — till the Master called him to a higher worship, — he was a devout worshipper in this church. His whole daily life, and all his writings, show that he was full of the sturdy faith, and spirit of devotion, which animated the first settlers of New England. No easy-going doctrinal standards could lay the basis of such a character as his, or impart the moral strength and nerve which he brought to his mighty task in life. . . .

He lived before the day of Sabbath schools; but his eminently social spirit, and interest in the young, indicate that he would have been one of the foremost in that blessed work, had the opportunity been offered him. His own children, and all the members of his household, were gathered about him regularly, on the Lord's day, to recite the Assembly's Catechism, and to be instructed out of the Word of God. He observed family worship twice each day, as constantly as the morning and evening returned. No pressure of public business was permitted to interfere with this duty. Oftentimes there were guests in his house, not sympathizing with him in his religious views; yet their presence made no difference. They were compelled to breathe the heavenly atmosphere of his house; and to hear the blessing invoked, and the thanks returned, before and after each meal. In the sanctuary his seat was never vacant, no matter who the preacher might be, or what the state of the weather. He came to church to worship God. He always walked with his family, both to and from the plain

<sup>1</sup> [John Sweetser and Nehemiah Somes. They were already active members of the society. Captain Somes married Elizabeth, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Dawes, deacon, but she had died prior to this, in 1787. He was a prominent merchant, and part owner, in 1779,

of the privateer *Arctic*, of John Manly's fleet.]

<sup>2</sup> [A statue of Samuel Adams had just been contributed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to the National Gallery of Statuary in the Capitol in Washington.]

meeting-house, disdaining any distinctions, — such as were in that day common to men of his high standing before the world. He was a singer; and sat with the choir, often selecting the tune, and leading in that part of public worship. I think it should give dignity to this service of song, in our eyes, and that those of us who conduct it should feel its importance and solemnity, when we remember that Samuel Adams, the greatest of American patriots, was at one time the devout leader of our choir.

There were sixteen admissions to the church in 1789, which was a larger number than in any year since 1756, when there were forty-four, and larger than in any year afterward until 1811, when there were twenty. Dr. Wisner says that the congregation was not large during this period. The times were not favorable to church growth and activity.<sup>1</sup> Most of the admissions were on confession of faith, and many of the new members were baptized children of the church.

#### Lords Day 21 June 1789

A letter was communicated to the brethren from the Church in Concord in the State of New Hampshire, requesting the presence and assistance of the Old South Church by its Pastor and other Delegates, at the Installation of the Rev: Israel Evans on the 1st day of July next.

The Pastor and Deacons, his Honor Lieut: Governor Samuel Adams, Mr. John Sweetser, Mr. Samuel Whitwell, and Capt. Nehemiah Somes, were chosen to attend on the occasion.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Mr. Evans was a native of Pennsylvania, and graduated at Princeton in 1772, in the same class with Mr. Eckley. His father and grandfather were settled ministers in this country, and his great-grandfather was a minister in Wales. He was ordained in Philadelphia in 1776 as chaplain in the American army. From 1777 till the close of the war he was chaplain in the New Hampshire brigade, and by means of this connection he was introduced to the church in Concord.<sup>2</sup> His classmate,

<sup>1</sup> "Only fifteen Congregational churches were planted in Massachusetts during the last decade of the eighteenth century, a smaller number than in any like period for the previous ninety years." — Clark's *Hist. Sketch*, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Sprague's *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 138.

Mr. Hazard wrote to Dr. Belknap, March 10, 1780: "I have lately received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Tennent of

Greenfield, in Conn. an extract from which will probably be pleasing to you, as it will in some measure gratify your curiosity respecting the Western Expedition. He writes: 'Our good friend, Mr. Evans, has been with us several days. He read us his Journal of the Expedition to the Westward, which is highly entertaining. The difficulties of their march were many and great. . . .

Mr. Eckley, preached the installation sermon from 2 Cor. iv. 7, "We have this treasure in earthen vessels;" and, in addressing the pastor-elect, said:—

Will you permit me to remind you that the great object of our preaching should be the salvation of men's souls. The more heart-searching our discourses—the more they contain in them of the distinguishing articles of Christianity—the more earnestly we represent to our hearers, the evil, the delusion, and danger of sin, and endeavour to lead them to the blood of the Cross; the more we shall be likely to fulfil our ministry with honour and success. It is a poor course of sermons which treats chiefly of the social duties, or the virtues which men might practise as philosophers, if they had heard nothing of the nature of redemption through a Mediator: And he is a poor Preacher, who does not give abundant evidence that his highest pleasure is to dwell on the theme of Jesus Christ and him crucified.

Fast Day 7 April 1790.

The Brethren of the Society were desired to stay after public Service in the Afternoon. The accounts of the annual Committee were read and accepted. The Society voted to proceed to the choice of a Committee in the usual manner for the ensuing year. The following persons were chosen by written votes, Vizt. Messrs. Whitwell, Sweetser, Salisbury, Oliver, Deming, Col. Waters, Capt. Somes, Dr. Scollay and Mr. Thayer.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

We have referred to the fact that nearly all the Presbyterian churches in Massachusetts had become Congregational. While this tendency was in progress some of the Congregational ministers were gradually Presbyterianizing the denomination, by the introduction and adoption of methods designed to limit and embarrass the free action of the churches in their choice and settlement of pastors, thus undermining the very foundation principles of Congregationalism. We quote on this subject as follows, from an unquestioned authority:—

In one respect, however, there had been a steady divergency from the old Congregational way, to what, about this time, became a fixed usage, namely, the examination and certified approval of candidates for the sacred office, by clerical associations. This was the only

They destroyed about a hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn, and four or five hundred huts, some of which were elegant for Indians. The expedition has been important, and, perhaps, in its consequences equal to almost any which we have made since the com-

mencement of the war.' This Mr. Evans was one of the chaplains to that expedition, and is a sensible, judicious man, and a good preacher. He formerly preached occasionally in the New South, at Boston, and has lately had an invitation to return to Boston again."



thing in the celebrated "Proposals" of 1705 which survived the scathing satire of Mr. Wise in the "Churches' Quarrel Espoused." Letters of commendation from experienced pastors, which a young minister would naturally take when going among the churches as a candidate, gradually assumed the form and authority of credentials, till, in 1790, the convention of Congregational ministers virtually made them necessary, by recommending that only those bearing such papers from clerical bodies be admitted to the pulpits. Thus the business of testing the qualifications of a young man for the ministry silently and gradually passed from the churches to the clergy, where the sole responsibility now rests, — whether wisely or not no one ever asks.<sup>1</sup> It is understood, however (or should be), that such credentials are intended to express merely the approbation of those who give them; and that no Congregational association claims, *or ever can rightfully claim*, the authority implied in the word license, which, in later years, has inadvertently crept into our associational nomenclature.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. John Scollay died on the 15th of December, aged seventy-nine. He and his wife became members of the church in 1736.<sup>3</sup> He had been one of the selectmen of the town for thirty-six years. In a newspaper notice it is said: —

As a professor of Religion, he always discovered his attachment to the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel, and in the many Ecclesiastical Councils, to which he was called, it appeared on all proper occasions, how much he esteemed the institutions and mode of Worship, adopted and recommended by the venerable Fathers of New England. The departure of such a Relative — such a Member of Society and the

<sup>1</sup> [After the lapse of many years, the brethren are beginning to ask this question.]

<sup>2</sup> [Clark's *Hist. Sketch of the Cong. Chhs. in Mass.*, p. 228. This concentration of power in clerical hands had been strengthening itself gradually for many years. Dr. Colman said to his people in an address prepared for their guidance in 1715, when they were about to choose a colleague pastor: —

"We find, I say, the Judgment of the Bishops join'd with the *Suffragium universæ Fraternitatis*: with the Vote and Election of the Brotherhood; which is agreeable to our own Practice, for we chuse none but whom the neighbouring Pastors consent and agree in; to whom we present them for Ordination." — Turrell's *Life of Colman*, p. 112. But Dr.

Colman should never be quoted as an authority on the Congregational polity. He said late in life: "I have always openly owned myself something of a Presbyterian under our Congregational form." And again: "The Consociation of Churches is the very Soul and Life of the Congregational Scheme, necessary to the very *Esse* as well as *Bene* of it; without which we must be Independent, and with which all the good of Presbyterianism is attainable." — *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 107.]

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Mercy Scollay died in October, 1793, aged seventy-five. Priscilla, daughter of John Scollay, married, August 30, 1774, Major Thomas Melvill, who was a prominent and patriotic business man. Another daughter, Mary, married, as we have seen, the Rev. Thomas Prentiss.

church of Christ, must be regretted : But his Friends have this consolation, that he met his death not only with the calmness and fortitude of a man ; but with the humble submission and animated hopes of a Christian.

Fast Day 31 Mar. 1791.

The Brethren of the Society stayed after the religious service of the Afternoon. The Accounts of the last Annual Committee were exhibited and accepted, votes were then called for a Committee of nine for the ensuing year, and the same persons were elected as on the year preceeding.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Authorities differ as to the precise date when, and under what circumstances, slavery ceased to exist in Massachusetts. Whether it was abolished by the declaration in the Bill of Rights in 1780, or by a judicial construction of this declaration, a few years later, by which it was made the instrument of virtual abolition, we need not inquire here. The slave trade was prohibited in 1788. We infer that Mr. Eckley stood with Dr. Gordon and Dr. Belknap as a friend of the African race. He preached a sermon on Thanksgiving Day, 1791, from Psalm cxlvii. 14, "He maketh peace in thy borders, and filleth thee with the finest of the wheat," in which he predicted the freedom of the blacks throughout America. "In a few succeeding ages," said the preacher, "it will scarcely be credited that human beings, because of the complexion of their skin, were used as slaves like beasts of burden." In the same sermon he predicted the future growth and greatness of his adopted country : —

I fancy I see new cities rise, on the banks of rivers, now untrodden except by beasts of prey. Where the forest is unexplored, the well cultivated field presents itself to view, and commerce and agriculture vie . . . and display their united charms. In the anticipated prospect, I behold the millions of inhabitants which the western world is capable of containing, statesmen and politicians, philanthropists and divines rising innumerable among them, improving them in manners, and exalting them in mind.

Fast Day 29th March 1792.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were desired to stay after the public service of the day.

The Accounts of the Annual Committee were exhibited and accepted. It was then voted to proceed to the choice of an annual Committee of Nine for the Year ensuing, to take the care and direction of the temporal affairs of the Society as usual. The written votes were counted, and it appeared Gentlemen were chosen Samuel

Whitwell, Samuel Salisbury, John Sweetser, Andrew Oliver, John Deming, William Phillips Junr. Nehemiah Somes, William Scollay, and Josiah Waters.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Mr. Eckley preached the annual sermon before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company on the 4th of June. His parishioner, Colonel Josiah Waters,<sup>1</sup> commanded the corps, and another parishioner, Brigadier-General John Winslow,<sup>2</sup> received his commission in the afternoon, for the ensuing year.

Mr. Eckley's text was Psalm lxxxv. 11, and the subject of his discourse was the latter-day glory, or the establishment of the kingdom of truth and righteousness on the earth, when all oppression shall cease, and the universal prevalence of religion shall commence. We quote a single paragraph, in which allusion is made to the planet Uranus, discovered in 1781 :—

I must take occasion here to congratulate my respected hearers, not only on the present political state of their country, but on the circumstance of their having lived in an age, when, as among the heavenly bodies, a newly discovered planet, through the penetration of an Herschel, was added to the system of which the earth is part, so the United States of America, by a weighty movement in the great order of human things, were at the same time brought forward to the admiring gaze of all the sons of freedom, and, amidst their acclamations, took rank among the nations of the world.

There were several cases of small-pox in Boston this autumn, and the inhabitants were much alarmed. Town meetings were held in Faneuil Hall to consider methods of prevention, and at one of them, October 9, the concourse of citizens was so great that it was found necessary, as in the early Revolutionary days, to adjourn to the Old South.

Sabbath Day 17 March 1793

A letter was read from the third Church in Roxbury requesting the presence and assistance of this Church at the Ordination of Mr.

<sup>1</sup> "My friend and neighbour, Waters, has given me a memorandum for a book of military exercises, which he wishes you would get for him as soon as possible, and let him know the price. He is an ardent lover of military matters; and I suppose wants to introduce something new into the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company before he goes out of office, which will be the first Monday in June." — Belknap to Hazard, May 15, 1788.

Col. Waters lived in Newbury Street, between Summer Street and Rowe's Lane. He was chosen lieutenant of the artillery company in 1787, and captain in 1791. He was the treasurer of the company for several years.

<sup>2</sup> For John Winslow as a young man, see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 190, note. As late as 1789, he was a partner with his uncle, Deacon Jonathan Mason, at No. 12 Cornhill.

Thomas Gray on the 27 instant to succeed the Rev. Dr. William Gordon, its last Pastor.

The Deacons, his Honor Lieut: Governor Samuel Adams, Mr. Samuel Whitwell and Mr. Samuel Salisbury were chosen to attend, with the Pastor, on the occasion.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Dr. Gordon returned to England in 1786, and the pulpit at Jamaica Plain was vacant for several years.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Belknap supplied it for a time, before his settlement at Federal Street, and Dr. Gordon would have been glad to have him for a successor. Mr. Gray graduated at Harvard College in 1790, in the same class with Josiah Quincy, Josiah Waters, Benjamin Whitwell, and Samuel Welles. He joined the Old South in 1792, and took a letter of dismission to the Jamaica Plain church, at the time of his settlement there. The ordination sermon was preached by Mr. Eckley from 2 Cor. i. 24: "Not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy." Mr. Jackson, of Brookline, gave the charge, and Mr. Bradford, of Roxbury, the right hand of fellowship. Mr. Gray's ministry was a long and successful one.<sup>2</sup>

#### Fast Day April 11. 1793

The Brethren of the Society were desired to stay after service of the Afternoon. The accounts of the Annual Committee were read and accepted. Voted to proceed to the choice of an annual Committee of nine for the usual purpose. The written votes were counted, and the following Gentlemen were found to be elected, John Deming, Samuel Whitwell, Samuel Salisbury, John Sweetser, Andrew Oliver, William Phillips Junr. Nehemiah Somes, Josiah Waters and William Scollay.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Mr. Eckley received the Doctor's degree in 1793 from the College of New Jersey. Mr. Lathrop had received the same honor from Edinburgh in 1785, and Mr. Thacher in 1791.

#### Lords Day 17 November 1793

A letter was communicated from the Hon William Phillips Esq. senior deacon of the Church and Treasurer of the Society, requesting

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gordon came from England in 1770, and in 1772 was installed first pastor of the church at Jamaica Plain.

<sup>2</sup> When the division took place in the Congregational body, Mr. Gray went with the liberal party. A sermon preached by him, September 23, 1821, from 1 Cor. iii. 4, 22, is an exposition, in

very fair and moderate terms, of the differences between Calvinists and Arminians, and between Trinitarians and Unitarians.

Mr. Gray married Deborah, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Stillman, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Boston. He survived until 1847.



the acceptance of his resignation of both those offices on account of his intention to remove for the present and reside at Andover.

Voted to accept the resignation for the reason assigned.

Voted unanimously that the Pastor and Deacon Mason and Deacon Dawes be a Committee to write a letter in behalf of the Church to the Hon. Mr. Phillips now at Andover, informing [him] of the compliance of the brethren with his request, and returning him their thanks for his faithful and good services in both of the offices which he has for a course of years so honorably sustained.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

(A letter was written.)

Mr. Phillips lived until 1804.

On the death of John Hancock, October 8, 1793, Samuel Adams became acting-governor, and in the month of January following was elected to the chief magistracy of the commonwealth, which office he held for three years. He lived in a large old-fashioned frame-house on the south side of Winter Street. It was "a substantial-looking structure, built early in the last century, and was perhaps older than its proprietor. It was of three stories, and had been painted yellow; but, according to some of the family, its clapboarded sides looked dingy and weather-worn. From the front door, which was of oaken panels and ornamented with a brass knocker, there was but a single step into the street; and the windows of the lower story descended to within two feet of the ground. Over the arch of the front entrance, and almost touching it, was a large bow-window. The windows, with this exception, were small. The dwellings above and below on that side of the street were of the same style, saving two or three small shops, one of which, a baker's, stood next, west of Mr. Adams's house. In the rear of the residence was a paved court-yard and a garden adorned with flowers and shrubbery."<sup>1</sup> A neighbor, Dr. Waterhouse, says:—

The then salary of the Governor of Massachusetts, if our memory serves, was a thousand pounds currency, or three thousand, three hundred and thirty three dollars—but a very small sum towards enabling the incumbent of the gubernatorial chair to follow the example in style and hospitality set by Mr. Hancock, who lived and entertained like a prince. Mr. Adams possessed neither carriage nor horses, but he had been elected Governor only a few weeks, when some gentlemen of

<sup>1</sup> Wells's *Life*, vol. iii. pp. 332, 333.

The house was taken down about the year 1820, and upon its site was erected the residence of John Randall, M. D., who married Elizabeth Wells, a grand-

daughter of Samuel Adams. The only son of the patriot, Samuel Adams, (Harv. Coll. 1700), M. D., died unmarried, January 17, 1788, at the age of thirty-seven.

Boston presented the venerable patriot with a new and handsome chariot and a pair of as handsome horses as there were in the city. The first use he made of his equipage shows the man in a point of view too rare not to be admired. Seating himself beside his venerable lady, they drove to Constable Hewes's, where the Governor alighted, and, handing Mrs. Hewes into the seat, the two old ladies drove off together, while he stayed and talked with his old friend.<sup>1</sup>

On retiring from public life in 1797, Mr. Adams returned the carriage and horses to the donors.

Lords Day 26 January 1794

A letter was read from the New South Church requesting the presence and assistance of this Church at the Ordination of John Thornton Kirkland on the 5 of February next.

The Pastor and Deacons, Mr. John Deming, Mr. Samuel Whitwell, and Mr. John Sweetser were chosen to attend on the occasion.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Mr. Kirkland was a son of the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, a missionary among the Indians in Central New York. He was educated at Phillips Academy, Andover, where the Hon. Samuel Phillips was his patron, and at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1789. He taught for a time at Phillips Academy, and then at Cambridge, studying theology at the same time, until he was called to the New South Church. Dr. Tappan preached his ordination sermon, and his father gave the charge. Dr. Belknap gave the right hand of fellowship.

Lords Day 16 March 1794.

The Brethren of the Church were desired to stay after the assembly was dismissed in the afternoon.

It was proposed and Voted that the Church would elect two new Deacons, to serve with the two Gentlemen now in the same office. Also a Treasurer in the room of the Hon: William Phillips Esqr lately resigned.

Voted that Monday the 24 instant be assigned for this business ; of which the Pastor is requested to give publick notice on the Sabbath preceeding.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Monday 24 March. 1794.

The Brethren of the Church met according to appointment for the purpose of coming to the choice of two Deacons and a Treasurer.

After prayer had been offered by the Pastor, written ballots were given in. On counting the same, it was found that Samuel Salisbury Esqr. and William Phillips Jun. Esqr. were chosen as Deacons ; and

<sup>1</sup> [Wells's *Life*, vol. iii. p. 331.]

Jonathan Mason Esqr. the present senior Deacon, was chosen as Treasurer — the whole by a great majority of Votes.

Voted that the Treasurer now elected be authorised, on the settlement of the Accounts of the last Treasurer agreeably to his desire expressed at the time of his resignation, to receive the money in his hands belonging to the Church and Congregation, with the Notes, Bonds, and other Securities, being the property of the Society.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

It is worthy of mention that the two newly elected deacons, as well as the two already in office, were baptized children of the church.<sup>1</sup>



Samuel Salisbury, son of Nicholas and Martha (Saunders) Salisbury,<sup>2</sup> married Elizabeth, daughter of Deacon Samuel Sewall, and granddaughter of the Rev. Dr. Sewall. He and his brother Stephen were partners, and were among the largest wholesale importers in the town. Stephen removed to Worcester, where he was very successful and was much respected. Samuel continued in Boston, but during the Revolutionary War he resided with his family at Worcester. He re-

turned to Boston in 1783, and became a member of the Old South in 1790. William Phillips, son of the late deacon of the same name, was one of the pillars of the church for a third of a century. Twenty-three years passed before there was another election of a deacon or deacons, and then the choice fell upon Josiah Salisbury and Edward Phillips, sons of the two deacons chosen in 1794.

<sup>1</sup> "1725. May 16. Jonathan, of Benjamin and Elisabeth Mason."

"1731. Aug. 8. Thomas, of Thomas and Elisabeth Dawes."

"1739. Nov. 25. Samuel, of Nicholas and Martha Salisbury."

"1750. April 1. William, of William and Abigail Phillips."

<sup>2</sup> Martha was a daughter of Josiah

and Rebecca (Elbridge) Saunders. Tradition says that Nicholas Salisbury fell in love with her at sight at the Old South. They were married October 1, 1724. We are indebted to Professor Edward E. Salisbury for a copy of the original portrait of his grandfather, Samuel Salisbury, by Gilbert Stuart (1811), from which our cut is taken.

Fast Day the 17th April 1794.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed after the public services of the Day. The Accounts of the Annual Committee were read and accepted. It was then Voted to proceed to the choice of a Committee for the year ensuing to take the direction and care of the temporal affairs of the Society as usual. On counting the written Votes it appeared that the following Gentlemen were elected Vizt. John Deming,<sup>1</sup> Samuel Whitwell, Samuel Salisbury, John Sweetser, Andrew Oliver, William Phillips Junr. Nehemiah Somes, Josiah Waters, William Scollay.

JOS. ECKLEY.

Lords Day 3d August 1794.

The Brethren of the Society were desired to stay after the Service in the Afternoon to consider what measures should be taken to assist the needy and distressed sufferers by the great fire which happened on the preceeding Thursday [? Wednesday] commencing at the Rope Walks near Fort Hill. It was voted that a Committee of the Old South Society should be chosen to join the Committees expected to be chosen by the other religious Societies in the Town, and consult with them concerning the most speedy and effectual measures requisite to be adopted on the present occasion; and if thought proper immediately prepare and hand round subscription papers to be signed by all those who were charitably disposed. The Deacons were appointed to be of this Committee together with John Sweetser Benjamin Clark and Capt. Bradley.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Remarks. On the present occasion the members of the Society did not subscribe by themselves as before; but the papers were carried by the several Committees to the inhabitants of the Town in their respective Wards. As much money was collected by this method as by the former. On Sabbath afternoon the 10th August at the request of the Committee, there was a collection to give an opportunity to those who had not signed the subscription paper, to add their mite in the general donation.

The burning of seven rope-walks and other adjacent property, July 30, 1794, was one of the memorable events in the history of the town of Boston. These walks occupied the whole west side of Pearl Street, between Milk and High streets, and were owned respectively by Messrs. Howe, Richardson, Emmons, Codman, McNiell, Davis, and Torrey. The weather had been warm and dry, and the hemp, cordage, and tar on storage made a furious fire. A large number of shops and dwellings were burned, a hundred families were turned out of house and home,

<sup>1</sup> [November 24, 1775. "In the after- [Stoughton,] in his way to Col. Grid-noon, uncle John Deming called here, ley's." Price's diary during the siege.]



and a hundred or more mechanics were deprived of daily employment. The newspaper of the day following stated the loss at £100,000, but this may have been an overestimate. To prevent future disaster of a similar nature, the townspeople granted the flats at the bottom of the Common — “the old Round Marsh” — for the erection of new rope factories in place of those destroyed, on condition that no more should be built upon the old site. Thirty years later, under the mayoralty of Josiah Quincy, this property was bought back by the citizens, and is now the Public Garden, of which their descendants are so proud.<sup>1</sup>

Monday the 11th Jan'y 1795.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation met agreeable to notification on the preceeding day. The Brethren taking into consideration the high price of all kinds of provision the Year past —

Voted unanimously that their Treasurer be directed to present their Revd Pastor Doctor Joseph Eckley with the sum of Fifty pounds Lawfull Money, out of the monies in his hands belonging to the Society.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Chron.*, July 31, 1794; Bowditch's *Gleaner Articles*, Nos. 16 and 17; and Shurtleff's *Topographical Description of Boston*, pp. 355, 356. In 1793 there were fourteen rope factories in Boston.

<sup>2</sup> [Dr. Eckley was very methodical in his own affairs, as well as in keeping the records of the church. In one of his memorandum books we have an account of the presents which he received at this period, from which we quote :—

“1788. A large Cheese from Col. Ward, 12/. A dozen Madaira Wine, Mr. Wells, 1. 10/. A dozen Madaira Wine, Mr. Salisbury, 1. 10/. Given by Deacon Phillips at Convention time, 3. 0. 0. Given by Jona. Mason Junr. at baptism of his child, 1. 4/. Two bottles of Capers, two of Sallad oil, by Mr. Dan'l Oliver, at baptism of his child 8/. A dozen Claret Wine, Mr. Wells, 18/. Two loafs Sugar, 20lb, Mr. Arnold Wells, 1. 0. 0. A loaf Sugar, and a Cheese, Mr. Whitwell, 19/. A sparib of Pork, Mr. Breed, 4/. A pair Worstead Gloves, Mr. Pierce, 2/6. A dozen Madaira Wine, Mr. Salisbury, 1. 10/. Total in 1788, £12. 17. 6.”

“1790. A sparib and bag Biscuit,

Mr. Breed, 10/. A Guinea and pair Silk Gloves by Mr. Phillips Junr. at baptism of child, 1. 15/. Pair fine Silk Gloves, Mr. Dowse, at wedding, 7/6. A 100 dol. bank note, presented me by Deacon Phillips in his own behalf, 30. 0. 0. A ring at Col. Jackson's funeral, 12/. A Cheese from Col. Ward, 8/6. A ham of Venison, Mr. Coverly, 4/. Two pair Silk Stockings, Mrs. Sweetser, 1. 10/. From Deacon Mason, after Miss Betsy's death, 3. 0. 0. A pair Cotton Velvet Small Cloaths, Mr. Archibald, 3. 0. 0. A pair worsted ribbed Gloves, Mr. Pierce, 3/. Total in 1790, £41. 10. 0.”

“1791. A bag of Biscuit and Sparib, Mr. Breed, 9/. A fine Cloth Cloak, a Hat, two pair of Silk Stockings, and one, worstead, being presented by a number of ladies, towards which was given by Mrs. Whitwell, 4 dollars, Mrs. Sweetser, 6, Mrs. Quincy, 8, Mrs. Mason, 10, Mrs. Phillips, 10, and Mrs. Powell, 10, in all 48 dollars, 14. 8. 0. A piece of Linen to Mrs. E. from Miss Bromfield, 3. 12/. Half Johannes, from Miss Foxcroft, 2. 8. 0. Two Guineas from Mr. Phillips Junr. at baptism of his child, 2. 16/. Half Barrel Flower, Mr. Hyslop, 16/. Total in 1791, £24. 9. 0.”

Voted, That the Deacons be impowered to employ some suitable person to collect the arrears of contribution due on the several Pews in the meeting House.

JONA. MASON, Moderator.

Fast Day 2d Augt. [*sic*] 1795.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were desired to stay after the service of the afternoon. The Accounts of the Annual Committee were exhibited and accepted. No new Committee was chosen at this time.

JOS: ECKLEY.

Sabbath Day 6th Sept. 1795.

The Brethren of the Society stayed after the Blessing was given. The resignation of Jesse Houghton of the Office of Sexton was made and accepted.

Voted, That the Deacons be desired to make enquiry for another person as Sexton and that Jesse Houghton be requested to continue to perform the business of the Office until the Society be otherways provided for.<sup>1</sup>

Voted, That the Treasurer Deacon Jonathan Mason, be requested, untill further directions, to pay Mr. George Trott *annually* the sum of Fifty Dollars for his weekly services in conducting the Musick of the Society.

JOS: ECKLEY.

Lords Day 27 September 1795.

The Brethren of the Church having been desired to stay after the assembly was dismissed, a printed Proposal, properly authenticated, from a great number of Churches, particularly in the State of Connecticut, was communicated by the Pastor — inviting the concurrence of other Churches in *this* and *other parts* of the United States, in a Concert of Prayer, accompanied with other religious exercises, every Quarter of a year, in the afternoons of the first Tuesdays in January,

"1793. Fifty Dollars in bank bills, presented to me by a particular friend, Mr. Wm. Hyslop, 15. o. o. A dozen Taunton Ale, Mr. Salisbury, 14/. Three half Johannes, presented to me by Mrs. McKean, late Mrs. Crane, for the children, 7. 4. o. A Tea Carry and Tea, Mrs. Dowse, 1. 10/. A Hat, from Mr. Phillips, Junr. 2. 8/. Two barrels Cyder, Col. Ward, 1. 10/. A barrel Flower, Mr. Phillips Junr. 2. o. o. Total in 1793, £30. 6. o."

"1794. A dozen Taunton Ale, Mr. Salisbury, 14/. A sparib and bag biscuit, Mr. Breed, 6/. A small Ham, Mr. Sweetser, 6/. 17 Bush. Potatoes at 1/2½, Mr. Whitwell, 1. 1. o, 10 Bush.

Turnips at 1/., Mr. Whitwell, 10/. Presented to the Children by Mrs. Flinn, 2. 18. o. A piece of linnen, and two pair Silk Stockings, presented by Mrs. Sweetser, 6. o. o. A barrel Apples, Governor Adams, 10/. Two Barrels Flower, Mr. Phillips Junr. at 54/. p bar. flower being very dear, 5. 8/. Twenty five dollars, Deacon Mason, 7. 10/. Total in 1794, £25. 3. o.

"N.B. Owing to the high price of all the commodities for living, £25 this year is not of more value than £14 or £15 in a few preceding."

<sup>1</sup> [Jesse Houghton and his wife, Elizabeth, joined the church February 27, 1785.]

April, July and October — for the revival of Religion, and the out-pouring of Gods Spirit on the People of America, as well as other places of the World.

It appeared by attested documents, that a great part of the Churches in America South of Massachusetts, as well as a number of Churches in England and Scotland, had come into the measure.

Voted that this Church approves of and will unite in the same.

Voted that the Old South Church shall be opened for publick service, on such of the proposed Quarterly days as may hereafter be judged expedient; when the Members of this Church with the Minister, will join with the Members and Ministers of the other Churches in the Town, who may agree to meet together for worship on these stated days, and on this same interesting occasion.<sup>1</sup>

Voted that there be publick Worship in this Church on the first Tuesday of October next at 6 o'Clock P. M.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Monday Jan. 18. 1796

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Society — Voted, That the Treasurer be desired to pay the Rev. Doctor Eckley One Hundred pounds L. M. on Account of the high price of produce the year past, out of the Monies in his hands belonging to the Society.

Voted, That one of the Brethren be chosen to collect the arrearages due the Society from the Pews, and Brother Deming was chosen for that purpose.

JONA. MASON Moderator.

Lords Day 11th Dec. 1796.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed after the service in the morning and Voted, That there should be a collection on the Thanksgiving Day the 15th instant for the benefit of the poor of the Society. Also, Voted, That a meeting of the Church and Congregation should be on Monday the 19th instant at 11 o'clock A. M. to consider of other matters relating to the Society.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Monday 26th Decr 1796.

At a Meeting of the Old South Society held by adjournment from the 19th instant, few members having then attended on account of badness of weather —

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Wisner says that a Concert of Prayer had been extensively observed in Great Britain and in this country for a series of years, in consequence of a proposal from a number of ministers in Scotland, in 1744, for "united extraordinary prayer to God, that he would deliver the nations from their miseries, and fill the earth with his glory." The proposal was seconded by the publication, in 1746, of a work by the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, designed to promote "explicit agreement and visible union among God's people in extraordinary prayer." The custom prevailed in many churches for more than half a century, and was only discontinued on the establishment of the more frequent Monthly Concerts for the same purpose, first proposed by a Baptist association in England in 1784.]

Voted, To present One Hundred pounds L. M. to the Rev. Doctor Eckley as a compensation for the high price of produce.<sup>1</sup>

Voted, That the Treasurer be requested to pay the above named sum out of the Money in his hands.

Voted, That the Deacons be requested to take security of Mr. Wells for the Celler, and to warn him out if they think proper.<sup>2</sup>

JONA. MASON Moderator.

Sabbath Day 2 July 1797.

A letter was communicated from the Church in Concord, State of New Hampshire, requesting the presence and assistance of the Old South Church, by its Pastor and other Delegates, to take into consideration the proposition of the Rev: Israel Evans to obtain a Dismission from his pastoral relation with the said Church, and to act on the same.

The Brethren voted that in consideration of the short notice given of the time of the meeting of the Council (appointed to be on the 5th instant) as well as of the distance between Boston and Concord, the Pastor be desired to write a letter, requesting the Church at Concord to excuse the Old South Church from attending on the occasion.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

N. B. A letter was immediately written.

Mr. Evans continued to reside in Concord until his death in 1807.

Sabbath Day 23 July 1797.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation after Service of the Afternoon, a letter and memorial were read from the Presbyterian Church and Society in the City of Savannah and State of Georgia, representing the melancholy situation of the people occasioned by awful Fire the preceeding Winter, by which their Church and great part of the dwelling houses in the City were destroyed, and requested pecuniary aid, for the purpose of rebuilding their Church, they being unable to do it themselves.

Voted, That there shall be a Collection next Sabbath, being 30 July, in the Afternoon, and that the pastor be requested to read the aforementioned letter and memorial, before the blessing be given at the close of the morning service, in presence of the whole Congregation and give public notice of the Collection intended. JOS: ECKLEY.

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Eckley's salary at this time was £4 a week, in gold or silver money, with firewood and the use of the parsonage. Twice in 1796 a grant of £100 in lawful money was voted to him.

At a meeting of the First Church, Boston, July 11, 1797, Dr. Clarke's salary

was raised to \$14 a Sabbath for the year ensuing, with twenty cords of wood, and a grant of \$300 was voted to him.]

<sup>2</sup> [In the Directory of 1796 we find "Thomas Wells, wine cellar, Milk Street." He had been a tenant for several years.]



At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Society Jany. 22 1798, Monday A. M. —

Voted, That there be paid to the Rev. Doctor Eckley One Hundred pounds L. M. over and above his stated salary for the Year Past on Account of the advanced price of provisions ; and that the same be raised by an assessment on the pews.

Voted, That the Assessment on the Pews for the last year 1797 be 50 p Ct. The Pews that are assessed for their weekly contributions at 2/. p. Sabbath to pay £2. 12. 0, those at 1/8, £2. 3. 4, those at 1/6, £1. 19. 0, those at 1/4, £1. 14. 0, those at 1/2, £1. 10. 4. The Above assessment to be paid as soon as is convenient, being the one half of what is assessed on each pew for 1797 and is over and above the sum that has been paid, or is now due.

Voted, That a paper be put into each pew, in the forenoon of the next Lords Day, mentioning the No. of the Pew, and the amount of the Sum the said pew is so assessed. And if sufficient reasons can be given by the present occupier of the pew, why the said sum should not be assessed, owing to the *non occupancy* of the Pew the *whole* of the last year, by applying to the Deacons, there shall be a proper abatement. And, it is requested, that the occupier of the Pew do put *his* or *her* name and No. of the Pew on the sum that is put into the Box, so that it may be separte from the stated Contribution, in order to prevent mistakes.

Voted, That the Deacons be a Committee to obtain an estimate of the expense of repairing the Steeple, and such other parts of the building as may be found necessary : and to devise some plan for raising a sum sufficient for the said purpose, and report their doings at the adjournment of this meeting, which is to be on the third Monday of March next in this place at 11 O'Clock A. M. notice thereof to be given the preceeding Lords Day. THOMAS DAWES Moderator.

Dr. Clarke, who had been sole pastor of the First Church since the death of Dr. Chauncy, was attacked with apoplexy, while preaching in his pulpit, Sunday afternoon, April 1, and died the next morning, at the age of forty-two, and in the twenty-first year of his ministry. "In his religious views" he "was understood to be an Arian ; but, like so many other liberal ministers of that period, he rather rested in the 'negative conviction that the doctrine of the Trinity is not a Scripture doctrine than in any positive view of the subject.' In the early part of his ministry he inclined to the doctrine of final restoration as laid down by Dr. Chauncy, but in the latter part preserved strict silence on that subject."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ellis's *History of the First Church*, pp. 211, 212.

The Hon. Jonathan Mason, senior deacon and late treasurer, died May 5.<sup>1</sup> In a newspaper notice,<sup>2</sup> it is said of him :—

This amiable and good man was a native of Boston, and descended from a respectable and worthy family. By honest industry and honorable punctuality in his dealings, he acquired, from humble beginnings, an affluent fortune, and attained that reputation which is of far greater value than property.

Many years since, he was called by his fellow citizens to fill several important offices in the town. As a Selectman and an Overseer of the poor, he did himself honor, and the town service. In our late revolution he took a decided part with his country, and aided its exertions by his influence and interest. He rejoiced in its independence, and to his last moment was a warm, decided and intrepid friend to its constitutions and national honor.

Mr. Mason was not obtrusive, nor ever took pains to acquire places of popularity, but his merit was not disregarded. While he was a Representative in the General Court (to which place the free suffrages of his fellow citizens called him repeatedly) he did justice and honor to his constituents and the Commonwealth. The last year he was chosen a Senator for this County and a Counsellor to the Executive. In these stations he proved himself to be a man of judgment, coolness and fortitude. He did not sacrifice his opinions meanly to others, nor did he manifest an obstinacy which is too often called decision and firmness. The true interests of his country he discerned and pursued.

His charities were large and extensive. They were not public or ostentatious, but they were liberal. Some of them which he carefully concealed, will now be known. Many a poor man will know his benefactor only by his loss.

Mr. Mason was a serious, devout Christian. He honored the institutions, the ministers and the precepts of christianity. The Church, of which he was an Officer, has lost one of its warmest friends, and one of the most exemplary of its members. The doctrines, the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, he loved in life; and they gave him firm hope, patient resignation and sometimes sublime joy on the bed of death. "He glorified God upon earth, and finished the work which was given him to do."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the record of April 3, the word "deceased" against Mr. Mason's name must have been added at a later date.

<sup>2</sup> *Col. Centinel*, May 12, 1798. Dr. Eckley preached a funeral sermon from 1 Cor. iii. part of the 21st and 22d verses: "For all things are yours, whether . . . life or death, all are yours."

<sup>3</sup> [Mr. Mason's first wife, Miriam (Clark), died June 5, 1774, in her fiftieth

year. The *Mass. Gazette*, June 9, contains a warm tribute to the excellence of her character, and to her good works in the church and the community.

Mr. Mason's second wife and widow, Mary, daughter of Hugh Vans, and granddaughter of the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, third minister of the church, survived until 1820. She joined the church in 1755, while Mr. Prince was

Tuesday 3d April 1798.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation adjourned to this day, The Report of the aforesaid Committee [the deacons] was laid before them. It was the opinion of the Committee that the repairing of the Steeple would cost fifteen hundred Dollars, and that it would be proper to open a subscription in the Society for raising this money.

Voted, That a subscription be opened for this purpose.

At said meeting of which previous notice had been given William Phillips Junr. Esqr. was chosen Treasurer of the Society in the room of the Hon. Jonathan Mason Esqr. Deceased.

THOMAS DAWES Moderator.

A subscription paper was prepared, as follows :—

Whereas it is found necessary to make sundry repairs to the Steeple and other parts of the South meeting House in Marlborough Street and also to the Ministerial House, which upon calculation will probably amount to fifteen hundred dollars—We the Subscribers do promise to pay unto the Deacons of the South Society or their order the sums affixed to our names when by them demanded : to be applied for the purpose of said repairs.<sup>1</sup>

BOSTON April 5th 1798.

still living, and she witnessed the termination of eight of its pastorates, six by death and two by resignation. Mrs. Huntington, a few months after the death of her own husband, the Rev. Joshua Huntington, wrote :—

December 30, 1819. "Mrs. Mason is probably within a few days of her long expected, long desired rest. The removal of her beloved shepherd, though she acquiesced, and, on his account, rejoiced in the dispensation, was like a blow at the root. The effects of the stroke evinced its heaviness. And the dear woman will not remain long behind him she loved so sincerely."

March 17, 1820. "Mrs. Mason, also, precious saint, is gone! She now understands perfectly the 'need be' of her pastor's removal; an event which she spoke of at first as 'a cloud without one ray of hope.'"

<sup>1</sup> [This paper, in the handwriting of William Phillips, Jr., has recently come into our possession. It bears the following subscriptions: William Phillips, Senr., \$300, Jonathan Mason, \$130, Ben-

jamin Clarke, \$60, Josiah Quincy, \$50, Samuel Salisbury, \$100, William Phillips, Jr., \$100, Thomas Dawes, \$60, Samuel Whitwell, \$30, Joseph Peirce \$30, William Breed, \$20, Elizabeth Gray (widow, as we suppose, of William Gray, and mother of the Rev. Thomas Gray), \$20, Susan Kneeland, \$30, John Winslow, \$20, Samuel Coverly, \$25, Samuel Bradley, \$10, Jeremiah Bumstead, \$15, George Paine, \$20, Ephraim Copeland, \$15, John Ballard, \$20, Samuel Harris, \$5, William Homes, \$5, William Whitwell, \$3.75, Thomas Barry, \$4, Nicholas Pierce, \$15.

Josiah Quincy (president of Harvard College from 1829 to 1845) was baptized by the Rev. John Hunt, February 16, 1772. He married in 1797, but continued to live with his mother—Abigail, daughter of William Phillips, Senr., and widow of Josiah Quincy the patriot—in a house in Pearl Street given to her by her father, until her death, March 23, 1798. He attended upon Dr. Eckley's ministry until this time or later. On the 4th of July, 1798, he delivered the annual patriotic oration in the Old South Meet-

Dr. Eckley preached a sermon on Thanksgiving Day, November 29, from Gal. v. 1: "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free." The times were critical. The excesses and horrors of the French Revolution were in fresh remembrance. Bonaparte was in Egypt,<sup>1</sup> and was soon to return to France and to become First Consul. All Europe was in arms, and it was no easy matter for the United States to maintain a strict neutrality. Said Dr. Eckley: "Whilst at the zenith we have discerned the aspect of our political sky to be enlivening and clear, we have heard the distant rumbling thunder; and in the horizon we may now see the forked lightnings shoot their fire. Never has there been a time more urgent than the present, in which the *duty* has been strengthened by the *necessity* of defending the privileges communicated by our gracious Lord." The young republic, he said, had seen "its treaties violated, its commerce plundered, its envoys insulted, its inhabitants threatened;" but what the preacher deplored even more was "the uncommon advancement of irreligion, both theoretical and practical," throughout the land.

Fast Day 4th April 1799.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed after service in the Afternoon.

Voted that the Deacons be a Committee to endeavour to obtain by subscription a sum sufficient for the purpose of opening a School for improvement in singing.

Voted, That seven persons from the Church and Congregation be chosen as a Committee for a Year to attend to the concerns\* of the Society. The following persons were chosen, Vizt. Mr. Homes, Copeland, Coverly, Judge Dawes, Winslow, Thurston and Pierce.

Voted, That the said Committee take into consideration the propriety of building a number of Stores on the land belonging to the Society adjoining the meeting House, and make report of their proceedings and opinion when they are prepared.

ing-House. His daughter, Mrs. Robert C. Waterston, thinks that about the year 1800 he removed from the Old South to the New South; he continued at the latter church until Dr. Kirkland was called to the presidency at Cambridge, and then joined Federal Street Church, of which Mr. Channing was the minister. "When my grandmother, Mrs. Morton," writes Mrs. Waterston, November 3, 1886, "came to live with us in 1820, she had a seat offered her by Mr. Phillips, in his

pew [the front pew in the right-hand aisle], and one of us, her granddaughters, always went with her on Sunday morning. How well I recall the Old South as it looked then! Like everything else, it is changed, and not for the better!"

Josiah Quincy, the patriot, also, was baptized at the South Church: "1743-4, Feb. 26. Josiah, of Josiah and Hannah [Sturgis] Quincy."

<sup>1</sup> Nelson had won the battle of the Nile on the 1st and 2d of August, 1798.



Voted, That the same assessment be laid on the Pews for the Year 1798 as for 1797, for the purpose of supporting the public Worship.

THOMAS DAWES Moderator.

N. B. 250 Dollars was presented to the Minister as an addition to his Salary for the year 1798.

On the 28th of May, 1799, the Massachusetts Missionary Society was organized with the Rev. Nathanael Emmons, of Franklin, for its first president. Its original object, as set forth in the second article of the first constitution, was "to diffuse the knowledge of the Gospel among the heathens, as well as other people in the remote parts of our country, where Christ is seldom or never preached," — an object, says Dr. Clark, comprehending the whole range of foreign and domestic missions, as the work was then understood. The same breadth of design was retained, when, in 1804, that article was so amended as to read: "The object of the Society is to diffuse the Gospel among the people of the newly settled and remote parts of our country, among the Indians of the country, and through the distant regions of the earth, as circumstances shall invite, and the ability of the society shall admit." "Its membership and patronage were derived wholly from ministers and churches familiarly called 'evangelical,' as distinguished from others named 'liberal,' — terms at that time interchangeable with Calvinist and Arminian, though each embraced persons of considerable theological difference."<sup>1</sup>

Sabbath Day 7 July 1799.

A letter was communicated from the Church in Federal Street (formerly called Long Lane<sup>2</sup>) requesting the presence and assistance of this Church on the 10th instant at the Ordination of Mr. John S. Popkin as successor of the Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap, deceased.

The Pastor and Deacons were chosen to attend on the occasion.<sup>3</sup>

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

<sup>1</sup> Clark's *Hist. Sketch*, pp. 229, 230.

<sup>2</sup> [The State Convention, called for the purpose of passing upon the Federal Constitution which had just been submitted to the States for their approval, met in 1788 in Dr. Belknap's meeting-house in Long Lane, the name of which was then changed to Federal Street. The meeting-house, which was of wood, was built in 1744, and taken down in 1809, when a new one of brick, and Gothic in style, was erected in its place.]

<sup>3</sup> [The letter missive, signed by Francis Wright, Henry Homer, Thomas Davis,

John Davis, Thomas Lamb, Thomas Thompson, and Russell Sturgis, was in the following terms:—

"*Honoured and Beloved*

"As it has Pleased the Great Head of the Church to preserve our Peace and Happiness (as a Society) in our destitute state since the Death of our late worthy Pastor, and to lead us to the Choice of Mr. John Snelling Popkin to take the Charge and oversight of us in the Lord, and him to accept our united invitation —

"These are therefore to desire your Presence and Assistance, by your Pastor

Dr. Belknap was attacked with apoplexy, June 20, 1798, and died in a few hours. He had had premonitions of a sudden death, and had made preparation for it in the arrangement of his papers and the settlement of his domestic affairs. His ministry in Boston was a successful one, and he left a permanent impression upon the best thought and culture of the town.

He was an evangelical preacher, but his sermons were filled with a rich variety of observations on human life and manners. He never aimed at a splendid diction, but a vein of piety ran through his discourses, and his style was uncommonly elegant and perspicuous; his arrangement clear and luminous, and his language adapted to the subject. He was sure to gratify equally the taste of the best judges of composition, and the humble inquirers after truth. He had a great readiness in quoting and applying texts of Scripture, and had read much of casuistic, systematic and polemical divinity; but he chose to give every sentiment a practical turn, and to diffuse that wisdom which is profitable to direct.<sup>1</sup>

The enduring monument of this distinguished man of Old South lineage and training is the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which he was the founder. The mantle of Thomas Prince would seem to have fallen on him.

The Historical Society have lost their most laborious and diligent member, and the founder of their institution. No man had ever collected a greater number of facts, circumstances and anecdotes, or a more valuable compilation of manuscripts, which might give information and entertainment to all those who wish to know the history of their own country.<sup>2</sup>

Sabbath Day 6 October 1799.

A letter was communicated from the first Church, requesting the

and Delegates on Wednesday the Tenth day of July next to join with other Churches in Solemnly Separating him to the Work of the Gospel Ministry. Wishing Grace, Mercy, and Peace may be Multiplied to you and all the Churches, we Subscribe your Brethren in the Gospel" —

Dr. Eliot "delivered a liberal, judicious and appropriate sermon" from 1 Cor. xiii. 1. Dr. Howard gave the charge, and Mr. Kirkland the right hand of fellowship. On the day following, Mr. William Collier was ordained as a Baptist minister in Mr. Baldwin's meeting-house. "Select choirs of vocal per-

formers at both places of worship gratified polished and attentive audiences with several pieces of exquisite music. The decorum of the spectators of the solemnities marked the liberality of the times, and the urbanity of the people; while it demonstrated that the seeds of French Philosophy, though plentifully sown will not vegetate in the true American soil." — *Col. Centinel*, July 13, 1799.]

<sup>1</sup> [*Ibid.*, June 25, 1798.]

<sup>2</sup> [*Ibid.* He was the first of the original members of the society to die. His friend Ebenezer Hazard stands first on the list of corresponding members; he was elected May 29, 1792.]

presence and assistance of this Church by the Pastor and such other Delegates as might be chosen, at the Installation of the Revd. William Emerson on the 16 instant, as successor in said Church of the Rev: Dr. John Clarke, deceased.

The Deacons, Mr. Samuel Whitwell, Mr. Samuel Bass, Mr. William Holmes, were appointed to attend, with the Pastor, on the occasion.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Mr. Emerson was a son of the Rev. William Emerson, of Concord.<sup>1</sup> He was ordained pastor of the church in Harvard in 1792, but seems never to have been "quite at home" there. His removal to Boston, however, was strongly opposed, very much as Dr. Thacher's removal from Malden had been in 1785. The Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, of Lancaster, preached the installation sermon; the Rev. Ezra Ripley, of Concord, gave the charge, and Dr. Thacher the right hand of fellowship.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 77.



## CHAPTER VI.

1800-1808.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE OLD  
SOUTH PROPERTY. — THE  
RIGHTS OF THE CHURCH  
THEREIN.

**E**ARLY in the year 1771, the church and congregation had appointed a committee to make estimates for the erection of a block of stores on the vacant land between the old parsonage and

the meeting-house. The times, however, were then unfavorable for carrying the plan into execution. The merchants of the town had entered into the non-importation agreement; the troops had fired with fatal effect upon the crowd in King Street; and the conflict between the representatives of the people and the representatives of the Crown was constantly growing in intensity and bitterness. Not until the close of the century were the brethren in a position to build upon their vacant land, which was now in the business centre of the town. As the old parsonage had been demolished, there was ample room for five stores instead of the block of three originally proposed by Mr. Dawes.

Fast Day 3 April 1800.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stay'd after the service in the Afternoon. It was agreed in consideration of the interesting business which was before the Society that a Clerk should be chosen to write the Votes which might be passed.

Gen. John Winslow was chosen for this business.



The report of the Committee chosen in the preceeding year and appointed to take into consideration the right and propriety of building a number of Stores on the land belonging to the Society adjoining the meeting House, was read twice by the Moderator. It is as follows:—

“BOSTON March 20. 1800

“Your Committee having met together at different times, to examine and consider the business referred to them by the South Society, are of opinion it would be for the interest of said Society to erect on the Land belonging to them, fronting the main Street, Five handsome brick stores, agreeable to a plan, exhibited some time since by the Hon. Thomas Dawes Esq.

“Your Committee wishing to be possessed of the opinion of able Lawyers, respecting the Society’s right of building on said Land, given by Mrs. Norton, have called on Theophilus Parsons Esq. Attorney at Law, whose opinion they have in writing, which is, that said Society have a clear right to make use of said land in any way they please as said land in the opinion of your Committee, cannot be improved, to the benefit of said Society in any way better than by erecting said Stores, it appearing by estimate that the expense will not exceed Ten thousand Dollars to complete them, and they may be rented without any difficulty to good tenants for the sum of two thousand, or two thousand five hundred Dollars p annum, which will give an interest of from twenty to twenty five p ct. for their money. If this statement is a true one and the society’s money can be borrowed for erecting said buildings, and if the society pays the Interest for the same at the rate it is now said to produce, which is nine p ct. there must then remain an overplus of from eleven to sixteen p ct. which would enable the society amply to pay, with the present Tax on the Pewes, not only the present minister, but an additional one, provided the Society should chuse to expend it in that way, in doing which it is the opinion of your Committee the views of the donor not only of the Land, but those also who have left Legacies from time to time will be fully answered, as the poor of said society will have as much as they now receive, and the other will be laid out in pious uses for the support of public Worship. All which is submitted,

p. Order

WM. HOMES Chairman.”

After the foregoing Report had been duly considered on at a numerous meeting of the Society, the question was moved for and put, whether the same shall be accepted.

Voted, To accept the same, nemine contradicente.

Voted, To come to the choice of a Committee for the ensuing Year. Mess. Joseph Peirce, Joseph Eaton and William Phillips Jun. were appointed to collect and sort the votes.

Voted, That said Committee shall consist of five members of the Church and four of the Congregation for the ensuing year.

The following persons were declared to be chosen Vizt. John Sweetser, William Homes, Samuel Coverly, Ephraim Copeland, Daniel Bowen,<sup>1</sup> John Winslow, Thomas Dawes Jun. Andrew Oliver and William Scollay.

Voted, That there be a Committee of five to examine into the State of the Society's funds, and report the sums of Monies and their different appropriations. The following persons were chosen, John Winslow, William Scollay, John Sweetser, Thomas Dawes Junr. and Joseph Peirce.

Voted, That the meeting be adjourned to such time as the Committee to examine into the State of the funds shall appoint, and the said Committee is requested to make report as soon as possible

JOS: ECKLEY.<sup>2</sup>

April 22. 1800.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation met at the desire of the Committee chosen to examine the State of the Funds.

The Committee made the following Report.

"Boston 18th April. Your Committee appointed to examine into the State of the funds of the Old South Church and Congregation, to endeavour to find from what source they have arisen, and the intentions of the donors, have attended that business, and beg leave to report, that on examining, they find them to have arisen as follows —

[Here follows a statement of particulars, showing the total of £880. 11. 0.]

<sup>1</sup> [For an account of Daniel Bowen, proprietor of the Columbian Museum, and his portrait, see a monograph on his nephew, Abel Bowen, the wood engraver, in the *Collections of the Bostonian Society*, vol. i. No. 2, pp. 31, 32.]

<sup>2</sup> [The opinion of Mr. (afterward Chief Justice) Theophilus Parsons was as follows:—

Mary Norton by her Deed executed April 1, 1669 conveyed a lot of land in Boston to Thomas Savage and others and their associates who are now the Old South Society in Boston, to them, their heirs and successors forever, for the erecting an house of public worship, and also a parsonage House for their Ministers, and for the accommodation of the parsonage and also of the Meeting house with convenient passages — *And for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever.* The Grantees entred under the said conveyance, and they and their successors have ever since been seized of the

premises. On the same they erected a Meeting house and two parsonage houses. One of the Parsonage houses has been down for some Years, and the site of it is vacant ground.

Question. Can the Society erect buildings or stores on that vacant site, to let out for the purpose of applying the Rents for the Support of Public Worship, and for the benefit of said Society.

Answer. As the conveyance is to the Grantees their Heirs and Successors forever, without any words of condition or limitation annexed to the fee, it is my clear opinion that the Society may erect the buildings or stores, aforesaid, for the said purposes, — that the words "and for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever" contain only a *direction*, a deviation from which will not defeat the title of the Society.

(Signed)

THEOP. PARSONS.

March 14. 1800.]

"This was in possession 1766 and at Interest, and has been used ever since. The war coming on in about nine Years after this time, and the monies remaining during that period must have accumulated considerably. After peace came in the money was generally called in and invested into public funds, where it now remains and is as follows, Vizt.

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| Massachusetts Bank Shares, 16 at \$500 each . . . . .         | \$8000.00   |
| Forty two and $\frac{1}{2}$ Shares Union Bank @ \$8 . . . . . | 340.00      |
| Saml Hinkley & Co Bond . . . . .                              | 416.66      |
| Three p ct. Stock . . . . .                                   | 4935.75     |
| Eight p ct Stock . . . . .                                    | 600.00      |
| Five and $\frac{1}{2}$ p ct Stock . . . . .                   | 1000.00     |
| Massachusetts State Note 5 p ct . . . . .                     | 709.37      |
| Deferred Stock of the United States . . . . .                 | 60.93       |
|   | <hr/>       |
|   | \$16,062.71 |

"All which is Submitted p Order

JNO. WINSLOW, Chairman"

Voted, That so much of the monies in the hands of the Treasurer belonging to them as Church and Congregation be borrowed and improved by erecting the Five Brick Buildings on the Land belonging to them agreeable to a vote passed the 3d of April last.

Voted, That a special Committee of five be balloted for, to contract for and procure the materials necessary for building the Stores. Mr. Andrew Oliver and Samuel Coverly were appointed to receive and count the Votes.

It appeared that the following persons were chosen on this Committee, Vizt. The Hon. Thomas Dawes Senr. William Phillips Jun. Esq. John Sweetser Esq. Gen. John Winslow, and Col. William Scollay.

Voted, That the Committee of *Nine* persons, five of the Church and four of the Congregation have the same powers as their Committee was possessed of in 1787.

Voted, That a Committee of five, three of the Church and two of the Congregation, be desired to apply to the Trustees — The Minister and Deacons, for the loan of the sum necessary to defray the expences of building the Stores. Joseph Peirce, John Sweetser, Samuel Coverly, John Winslow and William Scollay were chosen.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

May 11th 1800.

At a meeting of the brethren of the Church and Congregation,

Voted, That the Committee appointed on the 22d April last to borrow monies of the Minister and Deacons to defray the expences of erecting stores on the Society's land be hereby discharged from that duty, and it is

Voted, That the Minister and Deacons be requested, and they are hereby authorized, to pay and deliver from the money of the Church and Congregation to the Committee of Contractors appointed on the 22d of April and to any other Committee that may be employ'd to erect said Stores, all such sums of money as may from time to time, be found necessary by such Committees for building said Stores ; said Committee rendering regular Accounts thereof to said Minister and Deacons, so that it may appear how much of said money shall be transferred and charged from their present situation to the property in said stores. And whatever money shall be so paid and delivered shall be considered as having been duly accounted for by said Minister and Deacons, the present Trustees thereof. And the said Minister and Deacons shall at all times be entitled to receive so much of the rents and income of said Stores as shall amount to 6 p Ct per annum upon the moneys they shall pay and deliver as aforesaid, to the end that they may be enabled to appropriate the same in like manner as the Interest of said monies has heretofore been appropriated, according to the pious intentions of the donors thereof.

And as it is highly probable that the rents and incomes of said Stores will exceed the rate of 6 p Ct per annum upon said monies, by reason that the value of the land will be added to the value of the Stores, it is therefore Voted, That whatever rents and income said Stores shall produce over and above the legal interest on said monies, shall go into the hands of the Treasurer distinct from any other funds of the Society, and shall be used and applied for the purposes set forth in the Committee's report of 20th March last, and which was accepted the 3d day of April last, in such manner as the Church and Congregation shall from time to time vote and determine ; or for such other ecclesiastical purposes as they shall order.

Whereas on the 3d day of April last the Society came into the resolution of building Five Stores according to a plan exhibited by the Hon. Thomas Dawes Esq.

Voted, That in the article of the Depth of said Stores, proposed in said plan to be *forty feet*, the Committee for erecting the Buildings be authorised to make an alteration if on further consideration they shall Judge it proper.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Sabbath Day 21 Sept. 1800.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed after the service in the Afternoon and agreed to meet on Tuesday the 23 Inst. at 4 O'Clock PM. in order to act on some business relating to the New Stores, now almost completed, and also to consider the subject contained in a Report to be made by the Annual Committee respecting the Singing.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.



Sept. 23. 1800.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation met according to appointment. John Sweetser was chosen Moderator and John Winslow Clerk of the meeting.

The Committee reported that the money raised for carrying on the Singing of the Society, by subscription is 188 Dollars, the Accounts settled up to the 7th Inst have taken that sum except \$9. 38 cents which now remains in Mr. Coverly's hands.<sup>1</sup>

Voted, that the Standing Committee (the Annual Committee of nine) be directed to agree with Mr. Jennison, either for once or twice a week as they shall see best, for Six months to come, and they be directed to draw on the Treasurer, for the expenses of the same to be paid out of the funds of the Society that are or may be in his hands.

Voted, That it is the opinion of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation that the powers already vested in the standing Committee extend to the letting the New Stores erected upon the Society's land, and that they are hereby requested and directed to attend to the same business conformably to the directions of the Society.

Voted, That the Standing Committee shall not permit any person or persons to occupy either or any of the New Stores belonging to the Society, unless Bonds shall be first given to the Treasurer for the use of the Society for the punctual payment of the Rent Quarterly with sufficient security in the opinion of the same Committee or a Sub Committee appointed for that purpose from their own body.

Voted, That the Standing Committee be authorized to lease either or any of the New Stores or any part of the land belonging to the Society for one or more Years as they shall think most for the benefit of the Society.

Voted, That the Standing Committee proceed respecting the Taxes due on the Pews agreeable to the method that has been pointed out, or as they shall think best.

JNO. SWEETSER Moderator.

Att. Jno. Winslow Clk.

March 31, 1801

At a legal meeting of the Society the Hon. Thomas Dawes was chosen Moderator and John Winslow Esqr Clerk.

The Standing Committee made the following Report —

Your Committee chosen in April last have examined the State of the Pews in the South Society — find due the Society by the owners of Pews the 1st January 1801 the sum of Eleven hundred and Twenty seven Dollars 58 Cents, since which time there has been paid seventy seven Dollars 93 Cents which leaves a ballance now due of One Thousand and forty nine dollars, sixty five Cents. It appears to your

<sup>1</sup> [The brethren had voted on the 31st of January, "to open a new subscription for the purpose of instructing the youth in the Society in Psalmody."]

Committee that many of said Pews have run out and of course revert to the Society agreeable to the Deeds given. The Amount of such Pews so run out, if sold at the Rates affixed to them at the original prices will be equal to the sum of Six hundred and eighty Dollars, the remaining sums may be partly Collected if a committee should be appointed for that purpose.

Your Committee would recommend that every Pew in said Meeting house which is not occupied by the Owner, should be let by either your Yearly Committee or by a Committee chosen for that purpose, who should be directed to take from under the hands of the person hiring, something to this effect,

Boston. . . . I the Subscriber do acknowledge to have hired Pew No — in the South Brick meeting house in Marlborough Street ; for the use of which Pew I bind myself, my Heirs, Executors and Administrators to pay every Lords day . . . while occupied by me, or till I deliver up the same to the Committee of said Society.

All which is submitted to the consideration of the proprietors,  
p Order of the Committee. JNO. SWEETSER Chairman.

BOSTON 25 March 1801

Voted, That the standing Committee be appointed to wait on all delinquents and request a settlement of the ballances which appear due from their Pews, and report of their doings at the adjournment to the 9th of April, being the annual Fast Day.

THOMAS DAWES Moderator.

Jno Winslow Clk.

April 9th. 1801

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Society held by adjournment, the Committee report that their Sub Committee had waited on Col. Waters, who has proposed to assign to the Society the following Pews as a discharge for the Taxes due on Pew No 44, up to the first of January 1801, Vizt Pew No 47 and 51 on the lower floor valued at fifty Dollars each — Pew No 95 in the Gallery valued at Thirty Dollars, and Pew No 124 in the Gallery, valued at Ten Dollars, which shall be received as his ballance up to the first of January 1801.

Voted, That the Society accept the proposals and direct the business to be done accordingly.

Voted, That the standing Committee for the present year be John Sweetser, Samuel Coverly, Thomas Dawes Junr. William Homes, Nehemiah Somes, John Winslow, William Scollay, Andrew Oliver and John M. Lane.

Voted, That the Standing Committee be authorized and directed to make sale of all the Pews that are run out, as soon as possible.

Voted, That Benjamin Clark, Samuel Salisbury and Joseph Peirce be a Committee to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer, and the

Accounts of John Winslow for building the five Stores called *South Row*.

Voted, That the Committee of the Society be authorized to agree with the Master to conduct the singing for six months to come.

Voted, That this meeting be adjourned to 28th April 1801.

THOMAS DAWES Moderator.

Jno. Winslow Clk.

April 28. 1801

At a meeting of the Society held by adjournment, The Report of the Committee on the Treasurers and on Mr. Winslow's Accounts was read and is as follows —

The Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer of the South Society and those of the Treasurer of the Committee for building the Stores now called *South Row*, Report, that they have attended to the business and find the Accounts to have been correctly kept and the following to be the Statement thereof in Treasurer Phillips hands, Vizt.

|   |               |
|---|---------------|
| Securities of various denominations in the Treasurers hands   | } Nominal     |
|   | } \$15,781.61 |
| Securities belonging to Legacies given for the Quarterly Charity Meeting whereof the Interest is occasionally distributed | } 1,807.39    |

Note. The particular species of Securities which compose the first mentioned sum of \$15,781.61 are as follows, vizt.

16 shares in the Massachusetts Bank, nominal value \$8000. [The specie value of the other securities represented by the amount of \$15,781.61 was \$5,221.40, but we omit the particulars. We also omit a statement of sundry balances in the hands of the Treasurer, amounting to \$1,358.93.]

Statement of John Winslow Esq. — Account for building the Stores.

|   |               |
|---|---------------|
| Amount of Accounts which he has paid which are well vouched | } \$14,065.90 |
| Amount of Cash he received from William Phillips Esq.       | } \$14,000.00 |
| Do for Lumber Old post &c sold                              | 40.10         |
| Ballance due John Winslow                                   | 25.80         |
|   | \$14,065.90   |

All which is submitted by

|                 |              |
|-----------------|--------------|
| BENJN CLARK     | } Committee. |
| SAML. SALISBURY |              |
| JOS: PEIRCE     |              |

BOSTON, Apl. 25. 1801

Voted, That the Report of the Committee on the Treasurers and Mr. Winslows Accounts be accepted.

Voted, That the Standing Committee be authorized to contract for and put up a fence at the South Corner of the Steeple, to the south-west corner of the Building to prevent nuisances, and they be further directed to continue the brick pavement from the New Stores to the Steeple Door.

Voted, That the monies that have, or that may arise from the Rent of the New Stores, be appropriated to the extinguishing the ballance of the Debt due for the building the said Stores after the sale of the several species of Securities which the Treasurer is hereby authorized to dispose of belonging to the Church and Congregation in his hands—the specie value of which is supposed to be Five thousand, Two hundred and Twenty one Dollars and forty Cents.

Voted, That the Treasurer of the Society be and he hereby is authorized and empower'd to pay to the Rev. Dr. Eckley, as a grant to him over and above his stated Salary, on Account of the late rise of provisions the Sum of Five hundred Dollars, out of the monies arising from the sale of the Pews that are forfeited to the Society.

THOMAS DAWES Moderator

Jno. Winslow Clk.

Thanksgiving Day 26 Novr. 1801.

On notification, the Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed after the Assembly was dismissed.

The Committee reported that they had made sale of a Number of Pews which had been forfeited to the Society agreeable to their Vote of 9th April last. The sum produced was six hundred and Thirty Dollars. Four hundred and Eighty eight had been paid to the Treasurer to enable him to present to the Rev. Doctor Eckley, Five hundred Dollars agreeably to their Vote; and there now remains in the Committees hands, One Hundred and forty two Dollars.

Voted, That the monies in the Committees hands be paid over to the Treasurer and that he be directed to present to the Rev. Dr. Eckley One hundred and thirteen Dollars and thirty-three Cents to make the sum of One thousand Dollars for each year 1799 and 1800 inclusive.

THOMAS DAWES Moderator.

Jno. Winslow Clk.

Mr. John Sweetser, chairman of the standing committee, died on the last day of the year 1801. He had been for a long time an active member of the congregation, but he did not become a member of the church until 1789, when he transferred his membership from the Second Church; his wife had been a member of the Old South since 1766.

In this town on Thursday evening last, after a distressing sickness, which he bore with the fortitude and resignation of a Christian, John



Sweetser Esq. aged 75. To paint the amiable virtues which he eminently possessed would require the pen of a panegyrist ; to those who knew him, it would be superfluous ; — and to those who had not the pleasure of his acquaintance, the sincere sorrow of all his friends will prove the best comment on his virtues.<sup>1</sup>

He was buried from “his mansion house in Newbury Street,” on Monday the 4th of January ; and on Lord’s Day, January 10, Dr. Eckley preached his funeral sermon from Rev. xxi. 5 : “And he that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new.”

Sabbath Day 4th. April 1802

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed after the service in the Afternoon. The following letter was communicated.

BOSTON 30th March 1802

REV. DOCTOR ECKLEY

*Dear Sir*

The rapid progress in the Sickness of my late Friend and Husband, prevented the accomplishment of a design of which you were by him particularly informed. You were also acquainted with my hearty concurrence in the proposal at the time of his indisposition. From respect to the declared Will of my departed Friend, in connection with my own sentiments and wishes, I now enclose to you for the Old South Church and Congregation the Sum of Six Hundred Dollars in order to purchase a large and handsome Glass Chandelier for their accommodation in the seasons of Evening Worship — provided it be agreeable to the Society to accept the same for this purpose.

With Sentiments of Esteem

I am Revd Sir

Your Sincere Friend

CATHARINE SWEETSER.

Voted, To accept the afore mentioned Six Hundred Dollars for the purpose Specified in the Letter.

Voted, That the Minister and Deacons be a Committee to wait on Mrs. Sweetser, and express to her the thanks of the Society for the generous donation.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Fast Day 8th April 1802.

The annual Committee presented the following report which was read —

The Committee of the South Church and Congregation chosen for

<sup>1</sup> [*Ind. Chron.* January 4, 1802.

Mr. Sweetser left no children. His nephew, John Sweetser Lillie, was a constant attendant with his family at the

Old South until his death in 1842, and his grand-niece, Catharine P. A. Lillie, was a member of the church from 1842 until her death in 1886.]

the last year having attended the business of the Society beg leave to report — that they have expended for the singing from April 1801 to April 1. 1802 Two hundred and Ninety One Dollars and 14 Cents, also the further sum of Two hundred Sixty three Dollars 37 Cents for completing the paving and for the New Fence at the West End of the Meeting House agreeably to the directions of the Society to said Committee in April 1801, all which accounts are in the said Committees books, and are now ready for inspection.

WM HOMES Chairman.

Voted, That the report of the Committee be accepted.

Voted, To proceed to the choice of a Committee for the present Year, and William Phillips, Josiah Waters and Andrew Oliver were chosen to count and sort the Votes.

William Homes, Samuel Coverly, Hon. Thomas Dawes Jun. Nehemiah Somes, William Breed, John Winslow, William Scollay, Andrew Oliver and Abraham Wild<sup>1</sup> were declared Chosen.

Voted, That Mr. Benjamin Clark, Samuel Salisbury, John Winslow, Joseph Peirce and Thomas Dawes Jun be a Committee to examine the Treasurers Accounts.

Voted, That the Rev. Dr. Eckley, Hon. Thomas Dawes Senr. Samuel Salisbury and William Phillips Junr. Esqrs. be a Committee to purchase and properly suspend in the Meeting House the Chandelier presented by the late John Sweetser.

Voted, That the Annual Committee be added to the Committee last chosen.

Voted, That the annual Committee be directed to examine what repairs are necessary to be done on the meeting house and the Rev. Doctor Eckley's house, and report the probable expence that will attend the same as soon as may be.

Voted, That the Committee be directed to make inquiry what the several Societys in Town have given their Rev'd Pastors for the five years last past — also what has been paid their Revd Pastor over and above his Salary for the same term of time.

Voted, That the singing be continued for six months to come.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Jno. Winslow Clk.<sup>2</sup>

In the month of July, 1802, a convention met in Northampton and organized the General Association of Massachusetts "upon a basis, substantially the same as the present, and recommended

<sup>1</sup> [Abraham Wild was a merchant on Eustis Wharf, and a member of the artillery company. He died in 1820. His son, of the same name, graduated at Harvard College in 1809, became a lawyer, and died in 1825.]

<sup>2</sup> [There is no record of the proceedings of the church and congregation between April 8, 1802, and April 4, 1805. These records were kept for many years by General Winslow. The church records were kept by the pastor.]

it to the eight district associations therein represented. But even of these eight, only five sent delegates to the first two meetings. For various and opposite reasons the recommendation was received with indifference or distrust by most of the ministers throughout the State." The friends of the measure, not discouraged, brought it before the convention of Congregational ministers in 1804, and a committee was appointed, of which President Willard was chairman, to correspond with all the district associations and to collect their views. From this correspondence, which has been preserved, two things, says Dr. Joseph S. Clark, are made evident: "first, that the General Association originated with the friends of evangelical religion, and was designed to strengthen their influence; second, that the anti-evangelical party were well aware of this, and took ground accordingly. All approved of a closer union and greater harmony among the ministers of Christ; but 'considering the state of religious opinions,' said one of the associations, 'the proposed measure for promoting harmony will be more likely to interrupt than to cement and perpetuate our union.' Said another, 'should the object of the motion in part be to agree upon some general uniformity in the articles of our faith, uniformity in our churches to certain rules and modes of discipline, there would be a vain attempt to do what never can be accomplished in the present age by all the wit, wisdom and goodness of man.'"

The Boston Association adopted a paper, May 5, 1805, in opposition to the plan. After expressing its approval of the "sentiments in which the proposal appears to have originated," — "in that the Christian harmony and friendly coöperation of the ministers of the gospel are concerns of high mutual benefit, and conduce generally to increase their usefulness in the church of God," — it proceeds to express its disbelief in the efficacy of the plan to promote either harmony or usefulness; as to coöperation, it considers the annual convention as sufficient for "mutual encouragement and assistance," the several associations as "highly conducive to the improvement, solace and excitement of individuals," and ecclesiastical councils as "a profitable and edifying communion" for ministers and churches. The result of endeavors to agree upon a doctrinal basis would be the "erection of barriers between those who at present are not formally separated," while "the bonds of union would be strengthened between those only who are already sufficiently cemented."

The Mendon Association, of which Dr. Emmons was the most distinguished member, refused to have anything to do with the measure, for quite another reason. Its position was: "Associationism leads to Consociationism; Consociationism leads to Presbyterianism; Presbyterianism leads to Episcopacy; Episcopacy leads to Roman Catholicism; and Roman Catholicism is an ultimate fact."

"As was predicted by the liberal party," adds Dr. Clark, "(and probably expected by the other), the consummation of this measure was the beginning of a separation between the Congregational ministers of Massachusetts, founded on doctrinal differences which had long before existed, and which afterwards by degrees widened into complete non-intercourse. The subsequent history of the General Association discloses many acts of great moment in their relation to Christ's kingdom, though the danger early pointed out of treading upon ecclesiastical ground has not been avoided in all their proceedings. Not always have the fundamental principles of Congregationalism been kept in mind when business, more pertinent to churches than ministers, has come up in these clerical meetings."<sup>1</sup>

The chandelier given by Mrs. John Sweetser, in behalf of her late husband, was put in position in November, 1802.

A large and elegant glass Chandelier is suspended in the centre of the Old South Meeting-House. It is a present from the late John Sweetser Esq. to the Society.

Tomorrow evening [December 5] a Quarterly Charity Lecture will be given at the Old South Meeting-House; when the elegant Chandelier lately hung therein will be lighted.<sup>2</sup>

Sabbath Day [May 1803]

A letter was communicated from the Church in Federal Street, desiring the presence and assistance of this Church by its officers and such other members as it might chuse to appoint, at the Ordination of the Rev: W. E. Channing on the                      as Successor of the Rev: J. Popkin dismissed.

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Sketch of the Cong. Chhs. in Mass.*, pp. 237-241.

<sup>2</sup> [*Boston Weekly Magazine*, November 13, December 4, 1802.

Mary Fleet says in her diary under date of November 6, 1802, that the cost of the chandelier was \$800.

When the society disposed of the old

meeting-house, it reserved the chandelier, with other objects of special interest; but, at the request of the present proprietors of the building, about two years ago, it entrusted it to their care to be hung in its old place. On the 23d of December, 1887, it fell to the floor with a crash, and was broken to pieces.]



The Pastor and Deacons, The Hon. Thomas Dawes Jun. and Mr. Jeremiah Bumstead were chosen to attend on the occasion.<sup>1</sup>

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

William Ellery Channing was a son of William Channing, a graduate of the College of New Jersey, and was born in Newport, Rhode Island, April 7, 1780. After graduating at Harvard College, in 1798, he returned to his home in Newport, and pursued his theological studies there for a year and a half. At this time, he saw much of the Rev. Dr. Hopkins, "and received deep impressions from the influence of his character and doctrines." His father's family belonged to the Second Congregational Church; but after Dr. Stiles, its minister, was called to Yale College, they attended for a time at the First Church, of which Dr. Hopkins was pastor. Speaking of this good man in after years, Mr. Channing said: "I need not be ashamed to confess the deep impression which his system made on my youthful mind. I am grateful to this stern teacher for turning my thoughts and heart to the claims and majesty of impartial universal benevolence."<sup>2</sup>

In 1800 Mr. Channing resumed his residence in Cambridge, having received an appointment in the university, and continued his studies under the supervision of President Willard and Professor Tappan. His exceptional power was recognized, and the Brattle Street congregation would gladly have settled him as colleague pastor, and, after Dr. Thacher's lamented death in 1802, as his successor. He gave the preference, however, to a call from Federal Street. His ordination took place June 1, 1803. The sermon was preached by Dr. Tappan; prayer was offered by Dr. Holmes and Dr. Osgood; the charge was given by the Rev. Henry Channing, of New London; and the right hand of fellowship by a classmate, Mr. Tuckerman, of Chelsea.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Popkin was afterward professor of Greek and Greek literature in Harvard College. He became an Episcopalian.]

<sup>2</sup> *Memoir of W. E. Channing*, vol. i. pp. 136, 142.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. George Ticknor, who went to this ordination with his father, Deacon Ticknor, then of Hollis Street Church, afterward of the Old South, has left an account of the impression made upon him as a boy, by Mr. Channing's appearance and manner: "The pale, spiritual looking young man, whose consecration

I had witnessed without really understanding its purport, rose and announced the closing hymn. My attention was immediately fastened on him; and particularly on his visible emotion, when he came to the last stanza:—

"My tongue repeats her vows,  
Peace to this sacred house!  
For there my friends and kindred dwell;  
And since my glorious God  
Makes thee his blest abode,  
My soul shall ever love thee well."

"His looks, the tones of his trembling voice, and the devout air with which he

The young preacher—he had just entered upon his twenty-fourth year—at once drew to himself hearers from the other congregations in the town, and, among them, several from the Old South.<sup>1</sup> Some of these returned in later years; but one, Jonathan Phillips, became his life-long parishioner and very intimate friend. Mr. Phillips, son of Deacon Phillips the younger, joined the Old South December 14, 1800. He had been in college three years with Mr. Channing, but his health had not allowed him to graduate. His name first appears as a pew proprietor at Federal Street in 1805; he was a member of the building committee in 1809, and, afterward, a deacon.<sup>2</sup> Another member of the class of 1798, Josiah Salisbury, son of Deacon Salisbury and brother-in-law of Jonathan Phillips, who transferred his attendance to the ministry of Mr. Channing, returned to the Old South, and, in 1817, was elected deacon, just a year before his father died.<sup>3</sup>

The tolling of all the church bells early in the morning of Sunday, October 2, 1803, announced to the people of Boston that Samuel Adams was no more.<sup>4</sup> He was in his eighty-second year. His strength had been failing during the summer; he was seen occasionally, walking in front of his house, but his steps were slow and feeble. He was perfectly conscious of his approaching dissolution, and he enjoined upon his family that there should be no parade or ostentation at his funeral. He was buried on the following Thursday, in the Granary burying-ground. The bells were tolled while the procession was in motion; the shops were closed in the streets through which it passed; the ships in the harbor wore their flags at half-mast, and minute guns were fired by the artillery companies and at Fort Independence. The Independent Chronicle, with its columns in mourning, speaking of Mr. Adams's death, said:—

repeated rather than read these lines, are still present to me whenever the scene comes up in my thoughts."—*Memoir of W. E. Channing*, vol. i. pp. 171, 172.

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Robert Wier came to the Old South from Federal Street, July 29, 1804. He was one of the "Proprietors' Committee" to give the call to Mr. Belknap in 1787.

<sup>2</sup> For a memoir of Jonathan Phillips, see *Memorial Biographies*, vol. iv. of the N. E. Hist. Gen. Society.

<sup>3</sup> Rebecca, daughter of Samuel Salisbury, and first wife of Jonathan Phillips, joined the Old South, April 8, 1792, with her sisters Martha (Mrs. Stephen Higginson) and Elizabeth (Mrs. John Leverett). It does not appear that Mrs. Phillips ever removed her membership to Federal Street Church. She died March 13, 1828.

<sup>4</sup> It was noted with interest by the friends of Mr. Adams, that his birth, baptism, and death, took place on the Lord's day.

The foe of tyrants in every form ; the friend of virtue and *her* friends, he died beloved, as he had lived respected. Admiring posterity, penetrated by a just sense of his transcendent merits, will emphatically hail him as the undeviating friend of civil and religious liberty, and the Father of the American Revolution.

The Rev. Thomas Thacher, of Dedham (son of Oxenbridge Thacher, the younger,<sup>1</sup> and brother of the Rev. Peter Thacher, of Brattle Street Church), preached a funeral sermon on the Sunday following, from the text : " A good name is better than precious ointment." We quote one paragraph : —

While we are employed in reviewing other laudable and distinguished traits in the character of this great man, it would be highly blameable to omit his reverence for the Supreme Being, his belief in Divine revelation, and his attention to every religious duty. His mind was early imbued with piety, as well as cultivated by science. But his religion was rational ; it was free from bigotry as from ostentation. It was known by its best effects, *i. e.* a life free from vice, and productive both of benevolent affections and undeviating morality. As he supposed the institutions of religion and its practical precepts produced this effect ; so no one was more uniformly steady than he in cultivating the practice of them. Accordingly, his family can attest the constancy of his morning and evening devotion, — the temple of the Most High God, his reverence for the Christian Sabbath, and the altar of Jesus Christ, his compliance with every ritual derived from the authority of Heaven. If he preferred the mode of divine worship in which he was born and educated to other religious institutions of antiquity, or to other forms in which Christianity has appeared, it was not from the prejudices of education, or mere mechanical habit ; but because he conceived our churches, when confined to their original design, were excellent schools of morality ; that they were adapted to promote the future happiness of mankind ; and because by experience he had known them a powerful auxiliary in defending the civil as well as religious privileges of America. In this mode of thinking he was instituted. The purity of his life witnessed the sincerity of his profession, and with the same faith he expired. The last printed production of which he was the author has given unquestionable proofs of his belief in, and respect for, our holy religion.

The production to which Mr. Thacher referred — the last writing of Samuel Adams of which any trace remains — was a letter to Thomas Paine, who returned to America in the autumn

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, son of Oxenbridge and Sarah Thacher, was baptized at the South Church, October 31, 1756.

of 1802, after an absence of fourteen years in France, and who, it was understood, would use his pen, as he had already done, in attacking the truths of revealed religion. Mr. Adams began his letter by acknowledging the value of Paine's political writings, for which he had esteemed him "as a warm friend to the liberty and lasting welfare of the human race." He continued:—

But when I heard you had turned your mind to a defence of infidelity, I felt myself much astonished and more grieved, that you had attempted a measure so injurious to the feelings and so repugnant to the true interest of so great a part of the citizens of the United States. The people of New England, if you will allow me to use a Scripture phrase, are fast returning to their first love. Will you excite among them the spirit of angry controversy at a time when they are hastening to amity and peace? I am told that some of our newspapers have announced your intention to publish an additional pamphlet upon the principles of your Age of Reason. Do you think that your pen, or the pen of any other man, can unchristianize the mass of our citizens, or have you hopes of converting a few of them to assist you in so bad a cause? We ought to think ourselves happy in the enjoyment of opinion, without the danger of persecution by civil or ecclesiastical law. Our friend, the President of the United States [Thomas Jefferson], has been calumniated for his liberal sentiments by men who have attributed that liberality to a latent design to promote the cause of infidelity. This, and all other slanders, have been made without the least shadow of proof. Neither religion nor liberty can long subsist in the tumult of altercation, and amidst the noise and violence of faction. *Felix qui cautus.* Adieu.<sup>1</sup>

Samuel Adams's life furnishes a connecting link between the earlier years of the Old South Church and the present century. His grandmother, Mary (Thurston), was received into the church by the Rev. Samuel Willard; he was born in the first decade of Dr. Sewall's long ministry, — eight years before the death of Judge Sewall, — and he lived until near the close of Dr. Eckley's. A mural tablet in the Old South now commemorates the fact of his membership there, as well as the inestimable value of his public services.<sup>2</sup> Many years ago, before

<sup>1</sup> [Wells's *Life*, vol. iii. pp. 372-375, 396, 397.]

<sup>2</sup> Appropriate services were held after the erection of the tablet, October 26, 1884, when a very interesting address on Samuel Adams was given by the Rev.

Edward G. Porter, of Lexington. The tablet bears the following from James Sullivan's eulogy in the *Independent Chronicle*: "To give his history at full length would be to give a history of the American Revolution."



the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had sent a statue of him to Washington, or the City of Boston had erected one in its streets, Dr. Manning said, in closing a lecture upon his life and character: "The only fit monument to such a life is that which the friends of freedom are unconsciously building,—a vast temple of republicanism, its base the broad continent, and its dome the bending heavens; equal laws inscribed all over its living walls, and its worship the multitudinous activities of a just and brave and Christian people."

Sabbath Day 16 October 1803.

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Church, after the public services of the day —

In consequence of the manifestation of a much greater attention to religion than had been observed for some considerable time preceeding, and of the desire of a number of members of the Church, in concurrence with the desire of the Pastor to encourage and improve so hopeful an appearance, it was proposed that a public Lecture should be held in this Church on the Friday Evening of each week through the insuing winter; at which the Pastor should be requested to officiate, together with such Ministers of the Boston Association, and other clergymen who preached occasionally in this house, as might be inclined to render their assistance in the service proposed.

After much serious conversation on the subject, Voted to postpone the determination on the Question to the next Sabbath afternoon.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Sabbath afternoon 23 October 1803.<sup>1</sup>

The Brethren of the Church met according to adjournment.

The subject introduced at the last meeting was taken into consideration. A Vote of concurrence in the proposition was passed by a considerable majority of the members present.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Friday had always, we think, been the day on which the lecture preparatory to the communion had been preached. The action of the church recorded above we suppose to have been the first step towards the establishment of the regular weekly prayer meeting now held on Friday evening by the Congregational churches in this vicinity.

Dr. Wisner tells us that in the autumn of 1803 there was a revival of religious interest in the two Baptist churches in Boston, and that Dr. Eckley, who had been in the habit of ex-

<sup>1</sup> [On this day, October 23, 1803, Henry Martyn was ordained in Ely Cathedral.]

changing with Dr. Stillman and Dr. Baldwin, the ministers of these churches, in the lectures preparatory to the communion, attended and assisted in the special services now held by them. "As was natural, . . . to a man at heart devoted to the glory of God and the eternal interests of men, Dr. Eckley was desirous that the blessed influence of the revival should pervade his own congregation. With this view he endeavored to throw more energy and point into his preaching, and increased the frequency and fidelity of his visits among the families of his flock. And he had the happiness to witness some good fruits of these exertions. But all was not yet accomplished, or attempted, which he desired. He was anxious that some of those special means might be employed, whose happy influence he had felt and witnessed among his Baptist brethren."<sup>1</sup> With this view, the meeting of the 16th of October was called by him, the result of which was the decision to hold a series of special Friday evening services.

On the 15th of January, 1804, William Phillips, the elder, "died in a good old age, full of days, riches and honor." For more than forty years Mr. Phillips had been eminent as a merchant, a patriot, and a Christian. During the Revolutionary period he was a member of almost every committee organized by the citizens in town meeting, or by the merchants as a class, in behalf of the popular cause. He was a member of the House of Representatives, both before and after the Revolution. In later years he was senator, councillor, and a member both of the convention for framing the Constitution of Massachusetts and of that for the adoption of the Federal Constitution. But he will be remembered in time to come, less for the high political positions which he held, less perhaps for the part he took in the Revolutionary struggle, than for his interest in the cause of education, and his benefactions to Phillips Academy, Andover, which was founded by his family. He was in full sympathy with his older brothers Samuel and John, in all their plans for the establishment and endowment of this institution, and for a year or two he was president of the board of trustees, which office each of them had filled in turn. Of his interest in the Old South, which, with his wife Abigail (Bromfield), he joined in 1756, by letter from the church in Brattle Street, and of which he was a deacon for thirty years, these pages abundantly speak. This interest his only son, who bore his name and in-

<sup>1</sup> Wisner's *History*, p. 46.

herited most of his fortune, had long shared with him, and was to continue to manifest for more than twenty years to come.<sup>1</sup>

A serious difference of opinion developed itself among the members at this time in reference to the right of the church as such to manage the property which, until very recently, it had regarded and treated as its own, for all purposes of care and control. This right was challenged by the pew proprietors, among whom were the deacons and the most influential members of the church, and was maintained by a minority who were church members, but perhaps not all of them proprietors of pews. Dr. Eckley sympathized with the latter, and prepared an elaborate statement of the case from their point of view. The first part of this paper, which we omit, consists of citations from the deeds and will of Mrs. Norton, and from the records of the church; the second half we print in full. As we shall see, the matter remained in controversy until the summer of 1807, when an adjustment was reached, substantially in accordance with the claim of the minority.

. . . The foregoing Votes and other Documents afford the Proof that from the foundation of the Church for *upwards of one hundred Years*, the *Land, Ministerial Houses*, and Meeting Houses, have been *claimed, managed and used by the Church as its own Property*, and so acknowledged by *the Congregation*, with the exception that the Pews have been considered as the Property of the Purchasers and their Heirs, *not however as Estate in fee Simple*, or as giving any right to, or Property in the *soil*, but for the advantage of enjoying public worship on certain conditions; which conditions when uncomplied with, they have reverted *to the Church*. Large sums of Money, on several occasions, especially when the Old Meeting House, and the present House of worship were built, were borrowed as well of the members of the Congregation as of the Church. Accounts were kept, with great exactness, of the monies thus borrowed; and the Books, particularly containing these accounts, are now in Keeping. For the sums thus advanced and Borrowed, *Pews* were usually granted; still however on certain conditions, as aforesaid, and in *Fee*, or *under the right* of the *Church*.

The Church and Congregation for many years last past, have met and voted together in temporal or pecuniary concerns; monies contributed by the Members of the Congregation as well as the Church, give a right to *both*, as has been thought, to act together in matters of this nature. See the Church Vote to this effect 5th Augt 1735.

<sup>1</sup> For a memoir of William Phillips 1722-1827, see *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register* for April, 1885.

When the Meeting House was repaired, after the destruction by the British Troops, the Church and Congregation voted in regard to the new Deeds of Pews, to use the Certificate or Instrument in use by the Society in Brattle Street.<sup>1</sup>

This Vote was in the year 1783. Note, the Brattle Street Society is founded professedly in a state of departure from the Cambridge or New England Platform; which is not the case with the Old South Society. Each of the Deeds referred to (first introduced 22 years ago, and now continued in use) specifies that the assessments on each Pew, shall be passed and ordered by the major part of the *Proprietors of the Pews*, at regular meetings called for the purpose; and that when the assessments were not paid for a certain time, it should be lawful for the Deacons and Committee of the Church and Congregation to sell the Pew, and the same should be considered as forfeited to the Deacons and Committee for the use of the *Proprietors* aforesaid. — (See the whole Instrument or Deed, copied at length in the Book of Records.) By this act, there is at least the appearance of a *change in the conditions of the whole property*. Societies, even the most remarkable for care and judgment, are sometimes liable to mistakes, especially when there has been no occasion for ages successively, to consult the *writings* on which the terms for holding an Estate really depend. A question however immediately arises respecting the deed of Pews (introduced in the year 1783) viz: If the right of the Meeting House, with the Pews and the Land, *prior* to the time of this Deed's being Given, was *in the Church*, is it possible to Conceive this right to be alienated or lost by such an act? Or if the Property as described in the writings of the Donor, was originally given to the Church, and has been held by it for more than an hundred years successively, could even the *Church itself* transfer the right from the Members succeeding in a regular course, and convey it to another Body?

It is to be noted that after the repair of the Meeting House A D 1782, the cost of *said Repair* was put upon the Pews, and each Pew, according to its local situation, was sold for no more than a proportionate part of the expence of *said repair*; and one of the new Deeds was given with it. The price of the best Pews was \$100 each. A question may be asked — With what propriety can a Person purchasing a Pew for only the proportionate part of the *Repair* of a Meeting House, be considered as a Proprietor, not of the Pew *only*, but also of the *House and Land*, when the fact is, that the said *House and Land*, are of vastly Greater value than the Pews? The cost of the *Repair*

<sup>1</sup> [To understand this controversy fully, it is necessary to refer to the action of the church and congregation January 1 and July 29, 1782, and subsequently, when the money was to be raised for the restoration of the meeting-house after the siege of Boston. See *ante*, vol. ii. pp. 213, 216.]



was certainly in no proportion with the value of the whole Estate. *Proprietorship* in the *Meeting House and Land*, cannot therefore be obtained, on any principle of equity, by the purchase of a Pew for the proportionate part of the sum expended in the *mere repair* of the House. This idea is also confirmed by what takes place in relation to the *loss or forfeiture* of a Pew. A person, we will say, who owns one of the best Pews, falls in arrears an hundred dollars. The Pew is sold for an hundred dollars, more or less, and he forfeits it. But does this imply the forfeiture of his right in the Meeting House and soil, which are worth so much more? On the presumed plan, it must be answered, it does: And the idea must be defended on the ground, *Viz.* that he purchased this supposed right by a rule which did not reach to it; that is, for a *less sum* than it was worth; therefore by the same rule, he must lose it.

But now suppose the Person forfeiting his Pew, to be a *Church Member*. Conformably to the expressed design of the original donor, and to the Principles on which the Church has acted from its foundation to the present time, he is considered as still retaining his common privilege as one of the Proprietors of the *Meeting House* and soil, with the right to vote both in the temporal and spiritual concerns of said society. This is the *peculiar privilege of Church Membership*, which *cannot be taken away*. Viewing these facts collectively, is it not abundantly evident that the mere *proprietorship* in a Pew or Pews, is *distinct* from proprietorship in the Meeting House with the soil, and does not imply it?

Another circumstance deserves notice. It is, that though when the late Deeds were given, it is mentioned in them that the taxes on the Pews should be laid after the calling a meeting of the Proprietors, yet, according to the *constant practice* of the Society, even since these Deeds have been Introduced, *no Proprietor as such*, has been required to pay a single tax. There is in fact an express Vote of the society, engaging that the owners of the Pews assigned by these Deeds, for monies loaned for the repair of the Meeting House, should *not* be held to pay for the support of the Minister. The *occupants* pay the *whole of the taxes*, being sometimes Members of the *Congregation only*, that is, neither *Church Members* nor *Proprietors of Pews*. *Taxation and legislation*, — the *making of Laws* and the *obligation to obey them*, usually go together. On this principle, it is presumed that the Members of the *Congregation*, paying taxes on the Pews, have always been allowed to act in the temporal affairs of the Society, and have a *right* so to do: Whereas, the proposed plan, which seems to contemplate the direction of the temporal affairs of the society by *Proprietors of Pews*, not only excludes Church Members but Members of the *Congregation also*, and the *Constant Contributors* to the Worship however considerable the amount, unless they are owners of Pews; which cir-

cumstance is made the *only* requisite, and bestowing the *only right* to any agency in these concerns.

In a discussion of the subject in November 1803, it was advanced as a principle that the *Church Members* had *no right*, by a Vote of their own body, to open the *Meeting House* for a weekly Lecture, without the concurrent *Vote* or *consent* of the *Proprietors of Pews*. If not for a *weekly Lecture*, it follows they have no right to open the House for a *Monthly sacramental Lecture*, or for a Lecture on the *Sabbath Evening*, or any other occasional religious service. As the number of the *Proprietors of Pews* is commonly much *greater* than the number of *Church Members*, on this principle, the privilege of the *Church* may be totally lost ; and eventually the Members may be denied all use of the Meeting House, unless obtained by *permission*. What is a *Church* when reduced to such a Condition ?

The proprietorship of Pews extends, by the Deeds, to *Heirs*. Admitting the views of the present Proprietors to be perfectly virtuous and Good, it must however be supposed it is uncertain what may be the views or principles of their *descendants and Heirs*. The management of the most interesting concerns of the Church and Society, may consequently, at some future time, be in the hands of uncertain Persons, and beyond any means of control. On the other part, *Church Members* are introduced, *not by natural descent* ; but by strict examination into their religious characters ; — are admitted into the Church by a public and careful Vote, and continued in their relation as Church Members on the express condition of their continuing in Obedience to the Gospel, and of acting in a manner becoming the professed disciples of Jesus Christ. *Christianity* therefore furnishes the Means of *security* for their doing well ; and consequently they are the proper Persons to hold what belongs to a Christian Society, and manage its principal concerns.

*Such* were the views of the original donor of the Church Land : *Such* the spirit of all the votes of the Church hitherto ; in which, it is presumed, there is a conformity to the design of the Redeemer and Great Head of the Church universal in its establishment on earth, as his *own body*, which he has called *out of the World* — for which he is *jealous*, having chosen it for his own praise.

*Pews* are often owned by *Females*. Are they on the proposed Plan, entitled to Vote by representatives and agents, or are they not ? Various Gentlemen own 2 or 3 Pews each. — Are they entitled to 2 or 3 Votes ? In incorporations where *property* is held by *Shares*, this is commonly the case.

Is a Person who owns a Pew in the Gallery which was assigned him for Twenty dollars, to be entitled, on the proposed plan, to an equal vote with a Person who owns a Pew below, for which he gave an hundred dollars ; or is the reverse of this to be made the rule ?

*On the whole*, the proposed Plan, requires much serious deliberation. If the operation will be that of an essential revolution of the whole affairs of the Church, the sudden adoption of any new measure, may be attended with the most unhappy effects. The society, till of late, has proceeded with much harmony ; and the members of the Congregation have been completely satisfied with the Share they have had in the Management of its temporal concerns.

*Deeds of Estate and Wills*, when they only embrace the Interests of *individuals*, are usually considered beyond the reach of Personal or even Legislative interference : and if through any mistake or accident, the property happens to be transferred from the rightful owners, the business is liable to a revision. In how much more sacred a light should those *Deeds and Wills* be contemplated, which embrace the important interests of the Church of Christ ?

The foregoing remarks are drawn up by one who wishes well to the whole society : and they are candidly offered to the consideration of any member of the Church or Congregation, who may be willing to peruse them.<sup>1</sup>

J. ECKLEY.

BOSTON Feby 1804.

N. B. The *Deed* of any house or land for which the money is paid, is in its nature, *unconditional*. What is called the *Deed* or instrument conveying a *Pew*, is *conditional*. It might perhaps, with as much propriety, be called a *Lease* — held indeed by *heirs without limit of time*, but still conditional, and consequently liable to *forfeiture*. Altho', from the stile used in the Deeds of the Pews, there is the appearance of the *Purchasers of the Pews* being considered as the *Proprietors of Pews*, yet this is only in a limited sense. *Proprietorship* generally supposes an *unconditional* possession, or a title to an Estate in *fee simple*. But such title is *absolutely denied* by the very circumstance of the Pews being granted *conditionally only*. Properly speaking, the *Proprietors of the Pews* are those who *own the whole Estate in fee simple*, viz, the *members of the Church*, who may be considered as Landlords ; and the *Purchasers of Pews as Tenants*, on the conditions for which they have stipulated. The instrument by which the Pews are conveyed is a *perpetual Lease, conditionally*.

Note. — the Rev : Mr. Prince gave his Library with the Collection of Maps and Manuscripts to the Church. In March 1761 the Church

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. George E. Ellis, to whom we have showed this paper, speaks of it as an "able and fair statement of the original and perpetuated landed rights of the covenanted members of the South Church to the real estate given by Mrs. Norton ;" and he says further : "Everything is clear within those terms. And the Church seems carefully and satisfac-

torily to have limited and qualified the conditional rights which it gave to Proprietors of Pews — as not reaching down to the soil. No issue seems to have arisen as to any right or claim of Proprietors to have part in the choice of a minister, or on deciding on his maintenance." The questions involved in the Dedham case were somewhat different.]

voted to comply with the conditions of the Gift, and that the said books should be kept in the steeple chamber of the Church, being its own.

See also Mr. Dabneys letter 1770, directed to the *Church* and containing an application respecting the old ministerial house, on which spot, the building having since been taken Down, the New Stores are erected.

“On the 13th of March, 1804, a meeting was held, with the approbation of the pastor, of eight brethren of the church and congregation, who unanimously voted to ‘form themselves into a society for religious improvement.’ At their next meeting, on the 29th of the same month, they adopted certain regulations for the government of the society; of which the third was in the following words, ‘That the Rev. Dr. Joseph Eckley be invited to attend and preside in the society, at such stated meetings as shall be convenient for him; and that he be requested to preach, pray or converse on such religious subjects as to him shall appear most proper, and to invite such other gentlemen of the clergy, as he shall see fit, for said purposes.’ With this request Dr. Eckley cheerfully complied. And thus began the Tuesday evening meeting; at which, at first, there was but one brother of the church, who felt sufficient confidence to lead in prayer; and which, for a time, encountered reproaches and opposition which, to us at the present day, seem almost incredible, but which was well attended, and made a blessing from the beginning; and has lived and flourished till now; having, long since, silently overcome every prejudice, and been the parent of various other occasional meetings and special efforts for doing good; and, directly and indirectly, exerted a most powerful influence in preserving and promoting the love of truth and piety in this congregation.”<sup>1</sup>

Sabbath Day 13 January 1805.

A letter was communicated from the Church in Brattle Street, requesting the presence and assistance of this Church by its Pastor and other Delegates at the Ordination of the Rev: Joseph Stephens Buckminster on the last Wednesday of the current month, as successor in the pastoral office to the Rev: Dr. Peter Thacher deceased.

The Deacons, Mr. William Homes and Mr. Jeremiah Bumstead were chosen to attend, with the Pastor, on the occasion.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Mr. Buckminster was a son of the Rev. Dr. Buckminster, of

<sup>1</sup> Wisner's *History* (1830), pp. 47, 48.



Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and a descendant of the Rev. Joseph Stevens, of Charlestown.<sup>1</sup> He graduated at Harvard College in the same class as Loammi Baldwin, Joshua Bates, Charles Lowell, and Lemuel Shaw. Coming under the influence of the Rev. James Freeman, of the Chapel, he modified his views on the doctrine of the Trinity, much to the grief of his father, who urged him (almost with success) to abandon his purpose to enter the ministry. His father was very unwilling also that he should accept so important a charge as the Church in Brattle Street, and especially as the successor of a man of Dr. Thacher's ability and eminence. He was only twenty-one years of age, and he already had a disease upon him which carried him to an early grave. His people, however, had no reason to regret their choice. His venerable father, after much hesitation, consented to preach the ordination sermon, and took for his text, Titus ii. 15: "Let no man despise thee." Dr. Lathrop and Dr. Morse offered prayer, and Mr. Emerson gave the right hand of fellowship.<sup>2</sup>

Boston April 4. 1805.

At a meeting of the Church and Congregation of the South Society, Hon. Thomas Dawes, Moderator, John Winslow Clerk.

The Yearly Committee reported by their chairman as follows —

"The Committee of the Old South Church and Congregation beg leave to report to said Society, that the whole expence of said society was the last year for singing &c. Two hundred and twenty nine Dollars eighteen cents, all of which is discharged and paid excepting the Sum of ninety Dollars for the last six months; they would also observe that they received from the Deacons the minutes of ballances due on the Pews, at the end of the last year, the Amount of which was three hundred and forty one Dollars 89 Cents, out of which there has been paid fifty seven Dollars 42 Cents which still leaves a ballance due the Society from said Pews two hundred eighty four Dollars 47 Cents, all which is duely submitted to said Society for their Consideration."

Voted, the Report of the Committee be accepted, and the Treasurer be directed to pay the sum of Ninety Dollars to discharge the same.

Some of the Committee then observed, that was not the whole of their report. It was then requested, the whole report might be read. The part left out was as follows —

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 368, 407.

<sup>2</sup> "The address of the Preacher to his Reverend Fathers and Brethren in the Ministry, was eloquent, respectful and serious. In his addresses to the pastoral, who is his son, and to the society over which he was then to be ordained,

he was affectionate and pathetic. Perhaps centuries may roll away without producing a scene so tender and truly interesting. It was the voice of nature, heightened and purified by the holy religion of Jesus." — *Col. Centinel*, February 2, 1805.

"N. B. Your Committee would observe, that in their opinion, the Interest of the Society requires that the Windows of the meeting House should be puttied and painted, as they suffer for want thereof. They would also recommend that the brick paving be continued from the South west Corner of said House down Milk Street to the end of the Society's bounds."

Voted, That Samuel Salisbury, Benjamin Clarke, Joseph Pierce and John Winslow Esqs. be a Committee to examine the Treasurers Accounts and report at the Adjournment of this meeting.

Voted, We now proceed to the Choice of a Yearly Committee.

Voted, Deacons Salisbury and Phillips be a Committee to count and sort the votes; 32 being the whole number, William Homes had 31, N. Somes 32, Abraham Wild 31, William Whitwell 18, William Thurston 17. Messrs Somes, Wild and Whitwell wished to be excused from serving and were excused accordingly.

Voted, The Deacons be a Committee to inquire what was the highest sum given by any of the Societys in this Town to their Revd Pastors weekly.

They requested to be excused from this duty and were excused.

Voted, This meeting be adjourned to Tuesday the 16th Inst then to meet in this House at 3 O'Clock PM.

Tuesday April 16 meet according to adjournment The Moderator took his seat, and opened the meeting by mentioning that he had been informed to his satisfaction that many of the Revd Clergy received weekly more pay than what was given to the Rev. Dr. Eckley, and introduced the following

Vote, That the Treasurer of this Society be, and he is hereby authorized and impowered, to pay to the Rev. Dr. Eckley, Six hundred and eighteen Dollars and 33 cents, which with Seven hundred and Six Dollars, sixty seven Cents he has already received, making Thirteen Hundred and twenty five Dollars, being equal to Twenty five Dollars p Sabbath from Dec. 31. 1803 to Dec 31. 1804 inclusive, and is also exclusive of house rent and firewood; and if the said Treasurer has not monies on hand sufficient for said purpose, he is also authorized and impowered to borrow the same, which was unanimously Voted.

It was moved and seconded that the proceedings at the last meeting, vizt. on the 4th Inst. as it respects choosing the Annual Committee be reconsidered.

Voted, That the proceedings of the last meeting respecting the choice of the Annual Committee be and the same is reconsidered — by a very large Majority.

Voted, We proceed to the choice of an annual Committee at this time for the insuing year.

Voted, That there be nine on this Committee, five of the Church and four of the Congregation.

Voted, That Deacons Salisbury, Phillips and William Scollay be a Committee to count and sort the Votes. Fifty five being the whole number present, twenty eight making a choice. Deacons Salisbury, Phillips, Mr. Nehemiah Somes, Joseph Peirce, Samuel Coverly, John Winslow, Abraham Wild, Andrew Oliver and William Scollay were declared chosen the Committee for the present year, each having forty four Votes. [William Homes and William Thurston chosen at the meeting of April 4. were now dropped.]

On a Motion made and seconded, it was Voted, That this meeting be dissolved, and it was dissolved accordingly.

Attest

JNO. WINSLOW Clk.

William Homes and William Thurston, who had been chosen members of the standing committee a few days before, and who were now dropped, strongly supported the views of the minority in the controversy respecting the management of the Old South property of which we have spoken, and which we must keep in mind as we read the proceedings of the church and congregation at this period.

Lords Day 12 May 1805

A communication was made from the Church of Christ at Windsor in the State of Vermont, soliciting the presence and assistance of the Old South Church by its Pastor and other delegates at the ordination of the Rev: Mr. Fowler on the 23 day of this month. The Pastor and Deacon Samuel Salisbury were chosen to attend.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Mr. Bancroft Fowler was born at Pittsfield in 1775, graduated at Yale College in 1796, and studied theology with Dr. Backus and Dr. Emmons.

We have an anticipation of Anniversary Week in the following announcement in the Columbian Centinel, Wednesday, May 29, 1805 :—

Election week is usually devoted to political, literary, pious and charitable purposes. This day at noon, the election Sermon will be delivered at the Old South [by the Rev. John Allyn of Duxbury]. Tomorrow will be the anniversary meeting of the Massachusetts Congregational Society, when a Sermon will be delivered in Brattle Street by the Rev. Mr. Sanger of Bridgewater. On Friday the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society will elect their officers; after which an address will be delivered in the Chapel Church by Peter Thacher Esq. On Monday the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company hold their Annual Election of officers. The Sermon will be delivered in the Old Brick Meeting House by the Rev. Mr. Harris of Dorchester.

On Thursday, May 30, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians, and the Board of Commissioners of the Society in Scotland for Promoting Christian Knowledge, held their annual meetings. Deacon Phillips, Dr. Eckley, and Dr. Morse were on both boards.

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Old South Church and Congregation in Marlborough Street on the 22d day of June 1805,

The Hon. Thomas Dawes was chosen Moderator for the Year ensuing.

General John Winslow was chosen Clerk for the year ensuing.

A motion was made and seconded, that they take into consideration the repairs necessary to be done on and about the Meeting House.

Voted, The Standing Committee for the year be directed to make the necessary repairs, such as repairing the windows, having them new puttied and painted, also to continue the Brick paving from the south west corner of the meeting House down Milk Street to the end of the Society's lands and such other repairs as they in their Judgments may think necessary.

Voted, That the Hon. Thomas Dawes, Benjamin Whitman, William Phillips, Samuel Salisbury and John Winslow Esqrs be a Committee to petition the General Court at their next sessions for an Act of Incorporation.

Voted, The Standing Committee be directed to continue the singing as usual till further orders.

Voted, That this meeting be adjourned to such time as the Standing Committee shall see cause to call them together again.

Att. JNO. WINSLOW Clk.

44 members present at this meeting.

It will be observed that the proposition to apply to the Legislature for an act of incorporation originated with the church and congregation, or, according to the record, with "the proprietors of the Old South Church and Congregation." We find no evidence that the committee of which Mr. Dawes was chairman ever proceeded under the authority given to it, and on the settlement of the misunderstanding between certain church members and the proprietors of pews in 1807, the proposal for incorporating the Society was given up.<sup>1</sup>

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Old South Church and Congregation in Marlborough Street on 2d August 1805,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. David Pulsifer, who made the search at the State House at our request reports: "I have examined the Journals, Records and Printed Laws, but am unable to find any reference to the petition, if one was ever presented, asking for an Act of Incorporation of the Old South Church."



Hon. Thomas Dawes in the Chair.

The Committee report they have made an estimate of the expence of painting and whitewashing the inside of said House, which they suppose will amount to five or six hundred Dollars.

A motion made and seconded that the Committee be directed to proceed and have the House painted and whitewashed.

Voted, That the Committee proceed to have the part of the House which has been painted heretofore immediately new done, and the same white washed.

Voted, That the Treasurer of the Society be and he is hereby authorized to borrow such sum or sums of money as the Committee shall call for, for painting and white washing the inside of the meeting House, and for discharging the bills for the paving round said House and painting the Windows and Sashes &c. &c.

Voted, The Committee be requested to provide a place for publick worship during the repairs.

Voted, That the Committee be directed to bring forward the Pews in the West Gallery, and remove the Seats into the rear where the pews now are.

Voted, That this meeting when it is adjourned, be adjourned to such time as the Standing Committee shall see cause to call them together again.

30 members present at this Meeting.

Att. JNO. WINSLOW Clerk.

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the South Church and Congregation in Marlborough Street, on the 20. Sepr 1805,

The Standing Committee for the Year who were directed at a proprietors meeting the 22d of June last, to make the Necessary repairs, on and about the Old South meeting House in Marlborough Street, beg leave to report they have attended that service, and agreeable to a Vote of said proprietors passed Aug. 2d. directing the Treasurer to borrow the Moneys necessary to discharge said bills of repairs, the following bills have been paid vizt.

[We omit the particulars. The total expenditure was \$1697.79]

Voted, The report of the Committee be accepted.

Voted, The thanks of the Society be presented to the Committee for their care and attention, in overseeing the repairs and examining and discharging the bills for the same.

Voted, That the Treasurer be and he is hereby directed, to repay the monies borrowed for the repairs out of the first monies that may come into his hands.

Voted, That the Standing Committee be authorized and empower'd to lease the five Stores and land belonging to the Society, at the expiration of the present lease, making the rent payable to the Treasurer, and taking good and sufficient Bonds for the same.

N. B. This vote pass'd unanimous except Mr. Tyler and Josiah Bumstead.

On motion made by Mr. Tyler, and seconded by Josiah Bumstead, That the Deacons of the Old South Church be appointed a Committee to lease the Stores belonging to them for the year following, beginning January next, till the right of the Church in managing said property be ascertained ; Also, the following, That the Deacons of the Old South Church be a Committee to lease the Stores belonging to the South Society till the rights of said Church in managing said property be ascertained.

A motion was made and seconded whether those motions be past.

Voted, Unanimously that they are improper motions and ought not to be put.

Voted, That this meeting when it is adjourned, be adjourned to such time as the standing Committee shall see cause to call them together again.

Attest, JNO. WINSLOW Clk.

25 members present at this meeting.

Dr. Eckley preached a sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in the Brattle Street meeting-house, November 5,<sup>1</sup> from Col. i. 20 : " And having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself ; by him, I say, whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven." The great missionary motive is shown in this discourse to be, the glory of Christ in connection with the final triumph of his kingdom. The preacher dwells, first, on the reconciliation spoken of by the Apostle, and, then, of its effects. He makes no reference to the destiny of the heathen who die without an opportunity of hearing the gospel, but touches incidentally upon the question of perpetual punishment, in his anticipation of the far-off future.

From evidence so abundant, it is to be concluded that not only the redeemed, but also the good angels will be highly benefited by the plan of redemption. And if there are other orders of wise and good beings in the worlds above and around us, — or if such orders should, at any future time, be called into existence, it may be apprehended that the contemplation of the great mystery of the cross, will form a part of their employment ; and that the knowledge of God will, in great measure, be communicated through their intercourse with the redeemed. Even the punishment of fallen angels and impenitent men,

<sup>1</sup> In the announcement of the service and a select choir of singers, assisted by beforehand, it is said : " Appropriate Mr. Dolliver on the organ." — *Col. Centinel*, November 6, 1805. music will be performed by Mr. Mann,

may be presumed to bear a real though subordinate relation to the primary objects of the mediation; and including the circumstances of the comparative numbers of these unhappy beings, and the perpetuity of their punishment, must be viewed in the quality of partial evils, admitted for the sake of the general good.<sup>1</sup>

Sabbath Day 22 December 1805.

A letter was communicated from the Church at West Boston lately under the Pastoral care of the Rev : Dr. Simeon Howard, desiring the presence and assistance of this Church at the Ordination of the Rev : Charles Lowell on the first day of January next.

The Pastor and Deacons, and Mr. Jeremiah Bumstead, were chosen to act on the occasion.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

The first subscriptions to the covenant of the West Church were made with solemn religious services, in the presence of Mr. Prince and Mr. Foxcroft, seventy years, almost to a day (January 3, 1736), before the ordination of Mr. Lowell. At the ordination of Mr. Hooper, in 1737, all the congregational churches in the town were represented, and Dr. Colman, Dr. Sewall, Mr. Prince and Mr. Foxcroft took part in the exercises. When Mr. Mayhew was ordained in 1747, only two of the Boston churches were invited—the First Church, and the Church in Brattle Street—and they declined to attend. When Mr. Howard was ordained in 1767, three of the churches in Boston were invited, but the Old South was not one of them. During Dr. Howard's ministry, the relations of the church with the other churches in the vicinity became more intimate than they had been under Dr. Mayhew; and when Mr. Lowell was to be settled, letters were sent to all the churches in Boston, the Church in Dorchester, the Church in Brookline, the First Church in Roxbury, and the South Church in Bridgewater, also, to Professor Ware, of Harvard College, personally.

Mr. Lowell was a grandson of the Rev. John Lowell, of Newbury, and a son of the Hon. John Lowell, chief justice of the Circuit Court. He was born in Boston in 1782, and graduated at Harvard College in 1800. His thoughts had from early years turned towards the Christian ministry, but in compliance with his father's desire that he should at least make trial of the law, he entered the office of his older brother, who was already emi-

<sup>1</sup> [James Sullivan was president of the Propagation Society at this time and William Phillips, vice-president. Among the members were, Dr. Lathrop, Dr. Eckley, Dr. Morse, the Rev. W. E. Channing, the Rev. Abiel Holmes, Thomas Dawes, Samuel Salisbury, Dudley A. Tyng, and Samuel Hall Walley.]

ment in that profession, and studied under him for nearly a year. He did not waver, however, in his original purpose ; and when it was seen that his heart was steadfastly inclined towards the sacred calling, and that no prospect of worldly success could change him, the opposition ceased. His father died in the spring of 1802, and, a few months later, he went abroad, to pursue his theological studies in Edinburgh. Here, he attended the lectures of Dr. Hunter, Dr. Meiklejohn, Dr. Moodie, and Professor Dugald Stewart. He returned from Europe in the summer of 1805, and, after preaching in various pulpits, accepted, in November, a call from the West Church. His ordination took place on New Year's Day, 1806, — "a day without a cloud," as he was happy to recall, fifty years afterward, and he was fortunate in being able to add, that he had had, during the same period, "a ministry without a cloud."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Porter, of Roxbury, preached the sermon from John xvii. 17 : "Sanctify them through thy truth : thy word is truth." Mr. Channing, Mr. Sanger, and Mr. Harris offered prayer ; Professor Ware gave the charge, and Mr. Buckminster, a classmate, the right hand of fellowship.

Writing to Dr. Sprague many years later,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Lowell said : —

When I was about to be ordained, I prepared a statement of my theological views, somewhat general, which I showed to my intimate friends, Channing and Buckminster, and I am quite confident, to my friend Dr. Eckley also. At any rate, I had frequent and affectionate intercourse with Dr. Eckley previous to my ordination. In the council which assembled to ordain me, objections were raised against my making any statement of my views. Dr. Eckley and Mr. Channing both were in favor of my doing it. Both declared themselves entirely satisfied with the candidate, and ready, so far as they were concerned, to proceed to ordination ; but they thought the practice of reading a statement was a proper one, and ought not on any such occasion, to be dispensed with. They said they felt at greater liberty to urge it, as they had no doubts respecting the candidate for ordination. Among those who opposed the giving in of a statement, and who also declared themselves satisfied, were Dr. Kirkland and Mr. Buckminster. They thought the practice an improper one.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Mem. Biographies, N. E. Hist. Gen. Society*, vol. iv., for a sketch of Dr. Lowell, by his daughter, Mrs. Mary Traill Spence Putnam.

<sup>2</sup> December 10, 1853. Sprague's *Annals*, vol. ii. pp. 138, 139.

<sup>3</sup> [We have a suggestion of a discussion in the council, in the following newspaper record : "Petty disputes concerning modal questions and opinions spread no glory round their authors ; but piety, learning, moderation and taste are im-



Mr. Lowell's ministry opened with such bright promise, that it was determined by his society to proceed at once to the erection of a new and larger house of worship.<sup>1</sup> As soon as this determination was known, invitations were received from the Old South, the New North, the Church in Brattle Street, and the Chapel, asking the society to unite with those congregations, respectively, in Christian worship. "The proceedings of the Old South church and the letter of their minister, the late excellent Dr. Eckley," said Mr. Lowell, in a memorial sermon in 1820, "will serve as a specimen of the spirit which was breathed by them all, and of the union and harmony which at that time subsisted between all the congregational churches in the town."

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation, after public service on Sabbath afternoon, the 26th day of January 1806:—

It being known that the Church and religious Society at West Boston, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Lowell, contemplated the taking down their present building in order to erect a new edifice for the public worship of God,—and during the time occupied in the undertaking, might be in need of some suitable place for the enjoyment of the usual services of religion,—therefore

Voted unanimously, that it would be highly gratifying to this Society, if their brethren of the West Boston Society would meet with them for worship in their house,—the two pastors jointly leading in the public devotions:—

Voted unanimously, that the Rev. Dr. Eckley, and the Standing Committee of this Society, be a Committee for the business of inviting the West Boston Society to their house of worship—with assurances of their christian esteem, and of the purpose to render the ac-

mortal, and adorn the brows of their possessors with unfading garlands. Suffice it to say that the day was a witness of the continued triumphs of religious liberty in New England; that due honors were paid to the illustrious names of Mayhew and Howard; and that the behaviour of the council as a body, of the performers individually, and of the young Pastor and his Flock, respectively, was such as reflected honour on themselves, and lustre on the religious character and customs of the Metropolis."—*Col. Centinel*, January 4, 1806.]

<sup>1</sup> We have this description of the old meeting-house and its neighborhood from the pen of Dr. Lowell: "It was in

a small wooden edifice—occupying, indeed, the spot on which we are now assembled, but then standing almost alone in the outskirts of the town, with few buildings between the church and the river—that I preached my first sermon here. It had much the aspect, as far as I now remember, of a country church within and without; with a few houses in its neighborhood, and others scattered here and there in the fields, in what was then called New Boston. It was to a parish consisting, I think, of about forty proprietors, and less than a hundred families, that this sermon was preached."—*Mem. Biographies, N. E. Hist. Gen. Society*, vol. iv. p. 146.

commodations during their continuance with them, as agreeable and convenient as possible.

By Order,

JOSEPH ECKLEY

Minister of the Old South Society.

CHARLES CUSHING Esq.

Chairman of the Committee of the West Boston Society.

These votes were communicated with the following letter :

CHARLES CUSHING Esq.

*Sir,*

With much satisfaction I communicate to you the enclosed votes. Be assured not only of my hearty concurrence in the wish that they express, but of my personal respect and esteem for the religious Society, to which you are requested to present them, as soon as is convenient.

With due regard,

I am, Sir,

Your friend and obedient servant,

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

January 27. 1806.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Lowell added to his account that it was more convenient for his society to accept the invitation to worship at the Chapel, where they were received with much cordiality and treated with much kind attention. The new meeting-house was opened for public worship on the next Thanksgiving Day.

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Old South Church and Congregation in Marlborough Street, April 6. 1806,

Voted, That a Moderator be chosen for this Meeting.

Voted, That Deacon Phillips be Moderator.

Voted, That a Moderator be chosen for the Year insuing.

Voted, That the Hon. Thomas Dawes be the Moderator.

Voted, That Gen. John Winslow be Secretary for the Year insuing.

Voted, That a Standing Committee of nine be chosen to manage the concerns of the Society, five of the Church, and four of the Congregation ; on which the following persons were chosen for the Year insuing, vizt. Samuel Salisbury, William Phillips, Samuel Coverly, Joseph Pierce, Nehemiah Somes, of the Church, Gen. John Winslow, William Scollay, Abraham Wild, Andrew Oliver, of the Congregation.

Voted, That a Committee be chosen to examine the Treasurers Accounts, vizt. Samuel Salisbury, Benjamin Clark, Col. William Scollay, Joseph Pierce and Gen. Winslow, be the Committee.

<sup>1</sup> [This action does not appear on the records of the Old South.]

Voted, The Singing School be continued for the Year insuing as usual.

Voted, The thanks of the Society be given to the Committee for their past services.

Voted, That the Treasurer be requested and directed to pay to the Rev. Doctor Eckley in addition to his yearly Sallary six hundred and six Dollars 67 Cents, which is equal to twenty five Dollars p Sabbath ; if he is not in Cash, he is requested to Borrow the same.

Sabbath Day April 20. 1806.

The Brethren of the Church met after the public services of the day, to deliberate concerning certain objections which had been made against the conduct of several members of their body, and to determine what measures should be taken on the occasion. It appeared to be the united sentiments of the brethren, that obligation was laid on them to maintain the discipline of the christian Church, as they had hitherto endeavoured to do, agreeably to the rules of the Gospel. The persons complained of had been conversed with in private by several members of the Church, but without giving satisfaction.

After conversation on the subject, a Committee consisting of the Pastor and Deacons of the Church were appointed to make particular inquiry into the grounds of complaint, and report their opinion on the measures proper to be adopted at the present time.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Sabbath Day 27 April 1806.

At a meeting of the brethren, the committee appointed by the Church to inquire into the grounds of complaint specified in the last conversation on the subject, having attended the service, made the following Report —

That one of the persons implicated, and who for some time preceeding had been much indisposed, closed the present state of existence a few days after the Committee was chosen.

That the other person . . . and that she confesses her sin before God and to this Church.

Considering the several circumstances attendant on this departure from moral rectitude, the Committee are of opinion that the rules of the Gospel generally considered, the honor of the Christian religion, and the common practice of the churches in similar cases, require that — — be suspended from the privilege of Christian communion for one year from the present time ; at the close of which the Church will again consider her case, and if there be signs of Christian repentance and reformation, will restore her to her former standing.

That the Pastor inform her of this resolution of the brethren, and that it be read by him to the members of the Church immediately preceeding the hymn at the sacramental service on the next Communion Sabbath.

On this occasion the Committee desire to unite with the Church in expressions of compassionate concern toward their offending sister ; to pray for her, and commit her to the benediction of heaven, insured to all penitents who return to God through the blessed gospel of Jesus Christ.

All which is submitted.

JOSEPH ECKLEY *pr. order.*

The brethren of the Church expressed their concurrence in the foregoing report and Voted to accept it. JOS: ECKLEY.

N. B. On the succeeding communion Sabbath it was accordingly read to the Church at the time prescribed by the brethren.

J. E.<sup>1</sup>

On the 14th of May Dr. Eckley preached the Dudleian Lecture in the University Chapel, Cambridge. His subject was the Validity of Presbyterian Ordination, and he took his text from 1 Peter v., part of the first and second verses : "The elders [presbyters] which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, [a presbyter] — Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof [*ἐπισκοποῦντες*]." He unfolded the well-known arguments against the exclusive claims of the Anglican communion, quoting the acknowledgment of Bancroft Hooker, Bilson, and other divines of the sixteenth century, as to the validity of presbyterian ordination and the original identity of bishops and presbyters, and their admission that the question of episcopal ordination and government was one of high expediency, and not of positive revelation and recognition in the New Testament. He insisted upon the positive, although not exclusive, succession of the ministers and churches of his own order, through the apostolate, from Our Lord himself, the Head of the Church, and said : —

The Congregational Churches unite with the Episcopalians in the belief that the powers of Church government, and ordination of Christian ministers, were originally derived from Jesus Christ, and are yet held in virtue of this original grant. They differ from them on the point that any of the successors of the Apostles were of a rank distinct from, and superiour to those who are called Presbyters, or possessed the exclusive powers of Church government and ordination. Presbyters, Bishops and Pastors they maintain to be the same order of men under different names ; consequently, the ordination of Church

<sup>1</sup> [This person was restored to her former standing, May 3, 1807.]



Officers by Presbyters and Pastors is exactly the same as the ordination by Bishops, and in all respects of equal validity. They consider however that it is not so much the form, or service used at an ordination, as the *election* of a minister which entitles him to his office; the right of which election, as well as of other internal jurisdiction, is in each Church; the members of which, in case of any insurmountable difficulties in procuring the assistance of the officers of other Churches, may proceed to set apart or ordain their Ministers themselves; — consequently the uninterrupted succession of Church Officers, by whatever name they may be called, is of no manner of importance.<sup>1</sup>

At a Meeting of the Proprietors of the Old South Church and Congregation in Marlborough Street, Sept. 4, 1806,

Voted, That a Clerk be chosen *pro tem.* for this meeting.

Voted, That Mr. N. Somes be requested to do the Duty for this Meeting.

Voted, The report of the Committee for examining the Treasurers Accounts be accepted, which is as follows.

[We omit the particulars.]

Voted, That a Committee be chosen to examine their ministerial House and report what is best to be done relative thereto.

Voted, The Deacons be a Committee for that purpose.

Voted, That when this meeting adjourn it adjourn to five weeks from this day which will be the 9th of October next, and that the Bell ring five minutes.

Voted, That this meeting be now adjourned to meet at this place at 4 P. M. on the day above mentioned.

The Deacons who were appointed a Committee by the Society to examine into the State of the Parsonage house and report on the 9th Instant, *not being ready*, request leave for a further Adjournment, when previous notice will be given as to the time.

Rev. Dr. Eckley will please to communicate the above.

Lords Day Octobr. 5. 1806. (Copy.)

Dr. Eckley preached for the Rev. Mr. Lowell in the Afternoon, and

<sup>1</sup> [By presbyterian ordination, Dr. Eckley meant not ordination by Presbyterian ministers only, but also by Congregational and Independent ministers, who, when set apart according to their denominational usages, become presbyters.

At Mr. Hunt's ordination in 1771, Dr. Chauncy gave the charge, and began with these emphatic words: "We, who have been validly constituted officers in the kingdom of God, under the adminis-

tration of his Son Jesus, the Savior, impose our hands upon you, John Hunt; and, by this apostolic rite, separate you to the work of the Christian ministry, declaring you to be one well qualified, duly called, and fully authorised, to preach the gospel, to administer the sacraments of the New-testament, to lay on hands in ordination, and to do whatever is proper to the office of those, who are styled in the sacred books, sometimes Presbyters, and sometimes Bishops."]

the above was read by the young Gentleman who preached for Dr. Eckley and who received it from Dr. Eckley.

Boston, Octr. 25. 1806. The Deacons who were appointed a Committee by the Society to examine into the State of the Parsonage House and report, have attended that service, and are ready and propose to report on *Thursday next*, precisely at half past 3 O'Clock Afternoon.

Revd. Dr. Eckley is requested to communicate the above next Lords Day afternoon.

THOMAS DAWES p. order.

This is an exact copy of what Dr. Eckley received from Mr. Clap, Sexton, to whom the billet was given. At 2 O'Clock, Sab. noon, 26th Octr 1806, Dr. Eckley sent this letter to Mr. Dawes by his servant.

*Sir*

On the same principle which led me on Wednesday last to observe that if requested to Call a Meeting of Proprietors of Pews whilst Church Members are refused the right of being present, I must decline. I now Sir take the liberty of informing you that I think it my duty to adhere to my declaration. I wish to pay every respect in my power to the Deacons. But I owe also a respect to the Church, which I should appear to relinquish, by becoming an organ in appointing the proposed meeting. If you will request me to appoint a meeting of the Church and Congregation, I will do it with pleasure.

With suitable sentiments of Esteem

I am, Sir,

Yours

J. ECKLEY.

Sabb. noon 26 Octobr. 1806.

Dr. Eckley's note to Deacon Dawes sufficiently explains his unwillingness to read the notice which had been sent to him through the sexton. In following this controversy, it should be observed that the committee chosen at the meeting of the "proprietors," September 4, were the deacons,—the officers and representatives of the church. This may have been intended as a concession to the minority who represented the church members as distinct from the proprietors of pews. It is to be observed also that the point urged by Dr. Eckley was so far conceded that the next meeting was "a meeting of the Old South Church and proprietors of pews legally warned."

Boston, Novr 17. 1806.

At a Meeting of the Old South Church and proprietors of Pews legally warned, met by adjournment from July 10. [There is no record of any meeting at this date.] Hon Thomas Dawes, Moderator.

The Deacons who were appointed a Committee by the Society,

Sept. 4. 1806 to examine into the State of the Parsonage House and report on the 9th of October following, gave notice on Lords Day Octor 5 of their not being ready, and requested a further time to report, when previous notice would be given.

The Deacons conformable to their Commission examined the Parsonage House, and were *unanimous* in opinion that it would be *waste* of money to make repairs on said House. They were also *unanimous* in opinion, to recommend to the Society to take down the *Old House* and erect one upon the modern plan of building, to consist of two tenements,

Which is submitted

THOMAS DAWES p order.

A motion was made and seconded, that we accept the report of the Committee.

Voted, That the report of the Committee be accepted, — which Vote was unanimous excepting one.

Voted, The Deacons be a Committee to procure a plan for a New House agreeable to the report of the Committee, and exhibit the same to the adjournment of this meeting.

Voted, That when we do adjourn, we adjourn to this day fortnight 3 o'Clock PM.

Voted, That we now adjourn to meet at this place the first of December, and the Committee notify the meeting by leaving in each pew a Notification.

26 Members present.

Boston Decr 1. 1806, meet agreeable to adjournment to receive the report of the Committee with the plan for a New building.

Honble Thomas Dawes Moderator.

Before any business was commenced Mr. William Homes came forward and informed the Moderator that he had a paper which he wisht might be read, on which it was observed that if he had any communication to make, he had a right to make it ; the paper being his, he might read it ; but the proceedings of the last meeting being called for, and it being in reading, Mr. Homes left the meeting, saying he should leave the paper which was signed by eighteen Church members.

It being near dark, a motion was made that this meeting be accordingly adjourned, till the Standing Committee shall see cause to call it together again, which shall be done by leaving notifications in the pews.

21 members present.

Attest JNO. WINSLOW Clerk.

Boston April 13. 1807.

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Church and the pew Owners, legally warned by the Rev Doctor Eckley yesterday after divine service,

Voted, We proceed to the Choice of a Moderator for the year insuing.

Honble. Deacon Thomas Dawes was chosen.

Voted, That General John Winslow be secretary for the Year insuing.

"The Committee of the South Society chosen 16th April 1806 for the managing the prudentials of the same, now report the following, vizt.

|  |  |                |
|--|--|----------------|
| "That there has been expended for supporting the singing since the above date to the 2d of April inclusive . . . . . |  | \$229.88       |
| Repairs for the Steeple . . . . .  |  | 266.23         |
| Wood for the Stoves, other repairs and contingencies . . . . .   |  | 101.00         |
|  |  | <hr/> \$597.11 |

"All which has been paid by the Society's Treasurer.

"The said Committee also report that the cellars are leased for the term of four years from Jan'y 1. at \$400 p. annum, the rent to be paid quarterly to the Treasurer. WM. PHILLIPS p order.

"BOSTON April 13, 1807."

Voted, That we now come to the choice of a Standing Committee for the year to manage the prudential concerns of the Society, that five be of the Church and four of the pew owners.

Voted, That Mr. Sprague, Mr. Foster and Mr. Goff be a committee to collect count and sort the votes, which committee declare the following persons chosen, vizt.

William Phillips, Samuel Coverly, Joseph Peirce, Nehemiah Somes, William Homes of the Church, John Winslow, Abraham Wild, John Holland, Benjamin Whitman, of the Pew Owners.

Voted, That Deacon Samuel Salisbury, Joseph Peirce and John Winslow be a Committee to examine the Treasurers Accounts and to report at the next meeting.

Voted — Motion made and seconded that when this meeting adjourn, it adjourn to this day week at 4 O'Clock P. M. to meet in this place, and the Rev. Doctor Eckley be requested to give notice of the same, the next Lords day after divine service in the Afternoon.

Present at this meeting 22.

Monday April 13 [20] 1807.

Meet agreeable to adjournment. The Committee chosen to examine the Treasurers Accounts beg leave to report that they find the Accounts right cast and well vouched, and in the Hands of the Treasurer —

[We omit the details of the report.]



Voted, The report of the Committee be accepted.

Voted, That the Treasurer be desired and he is hereby Authorized to pay the Ballance of Interest due to the Church and Congregation to the first of October next, out of the income of the Stores when received, and that at the end of every quarter year afterward, he pay to the minister and Deacons, Trustees for the distribution of said Interest money, the quarters Interest being \$78.67½ Cents as the same may become due and payable out of the income arising from said Stores.

Voted, The Treasurer be requested and directed to pay to the Rev. Doctor Eckley in addition to his Yearly Sallary Six Hundred and Six Dollars 67 Cents, which is equal to twenty five Dollars p Sabbath.

Moved and Seconded, That a Committee of three from this Church and Society be appointed as an advising Committee to confer with the signers of a remonstrance or protest dated 26 of Nov. A. D. 1806, or such as they shall appoint, upon the subject matter of said remonstrance or protest, and which said remonstrance or protest was signed by William Homes, a Member of this Church, and sundry other persons, and was communicated to a meeting of this Church and Society the first of December last — and said Committee after said Conference are to report their proceedings to this Church and Society at their next meeting.

Voted, That Deacon Salisbury, Benjamin Whitman and Deacon Phillips be the Committee for the above purpose.

Voted, This meeting be dissolved, and it is dissolved accordingly.

True Copy.

Attest J. WINSLOW Clk.

To the Pew Proprietors and Pew Holders in the Old South Meeting House in Boston. —

We the undersigned, members in regular standing and full communion with the Old South (or third) Church of Christ in Boston, understanding that you have, at a meeting called by your Secretary, voted to pull down the ministerial house built by this Church, and also to erect one or more houses on the land belonging thereto, without the consent or the authority thereof — and that your meeting stands adjourned for the purpose of devising means and receiving plans to carry these votes into effect; we feel it a duty incumbent on us, deeply impressed with the impropriety and injustice of your assuming the controul and management of the property exclusively belonging to this Church, to notify you of what we confidently believe to be the rights, privileges and just claims of this Church; and in the exercise of which, no other body can justly interfere, — and to protest against your proceedings relative to the same.

From the Deeds of Mrs. Mary Norton dated the 1st of April A. D. 1669, and the 30th of June A. D. 1677, conveying the land on which the meeting house and ministerial house stand and adjoining

thereto, to Capt. Thomas Savage and others, and "to such as they should associate unto them in Church fellowship," and to their successors forever, for the erecting a Meeting house and ministerial house, it appears incontestibly evident, that this property was given to, and invested in this Church, of which the grantees were members in full communion ; and also from the last will and testament of Mrs. Norton, duly proved the first of February A. D. 1678, in which she bequeathed "to the third Church of Christ in Boston," all the land under and adjoining the New Stores, recently erected and fronting on Marlborough Street, it is equally clear, that this Church are legally entitled to and have vested in it, this last described property and all the buildings thereon ; and in conformity to these gifts and bequests, as special trusts confided to the Church, which cannot be aliened or committed to any other body, have been the proceedings of this Church from its first foundation, — and especially in the erecting the present ministerial house A. D. 1705, which was done by the sole direction of the Church, and the appropriation of its funds, beyond voluntary subscriptions ; as this Church is thus intrusted by its benevolent and pious Benefactress with all the estate above mentioned, for the most important purposes — and has discharged the trust reposed in it hitherto — we conscientiously believe it a dereliction of principles, which ought to influence every breast, and the neglect of a duty incumbent on this Church, and ourselves as members of it, not to protest against any violation of this trust so reposed, and also not to use our utmost endeavour to discharge it.

From these motives, we solemnly protest against your pulling down the ministerial house belonging to this Church, as also against your proceeding to erect any other buildings on the Church's land, and your appropriating any of the rents, income or funds of this Church, for this or any other purpose whatever — and hereby declare our fixed determination to endeavour that this Church shall, whenever Divine providence afford a favourable season, call upon all persons to account for all the property belonging thereto, which shall come into their hands, and be disposed of, without proper authority from this Church — at the same time we assure you, we are not unmindfull or unacquainted with the usage and rights of this Society, and are willing and desirous that the congregation or pew proprietors should enjoy all the privileges at any time belonging to them, — but these do not extend to Church property, or the discharge of a trust committed to it.

Whatever privileges of choosing a standing Committee, in conjunction with the Church, to superintend the prudential concerns of this society, and of meeting to decide upon the expediency of laying additional assessments on the pews, have been heretofore enjoyed by the congregation, or are secured to the proprietors by the deeds of

their pews, we disclaim any wish to infringe or interrupt them in the full possession and enjoyment of ; beyond these, we conceive belong solely to the Church ; because all was the gift and bequest of its benefactors, and not the acquisition or purchase of the pew proprietors — whose money, as the consideration for their pews, was merely the amount paid for the repairs of the meeting house in the Year 1782.

If necessary to repair the Old or build a new ministerial house, we shall cheerfully attend to this important business, and are ready as Church members, at a Church meeting, to appropriate the property of the Church, as far as may be expedient to that purpose, but shall never virtually surrender our exclusive rights as such, by accepting any invitation to submit the management and appropriation of the Church's property contrary, to the true intent of the sacred trust reposed in it.

We have been thus explicit, from a sense of duty and the remaining hope you will not longer continue open the breach unhappily made between us. We wish for peace consistent with righteousness, and shall joyfully embrace every advance towards it, consistent with the sacred trusts committed and the consequent duties required of us, as Members of this Church.

BOSTON November 26th 1806

|                  |                    |                            |
|------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| WILLIAM HOMES    | JOSIAH BUMSTEAD    | ELISHA HUNT                |
| JOSEPH BURGE     | WM. THURSTON       | SAML. BREWER               |
| JERE : BUMSTEAD  | EBENEZER WATERS    | JOHN FENNO                 |
| WILLIAM HASLETT  | JOSIAH VINTON JUN. | THOMAS BUMSTEAD            |
| BENJ : COCKS     | JNO. E. TYLER      | WILLIAM BREED              |
| J. BUMSTEAD JUN. | DANIEL BOWEN       | THOMAS LAMSON <sup>1</sup> |

BOSTON April 1807

Sir,

The Brethren of the Old South or third Church who protested, have appointed a Committee in the expectation that a like measure will be adopted by the brethren against whom they protested, to confer with such committee as may be appointed on their part, and to agree on measures to effect a reconciliation.

Yours Affectionately

(signed)

WM. HOMES.

MR. SAML. COVERLY  
to be communicated.

At a meeting of the Old South Church and Congregation, August 10. 1807 —

On motion made and seconded, Voted, That the Hon. Thomas Dawes Esq. be Moderator, — Josiah Vinton Junr. Secretary.

<sup>1</sup> [We have copied this protest from the original, which is on file.]

The Advising Committee appointed April 13, 1807, then reported as follows —

“The Advising Committee, appointed by the Old South Church and Society, to confer with the signers of a Remonstrance or Protest, dated the 26th of November, 1806, or such as they should appoint, upon the subject matter of said Remonstrance or Protest — have attended to that service; and having had several conferences with Brothers William Homes, Josiah Vinton Junr. William Thurston and Jeremiah Bumstead, who were a Committee appointed by said Protestors or Remonstrants for the purpose of said Conference —

“With great pleasure we ask leave to Report, that we find said Homes, Vinton, Thurston and Bumstead, and those they represent, friendly disposed towards the best Interest of said Church and Society, and with dispositions to bury all misunderstandings, if any have existed, inconsistent with the harmony and Interest of said Church and Society. They do agree with us in opinion, that as it respects the Interest, Property, Rights and Privileges of the said Church and Society, or Congregation — and the method in which the Prudential affairs of said Church and Society shall be managed in future — the same shall remain, exist, be exercised, used, improved and managed, in the same way as the same have heretofore been done, in and by said Church and Congregation or Society, prior to the Year of Our Lord eighteen hundred.

“All which is submitted.

“SAMUEL SALISBURY p. order.”

On Motion made and seconded, the above Report was read and accepted unanimously, and voted to be recorded accordingly.

Then on Motion made and seconded, Voted that this Meeting be adjourned to Thursday of next week, August 20, at 4 o Clock P. M. and that the Minister be requested to give notice of said adjournment, and request a punctual attendance of the members of said Church and Congregation, as matters of considerable importance will then be brought forward, relative to said Church and Society.

THOMAS DAWES Moderator.

Attest Josiah Vinton Jr. Secy.

In this adjustment of a long-standing difficulty, there was more than appears upon the surface. The abandonment of any innovations which had come into the management of the temporalities of the church since the close of the eighteenth century was not the only concession made to the disaffected brethren. These brethren, as we judge, had not been in full sympathy with the policy of William Phillips, Samuel Salisbury, Thomas Dawes, and other influential men in the church and congrega-



tion ; but this was not all. Evidently, they were not altogether satisfied with Dr. Eckley, who was, perhaps, theologically too conservative for them ; and to meet this feeling, it was arranged by and between the two committees in conference, that steps should be taken towards the settlement of another minister, who should be a man of more positive and pronounced evangelical views. But in carrying this arrangement into effect the remonstrants committed themselves to something that would be considered by many as even more dangerous than that which had been the occasion of their protest, for they allowed the church and congregation to take the initiative in the call of a colleague pastor. When it was proposed to call Mr. Bacon and Mr. Hunt to the pastorate in 1770, several of the brethren expressed the opinion "that it was the undoubted right and privilege of the Church to lead in such an affair ;" and when it was observed that the practice in some cases had been otherwise, they replied that their practicing wrong heretofore was no reason why they should continue in such a practice, "which might be attended with consequences very prejudicial to the interests of true religion."<sup>1</sup>

Thursday, August 20, 1807

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation met agreeably to adjournment.

On Motion made and seconded, Voted,

That it is the desire of this Church and Congregation that another Minister should be settled, as a Colleague Pastor with the Rev. Dr. Joseph Eckley. Passed Unanimously.

Voted, That the Deacons of this Church be and hereby are appointed a Committee to take such measures as they may think proper, to carry the preceeding vote into effect. Passed Unanimously.

It was then moved that the sense of this Church and Congregation be now taken, whether the Character and Preaching of the Rev. Mr. Huntington, so far as they are at present acquainted with him, are agreeable to them?

And that sense was then taken by vote, and passed in the affirmative.

Voted, That this Meeting be now dissolved.

Josiah Vinton Jr. Secy.

THOMAS DAWES, Mod.

Present 29 members.

It is to be observed that the committee appointed at this meeting consisted of the deacons of the church.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 133.



*Joshua Huntington*



The following is the Copy of the Letter sent to Mr. Huntington —

BOSTON 26 August 1807.

*Sir,*

Inclosed is a Copy of Votes of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation in Marlboro' Street in Boston relative to the Settling of a Colleague pastor with our present worthy minister the Reverend Doctor Eckley.

As you are particularly named in one of those resolves, we have now the pleasure of requesting you to come and preach with us for such time as may be mutually agreeable, and that we may hear you further than we have done.

At the same time we think it our duty to inform you, that should other Gentlemen offer as Candidates, we may be induced to hear them also, before we decide upon a Connection so important as that which must subsist between a Minister and his people.

We are, Sir, your friends in Christ,

|                  |                           |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| THOS DAWES       | } Deacons of said Church. |
| SAML SALISBURY   |                           |
| WILLIAM PHILLIPS |                           |

REV. JOSHUA HUNTINGTON, New London.

BOSTON 12 Sept. 1807

*Sir,*

The following is copy of a letter sent you the latter part of last month, with a Copy of Votes inclosed. Having received no answer, I think it my duty in the absence of the other Deacons who are on a Journey to send you this Duplicate, that on their Return, we may be enabled to make some report to the Society.

I am Sir,

respectfully Yours

THOS DAWES.

REV. MR. HUNTINGTON

to the Care of Gen. Huntington

N. London State of Connecticut.

Mr. Huntington was a son of General Jedidiah Huntington, who graduated at Harvard College in 1763, in the same class as Josiah Quincy, the patriot, John Jeffries, and Benjamin Dolbeare, and who served with distinction through the Revolutionary war. General Huntington was appointed by President Washington in 1789 to the collectorship of customs at New London, the port of entry for eastern Connecticut and the Connecticut river, and he held this position for nearly thirty years. His son Joshua graduated at Yale College in 1804, and studied theology under Dr. Dwight, the Rev. Asahel Hooker, of Goshen,



Connecticut, and Dr. Morse, of Charlestown. It was undoubtedly by the intervention of Dr. Morse that he was brought to the notice of the people of the Old South. During the year in which he preached, more or less, in Boston, before his settlement, he was thought of in connection with several vacant parishes.

Sabbath Day 7th February 1808.

A meeting of the Brethren of the Church was holden after the public services of the day, for the purpose of considering the expediency of appointing some time for the expression of their minds relating to the election of the Rev : Joshua Huntington, who by the desire of the Church and Congregation had been preaching several months on probation for settlement as Colleague with the present Pastor.

Voted that Monday of the present week, — 3 o'Clock P. M. be assigned for the proposed meeting. Adjourned to that time.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

Monday 8 February 1808.

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Church — Present, the Rev : Dr. Eckley, Moderator — Deacons Samuel Salisbury and William Phillips — Messrs. Isaac Pierce, Jeremiah Bumstead, Samuel Coverly, William Haslett, William Homes, Nehemiah Somes, Samuel Foster, Joseph Pierce, Ebenezer Dorr, James Foster, Josiah Bumstead, Josiah Vinton, Samuel Brewer, Elisha Hunt, Edward Phillips, John E. Tyler, Benjamin Cox, Joseph Burge, Samuel Harris, Thomas Lamson, Theophilus Lyon, Nathaniel Foster, Jeremiah Bumstead Junr, William Thurston, 27.

After prayer by the Moderator for direction, — Voted that a Secretary be chosen on this occasion. Mr. William Thurston was elected.

The Moderator then informed the Brethren that as the time had expired for which the Rev : Mr. Joshua Huntington had been engaged to preach on probation with a view to settlement as Colleague Pastor, he had been desired by the Deacons to appoint the meeting of the Brethren holden on the preceeding day ; which meeting had been adjourned to the present time, for the expression of their minds on the subject proposed.

On motion of Deacon Phillips, Voted that the Brethren will now proceed to give in their Votes by Yeas and Nays, whether they will make choice of the Rev : Mr. Joshua Huntington as Colleague Pastor with the Rev : Dr. Eckley.

In pursuance of this Vote, the Church proceeded to a choice ; when, on counting the Votes, it appeared there were Twenty five Yeas, and One Nay.

Mr. Huntington was accordingly declared to be chosen by the above

large majority. In this choice ; the Rev. Doctor Eckley declared his concurrence.

Deacon Phillips then informed the Church, that Deacon Dawes (who was confined by sickness) had requested him to express his approbation of the proposed choice of Mr. Huntington.

Voted That Deacons Salisbury and Phillips, Messrs. Thurston, Coverly and Homes, be a Committee to request a meeting of the Congregation, on Friday next at 3 o'Clock P. M. at the Meeting House, that the choice of the Church may be laid before them for their concurrence.

Voted That the Committee aforementioned, wait on Mr. Huntington, and request him to continue to preach with our Rev: Pastor for two Sabbaths next ensuing.

The meeting was then dissolved.

Copy of the record made and attested by the Secretary, William Thurston.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation, on Friday the 12th of February A. D. 1808 at 3 O'Clk P M.

Rev. Doctor Eckley Moderator.

After prayer to God, — it was

Voted, That William Thurston be chosen Secretary.

Voted, That the Secretary read the proceedings of the Brethren of the Church on Monday last, (in consequence of which this meeting was held,) which were read, and

Voted, We will now take the question by yeas and nays, whether we concur with the Church, in the choice of the Revd Mr. Joshua Huntington, as Colleague Pastor with the Rev. Doctor Eckley.

The question was then taken, when it appeared the whole number of votes were fifty four, of which fifty one were yeas and three nays.

The Moderator then declared the vote to be in the affirmative, by a large majority.

Voted, That a Committee of three from the Congregation be appointed to join the Committee of the Church, to request Mr. Huntington to preach with our Revd Pastor for two Sabbaths next ensuing.

Voted, That Benjamin Whitman Esqr. Mr. Abraham Wild and John Winslow Esqr be of this Committee.

Voted, That a Committee of seven, four of the Church and three of the Congregation, be chosen to devise ways and means for the support of the Revd Mr. Huntington, if he should settle with us, and report at the next meeting.

Voted, That Deacons Phillips and Salisbury, Messrs Dorr and Coverly, of the Church, and Benjamin Whitman, John Winslow Esqrs and Mr. Abraham Wild, of the Congregation, compose this committee.

Voted, That this meeting be adjourned to Friday next (19th inst) 3 O clk PM. to meet at this place.

A true Record

JOSEPH ECKLEY Moderator.

Attest Wm. Thurston Secy.

Present 54 members.

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation on Friday the 19th of February A. D. 1808, by adjournment from 12th inst. —

Voted, That Deacon Phillips preside as Moderator.

The proceedings of the last meeting were then called for and read by the Secretary, after which Deacon Phillips, Chairman of the Committee of ways and means, appointed the last meeting, reported, that the following vote be recommended to be passed —

Voted, That there be allowed and paid by this Society to the Rev. Joseph Eckley, our pastor, Twenty five Dollars per week, in future as his Salary, so long as his pastoral relation shall continue with this Church and Society, and in addition thereto that this Society will continue to furnish him with a house and his fireing, as they have heretofore done, the above provision and salary is in lieu of the salary and provision heretofore made for him, — which passed unanimously. And also further reported as follows, viz.

Your Committee recommend that there be paid to the Revd Mr. Joshua Huntington, fifteen Dollars for each Sabbath that he has preached to this Society as a Candidate, and the same to continue untill said Huntington is ordained as Colleague Pastor with the Rev. Doctor Eckley.

Art. 2nd. Also that there be allowed and paid to the Rev. Mr. Joshua Huntington, Twenty five Dollars pr week, as a Salary, so long as Mr. Huntington's pastoral relation shall continue with this Church and Congregation, and that whenever Mr. Huntington shall change his situation in life, and have a family, this Society will procure for him a house, and find him his wood necessary for his fireing, in addition and to be a part of his said Salary ; the above compensation and Salary being the same which this Society are under obligations to allow their present worthy and beloved Pastor, the Rev Doctor Eckley, agreeable to their vote of this day.

Art. 3rd. Also your Committee are of opinion, that there is nothing more necessary to meet all the demands against the Society, than to raise the Taxes on the Pews, one hundred per cent. from the present tax, there will then be left, in the hands of the Treasurer, a small sinking fund, towards building, or repairing the house, stores or meeting house, if necessary.

P Order of the Committee.

Voted, That the consideration of the above report be taken by articles. Unanimously.

Voted, The first article be accepted. Unanimously Voted.

Voted, That the second article be accepted.

Voted, That the third article be not accepted.

Voted, That fifty per cent. advance be added to the present taxes on the pews, commencing next Sabbath.

Voted, That a Committee of five be appointed to acquaint Mr. Huntington with the proceedings of this Church and Congregation, relative to his preaching for us and settlement with us as Colleague Pastor with the Revd Doctor Eckley, and request him to continue preaching with our Revd Pastor, till he gives his answer to the call for settlement, and his ordination, if he accepts.

Voted, That Deacon Phillips, Messrs. Nehemiah Somes, Jonathan Harris, William Homes and John Winslow be of this Committee.

Voted, That the same Committee wait upon the Rev. Doctor Eckley, and notify him of the vote of this meeting relative to his Salary.

Voted, This Meeting be dissolved.

A true record

WM. PHILLIPS Moderator

Attest Wm. Thurston Secy.

Present 44 members.

Sabbath afternoon 21 Feby. 1808

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Church after the public services of the day —

Voted that a Committee of this Church be chosen to wait on the Rev: Mr. Joshua Huntington, and inform him of the election which the Church has made of him as Colleague Pastor with the Rev: Dr. Eckley.

Voted that this Committee consist of Five. The following persons were chosen — The Rev: Dr. Eckley, Deacon Samuel Salisbury, Deacon William Phillips, Mr. Ebenezer Dorr, Mr. William Homes.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation, on Monday March 14th A. D. 1808,—

Voted, That Deacon Phillips preside as Moderator.

Voted, That William Thurston officiate as Secretary.

The Moderator then read a communication from the Standing committee, recommending “that a new Pulpit be built in the Old South meeting house, and that provision be made for a publick dinner to be given on the day of the ordination of Mr. Huntington, as Colleague Pastor, should he accept the invitation to settle with us, and that the money necessary for these objects be raised by voluntary subscription.”

Voted, That it is expedient that a new Pulpit should be built, agreeably to the recommendation of the Standing Committee.



Deacon Phillips then generously offered to give to the Society the sum of \$400, for the purpose of defraying the expense of building the new Pulpit.<sup>1</sup>

Voted, (unanimously) to accept the same.

Voted, That the Standing Committee be requested to superintend the erecting and completing the new Pulpit, this day voted to be built.

Voted, That the consideration of that part of the communication from the Committee, recommending that provision be made for a public dinner &c. be postponed till Mr. Huntington shall have given his answer to our call.

Voted, That this meeting be dissolved.

A true record

WM. PHILLIPS Moderator

Attest Wm. Thurston Secy.

37 present.

Sabbath Day 3 April 1808

Mr. Huntington's Answer accepting the invitation of the Church and Congregation, was read by the Pastor preceeding the close of the public services of the afternoon.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.

This letter was copied into the record book of the church and congregation, and was as follows :—

To the members of the Old South Church and Congregation in  
Marlborough Street,

*Much respected Fathers and Brethren,*

The United and very general invitation which I have receiv'd to settle over you as Colleague Pastor with the Rev. Dr. Eckley, has called my attention to a subject of the most interesting and momentous nature. Arduous is the duty, high the obligation, awful the responsibility of a Gospel Minister ; especially at this day, and in this Place.

Impressed in some good measure (as I humbly hope) with the weight of this consideration, and conscious of the impropriety of yielding to the exclusive dictates of my own inexperienced judgment, I have sought the advice of judicious friends and the direction of Infinite Wisdom, while preparing to make you this return. Hoping you have formed just conceptions of my Theological sentiments, of my character as a Man, and of my qualifications for the Pastoral relation ; trusting in the continuance of your favors, and the Assistance of your prayers, I accept your Invitation.

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Lowell related that Dr. Eckley spoke with a slightly foreign accent ; and when it was proposed to remove the "tub pulpit," and to build a larger one, partly of mahogany, and partly of some other material, a wag in the parish said

that Dr. Eckley had requested that the pulpit might be *mognified*,—placing a prolonged accent on the first syllable,—and that the parish had erected one not wholly mahogany, but mahoganified.—Sprague's *Annals*, vol. ii. pp. 139, 140.]

With sentiments of the highest respect and the sincerest affection,  
I am Gentlemen

Your Servant for Jesus sake

JOSHUA HUNTINGTON.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation, April 4, 1808,

William Phillips, Moderator and J. Winslow Clerk.

"The Committee of the South Society chosen at their meeting in April last for managing the prudentials of the same beg leave to report, that there has been expended for the support of Singing, and teaching a new sett of singers since the above date, also for wood for the Stoves, repairing the Churches Tomb in the Common burying ground and other Contingencies, the sum of three Hundred and Eighty three Dollars seventy two Cents, all which has been directed to be paid by the Treasurer of said Society.

p. order of Committee

WM. PHILLIPS."

Voted, Unanimously, that said report be accepted.

Voted, We now come to the Choice of a Committee for the present year, and they have the same powers of the Committee of last Year, and that Samuel Belknap and Jos: Eaton be a Committee to collect, count and sort the Votes, who reported, that Deacon William Phillips, Samuel Coverly, Joseph Pierce, William Homes, Nehemiah Sones, John Winslow, Benjamin Whitman, Abraham Wild and John Holland were unanimously Chosen.

Voted, That the Treasurer be requested to pay to the Rev. Doctor Eckley, the sum of Six hundred and Eighty eight Dollars  $\frac{3}{10}$  to make his Sallary equal to Twenty five Dollars p Sabbath to the 19th of February last, at which time a Vote passed giving him a fixed Sallary from that date of Twenty five Dollars p Sabbath.

Voted, That Samuel Salisbury, John Winslow, Joseph Pierce, William Thurston and Col Jos: Ward be a Committee to examine the Treasurers Accounts and report at the next meeting.

Voted, This Meeting be dissolved

JNO. WINSLOW Clk.

Sabbath Afternoon, 10 April 1808.

A meeting of the Brethren of the Church was holden after the public duties of the day to consult on the measures proper to be taken relating to the Ordination of the Rev: Mr. Huntington as Colleague Pastor with the Rev: Dr. Eckley.

Mr. Huntington declared his approbation, in general, of the Confession of Faith, and of the Platform assented to the 12 May 1680, by the Elders and Messengers of New England Churches: Also of the

orders and regulations maintained in this Church. At the same time he exhibited a Certificate of his regular admission into the College Church at New Haven in Connecticut, and Recommendation by the said Church, signed by the Rev: Dr. Timothy Dwight, President and Pastor. He was then admitted, by Vote of the Brethren, a Member of this Church.

On which it was Voted, that with the permission of divine Providence, the Ordination of the Rev: Joshua Huntington be on Wednesday the 18th day of May next.

Voted That the following Churches be requested to attend by their Pastors and other Delegates, to assist in the transaction of the business, and performance of the religious duties of the Day; Viz. The Congregational Churches in this Town; the Church at New Haven, under the Pastoral care of the Rev: Doctor Timothy Dwight, the Church at New London, under the pastoral care of the Rev: Abel McEwen; the Church at Goshen, under the pastoral care of the Rev: Asahel Hooker; the Church at Charlestown, under the pastoral care of the Rev: Doctor Jedidiah Morse; and the Church at Roxbury, under the pastoral care of the Rev: Thomas Gray.

Voted The Pastor and Deacons of this Church be a Committee, to prepare and sign the Letters missive on this occasion, and send them to the Churches afore named.

Voted The Council be desired to meet at 9 o'Clock A. M. on the day assigned for the Ordination.

Voted That Deacons Dawes, Salisbury and Phillips, Doctor Eckley, Mr. Thurston, and Mr. Homes, be a Committee to communicate to the Council, when organized, the proceedings of this Church, relating to the election and proposed Ordination of the Rev: Mr. Huntington.

Voted that the Pastor of this Church be desired to make the Ordaining Prayer.

Voted that the Pastor be a Committee to communicate to the Standing Committee of the Church and Congregation the Votes passed by the Church this Afternoon relating to the Ordination of Mr. Joshua Huntington; at the same time expressing their desire that a meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation may be holden as soon as convenient, for their joint concurrence in such other measures as may then be judged to be connected with the design and solemnities of the occasion.

The meeting was then dissolved.

JOSEPH ECKLEY.<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing Votes being handed to the Standing Committee, the Revd Dr. Eckley was requested by said Committee, to request a

<sup>1</sup> [The proceedings of this meeting are recorded in the church and congregation's book as well as in that of the church.]

Meeting of the Church and Congregation on April 20. 1808 at 4 O Clock P. M.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and the proprietors of Pews, Boston April 20 1808,

William Phillips Moderator.

Voted, That the Brethren of the Congregation concur in the doings of the Church respecting the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Joshua Huntington on the 18 May next.

Report of the Committee appointed on the Treasurers a/c have attended that service, and report that they found the accounts right cast and well vouched, and the following in the hands of the Treasurer Vizt.

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| 18 Shares in the Massachusetts Bank belonging to the Church <sup>1</sup> . . . . .   | \$9,000.00 |
| 3 p Ct Stock belonging to do nominal \$724.63, specie . . . . .  | 416.66     |
| Cash in hand belonging to do. . . . .  | 435.83     |
| Ballance of Income from the Stores . . . . .   | 176.00     |
| Interest money of the poor of the Church and Congregation subject to the direction of the Minister and Deacons, Trustees for their fund, . . . . . | 2,509.81   |

BOSTON April 19 1808

All which is submitted

SAML. SALISBURY p order.

Voted, That the above report be accepted.

Voted, That the Standing Committee be requested to wait on the brethren of the Church and Congregation to raise by Subscription a Sum sufficient to provide a public Dinner for the delegates and Council who are invited to assist in the Duties of the Day.

Voted, That John Winslow, Jonathan Harris, Samuel Belknap, Joseph Ward and Abraham Wild be a Committee, to join the Committee of the Church to wait on the Council who are chosen to settle and ordain the Revd Mr. Joshua Huntington, and communicate the doings of the Church and Congregation.

Voted, That the Standing Committee be a Committee to superintend the doings of the Day, and to provide the Dinner and see that strangers and others are provided with seats, and to attend to whatever other duties may occur on that day.

Voted, That we now come to the Choice of one of the Congrega-

<sup>1</sup> ["When the Stock Holders of the Massachusetts Bank agreed to double their Stock—the Church not being in Cash to double theirs—the Deacons disposed of their right of Subscribing, for a premium which produced a sum sufficient to fill up two Shares, and add to the 16 they before owned and leave upwards of \$100,—which was passed to their Credit in the Treasurers Books."]



tion to serve on the Standing Committee in the room of Mr. John Holland who declines serving.

Nehemiah Somes was appointed a Committee to collect, count and sort the Votes, who reported that Mr. Jonathan Harris was unanimously Chosen.

Voted, That when we do adjourn it shall be to such time as the Standing Committee shall see cause to call a Meeting, and that the Rev. Dr. Eckley be requested to notify the meeting from the Desk on the Sabbath.

Voted, That we now adjourn.

Mr. Huntington's ordination took place on the 18th of May. The introductory prayer was offered by Mr. Gray of Jamaica Plain; it had been expected that President Dwight would preach the sermon, but he was taken ill on his way to Boston, and his place was filled by Dr. Morse, who chose for his text 2 Cor. iv. 2: "But have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully; but by manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God." The sermon was a strong plea for doctrinal preaching, and was very positive and aggressive in its tone. Dr. Eckley offered the ordaining prayer, Dr. Lathrop gave the charge, Mr. Channing extended the fellowship of the churches, and Mr. Lowell closed with prayer. "The exercises were devout and animated; and afforded high satisfaction to the numerous auditors assembled on the occasion."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Lathrop charged the pastor-elect: "Take heed to thy doctrine. Let the doctrine you preach, be the doctrine of Christ. Preach not yourself, but Jesus Christ and him crucified. Preach the word, the pure word, not corrupted with the false reasonings or traditions of men." "On this day of the week," he added, "and on this day of the month, forty years ago, I was ordained to the work of the gospel ministry in this town." Mr. Channing, in giving the right hand of fellowship, enlarged upon the words of Christ, "My kingdom is not of this world," and said:—

We invite you to no participation of power or authority; we have none to bestow; but do not therefore count our fellowship contempti-

<sup>1</sup> *Col. Centinel*, May 21, 1808.

The hymns sung were "Come let us anew our journey pursue," and "Our Lord is risen from the dead"; also, the anthem, "O Lord God of Israel, there's no God like thee in Heav'n above," etc.

The delegates from the Church in Federal Street, with Mr. Channing, were Deacon Wright, Judge Davis, Judge Dawes, Jonathan Phillips, and Josiah Salisbury, the last three former members of the Old South.

ble. We invite you to share with us the toils and successes of a ministry, more honorable in our estimation than the empire of the world ; a ministry, established by the Prince of Peace for the universal diffusion of truth, holiness and love.

Turning to the church and congregation, Mr. Channing said : —

On these occasions our joy is generally mingled with sorrow. In ordaining ministers we are generally called to repair the ravages of death, and to fill the vacant place of a departed friend and brother. But here it is our happiness to behold our brother, whose faithful services you have long enjoyed, still living, and uniting with us in the interesting duties of this day. Brethren we rejoice in your liberality, unanimity, order and peace. We rejoice that God has sent you a new pastor whose age, character and attainments promise many years of zealous, interesting and profitable labors. Permit us to ask for this our young brother, your prayers and unremitting kindness. Accept his attempts to serve you with candor and tenderness. We ask not for him your admiration and applause, the most dangerous gifts you can bestow. Rather grant him your serious attention and cordial esteem. Grant him the best evidence of an acceptable ministry, not empty praise, but a devout reception of the truths he may deliver. Brethren we commend you and your pastors to the guidance and blessing of Almighty God. May charity, the bond of perfectness, never fail among you. May no root of bitterness spring up and trouble you. Peace be within these walls. Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity !

The proprietors of the First Church voted, July 14, 1807, to sell their meeting-house, — the Old Brick, — and to erect another in what is now Chauncy Street. The first service in the new building was held on the 21st of July, 1808, when an appropriate discourse was preached at the Thursday Lecture, by Mr. Emerson. There were good and sufficient reasons for moving from the spot which had been occupied by the church for more than one hundred and sixty years, and from the neighborhood in which it was established at the foundation of the town ; but there was serious opposition to the change, as there always is in such cases. Mr. William Hayden, for a long time chairman of the standing committee, wrote : —

The noise and dust of the great thoroughfare — now Washington Street, then Cornhill — were even then so great as to render the location unsuitable as a place of worship, and the project of removal to Summer Street was agitated. The change, though determined

upon by the majority, was vehemently opposed by some of the worshippers, and, among others, by the Hon. Benjamin Austin, a well-known political leader of the Democratic party, and editor of the *Chronicle*, the Democratic organ of those days. He was the father of Charles Austin, who was killed by Selfridge, in State Street, in 1806. Mr. Austin's opposition to the removal of the church extended so far as to lead him to terminate his connection with it, and I think he never attended at Chauncy Place. He wrote some verses bewailing the fate of the old church, of which the first two lines are all that I remember, running thus : —

“ Farewell, Old Brick, — Old Brick, farewell ;  
You bought your minister and sold your bell.”<sup>1</sup>

The Old South congregation continued to worship on the same great thoroughfare, almost within a stone's throw of the site of the Old Brick, for nearly threescore years and ten from this time ; and when, at length, it was compelled to move, it had to encounter an opposition much more violent and persistent than Mr. Austin and his friends ever thought of attempting against the First Church. In the meanwhile the First Church made another removal, — to its present house of worship, in Berkeley Street.

At a meeting of Brethren of the Church and Congregation at the Old South Meeting House in Marlborough Street, August 1st. 1808,  
William Phillips Moderator.

Voted, That the report of the Committee be accepted respecting the Alteration of the Stairs, by taking down the present Stairs, and erecting new ones in the Westerly porch of said Meeting House.

Voted, That the report of the Committee be accepted, respecting the Alteration of the Pews in the Gallery and below agreeable to the plan exhibited to the Society this day.

Voted, That the Standing Committee be the Committee to make the Alterations above agreed to, by getting the work done in the best and cheapest manner, offering the same to the members of this Society.

Voted, That there be a covering for the Cushions on the pulpit, the Clock and Chandelier.

Voted, There be a Committee of ways and means now chosen, to report to this Society what measures shall be taken respecting the building two ministerial Houses, and the ways to obtain monies for doing the same.

<sup>1</sup> [Ellis's *Hist. of the First Church*, p. 242. The reference in the couplet was to the inducements offered to the Rev. Mr. Emerson, in 1799, to leave his church in the town of Harvard and come to Boston.]

Voted, That Deacons Phillips and Salisbury and John Winslow be the Committee of ways and means.

Voted, That the thanks of this Society be given to William Phillips Esqr. for his Liberal present in presenting them with a new and elegant pulpit including a handsome set of cushions for the same, and that this vote be recorded in the Societys Books.<sup>1</sup>

Voted, That this meeting be now dissolved.

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation in Marlborough Street Novr 7th 1808, called by the Revd Doctor Eckley on Sabbath afternoon after service, to be held this day at 3 O'Clock PM.

Deacon William Phillips chosen Moderator.

A motion made and seconded that the pews above and below shall be valued and then sold by Auction to the highest bidder who shall bid for the Choice, and that the taxes be fixed on each pew p Sabbath before the sale, which was Voted Unanimously.

Voted, The Standing Committee be the Committee to carry the above Vote into effect, and the Deacons be requested to execute the Deeds after the Sales.

Voted, That the Committee be directed to advertize the above Pews for Sale on Thursday the first day of December at 11 O'Clock, (this day being appointed for Thanksgiving Day the sale was postponed to Friday the 2d December.)

Voted, This meeting be now dissolved.

Sabbath Day Nov 22. 1808.

A letter was received from the Second Church in Dorchester ; requesting the assistance of the Old South Church by its Pastors and other Delegates, at the Ordination of the Rev'd John Codman, on Wednesday the 7th Inst. [December].

Voted to comply with the request. The Pastors and deacons were chosen to attend on the Occasion. JOSHUA HUNTINGTON.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See picture at the head of chapter vii.]

<sup>2</sup> [The letter-missive sent to the Old South was in the following terms:—  
*Christian Friends and Brethren,*

Mr. John Codman having accepted the call of the Second Church and Society in Dorchester, to take the same under his Pastoral care,—the Subscribers in behalf of said Church respectfully request you by your Pastors and Delegates to attend in Council — with the other Churches to whom letters missive are directed ; to afford your assistance in the

Ordination, on Wednesday the seventh day of December next at the house of Mr. Samuel Richards in said Dorchester, at ten O'Clock in the forenoon.

Wishing you Grace, Mercy and Peace, through Our Lord Jesus Christ, they subscribe themselves, your Brethren in the faith and hope of the Gospel,

|                   |              |
|-------------------|--------------|
| STEPHEN BADLAM    | } Committee. |
| SAMUEL WITHINGTON |              |
| JOSEPH CLAP       |              |
| EBENR WITHINGTON  |              |
| JOSEPH CLAP JUNR. |              |

DORCHESTER, Nov. 16th. 1808.]



In consequence of the increasing population of the town of Dorchester, the old meeting-house was so full that many families among the new-comers could not procure pews, and even individuals found it difficult to obtain sittings. Sixty families, it is said, were in the habit of attending worship in the neighboring towns. It was determined, therefore, to build "another edifice for religious assembly," and divine service was held in it for the first time, October 30, 1806. But the minister of the First Parish, the Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, hesitated long before giving up any portion of his flock, to which he was much attached, and the new church was not formally recognized until January 1, 1808.<sup>1</sup> On that occasion, Dr. Lathrop was moderator of the council, and the Rev. John Pierce, of Brookline, preached the sermon. The fellowship of the churches was extended to General Stephen Badlam, as representing the Second Church, by Dr. Porter, of Roxbury. The covenant, said the Rev. James H. Means, in an historical discourse, in 1858, "was modelled after the original covenant of the First Church;"<sup>2</sup> and in another discourse, twenty years later, he said further:—

It is rather singular that the records contain no copy of the covenant used at the formation of the church. There is, however, reason to believe it to have been the same which is recorded under date of May 11, 1821, as having been "renewedly adopted"; all the expressions of which, with the exception of a few unimportant words, are found in the covenant we now use. It did not, however, contain distinct articles of belief, and in 1828 the church adopted a declaration of faith embracing five articles, concerning the Trinity, depravity, the atonement, regeneration, and eternal happiness and misery, with a general assent to the "system of faith" taught in the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. On the 28th of February, 1834, the church

<sup>1</sup> The new church was at one time called the Old South of Dorchester.

<sup>2</sup> In 1886 many of the members of the Second Church, desiring to return to the more simple and scriptural methods which were in use during the first twenty years of their history, proposed to substitute the Form of Admission recommended by the Creed Commission in 1883 for the Confession of 1834. The argument for a change had been stated clearly and forcibly by their minister, the Rev. Mr. Packard, in a paper on Church Creeds and Church Membership, read by him in 1882, before the Suffolk South

Conference, and at a meeting of the Congregational ministers of Boston, printed in the *Golden Rule*, and, in 1884, reprinted in a pamphlet. "The artificial bars raised by one generation and necessary to their defence may have to be let down by another generation under different circumstances. Whatever is merely artificial and of temporary use ought not to be put on a level with the Ten Commandments." We should have said that Mr. Packard's argument was unanswerable, had he not endeavored to answer it himself, in opposing and—for the time—defeating the proposed change.

unanimously accepted the covenant and confession in its present form, which we thus hold hallowed by the associations of forty-four years, and a large part of which has been used here since 1808.

Mr. Pierce's sermon at the gathering of the church was on *Paying Vows made to the Lord*; we quote what he said upon the obligations assumed by those who owned the baptismal covenant, as showing the light in which he, and earnest men like himself, regarded these obligations:—

Do not some, in all probability, yield a formal assent to the church covenant, merely to obtain baptism for their children? Do they not in the most solemn manner, which words can express, devote themselves to the Lord “in an everlasting covenant never to be forgotten,” while at the very time they do not realize the awful import of their engagement? Or do they not appear very soon to forget their solemn declarations, promises and resolutions? Do they not sometimes think that they have taken but one step, and that a very inconsiderable one, towards being Christians; while, if they pay the vows which they have vowed, they must be Christians in deed and in truth? On the most favourable supposition, are not some ready to imagine that there is a great difference between the engagements they form, and the engagements of those who come to the Lord's table? But nothing can be more erroneous, as may appear by considering the obligations which devolve on those who avouch the Lord to be their God. This avowal is made equally by those who bring their children to baptism, as by those who come to the table of the Lord. For both equally profess to believe the validity of the sacred scriptures. Both equally profess repentance of their sins and sincere desires of forgiveness. Both equally profess their faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. Both equally engage, in humble dependence on divine grace, to conduct according to the rules of the gospel relating both to God and man. Both equally subject themselves to the discipline of the church. What then is the difference? Why they who come to the Lord's supper, engage to walk in communion with the church of Christ; while they who do not come to this sacrament, for a very obvious reason, do not enter into this obligation. The agreement in the main articles is exact. Is there then any difference in the engagements; and should there be any difference in the qualifications of those who procure the benefit of a christian ordinance for their children, and of those who commemorate the death of Christ? Will he who has commanded us to pay that which we have vowed, forgive our remissness in the one instance, and severely condemn it in the other? Will he not rather in both cases declare, “Ye have vowed a vow unto the Lord; and ye cannot go back”?

The new church was most fortunate in its choice of a minister. Mr. Codman was a man of good social position, fine presence, clear intellect, and thorough education. He graduated at Harvard College in 1802, in the same class with William Allen, Samuel Hoar, and Levi Lincoln, and began to read law, but by the earnest desire of his father, expressed when on his deathbed, he turned his thoughts to divinity. He studied for a time with Dr. Ware, then of Hingham, but preferring a more positive theology, he went to Edinburgh. He was licensed in England, and preached there for a year or more with much acceptance. On his return to his native land his services were in great request, and it was not long before he received and accepted the call from Dorchester. It was an exciting time, theologically as well as politically. A great crisis in the Congregational body was imminent. Parties had been forming, but rather within the denomination, than in any expectation of actual schism. Dr. Ware had gone to Cambridge, to succeed Dr. Tappan in the Hollis Professorship of Theology; and Andover Seminary had just been founded, to counteract what was becoming the predominant influence in the old "school of the prophets." Mr. Codman left no reason for doubt, in the minds of those to whom he addressed his letter of acceptance, as to his position in the rising controversy. After referring to the sermons which he had preached in their hearing he wrote: "Lest, however, there should be any doubt in the mind of any one upon this subject, I think it my duty in the presence of a heart-searching God, and of this church, to declare my firm, unshaken faith in those doctrines, that are sometimes called the doctrines of the Reformation, the doctrines of the Cross, the peculiar doctrines of the gospel. These doctrines, through the help of God, I intend to preach; in the faith of these doctrines I hope to live; and in the faith of these doctrines I hope to die."

At the ordination, December 7, Mr. Channing preached the sermon, Dr. Eckley offered the ordaining prayer, the charge was given by Dr. Osgood, of Medford, and the right hand of fellowship by Mr. Harris, of Dorchester. Mr. Channing's sermon was from the text "Be instant in season, out of season," and was a powerful presentation of the solemn responsibilities of the ministerial office.<sup>1</sup> We quote one of its most memorable passages:—

<sup>1</sup> Just before his own ordination, Mr. Henry Channing: "I feel awed in considering the magnitude of the duties

The salvation of man is the leading object of the providence of God. This his merciful voice promised to our guilty parents immediately after the fall. For this, the cumbrous fabric of the Mosaic dispensation was reared. For this, prophets were inspired, and were enabled successively to cast a clearer light on futurity. For this, the son of God himself left the abodes of glory, and expired a victim on the cross! For this, the harmony of creation was disturbed, and stupendous miracles were wrought to attest the gracious promises of God. For this end, a church has been erected, and its interests guarded amidst the convulsions of a sinful world. For this end, nations have been, and still are shaken. Yea, in this end, all heaven is interested. Heaven is gladdened by the tidings that a sinner has repented.

Sabbath Evening [? November 27], the Church and Congregation being requested by the Rev. Doctor Eckley to tarry, to express their mind if they would have a Collection for the poor of the Church and Congregation on Thanksgiving Day,

Voted Unanimously, they would.

Mr. Jefferson's administration was near its close, and Mr. Madison, secretary of state, was about to succeed to the presidency. The country was slowly drifting into another war with Great Britain. Bonaparte in the progress of his great struggle for continental dominion had decreed that all merchandise, the product of England or her colonies, was liable to seizure, even on board neutral vessels. The British government had retaliated by orders in council prohibiting any neutral trade with France or her allies. The United States, which was the only neutral power, was thus placed between two fires. Mr. John Bromfield wrote from London, where he was settled in business, April 18, 1808: "The decrees of France and England are ruinous to American commerce, which is a whip-top, scourged by both parties. Though a neutral, it is attacked by all the belligerents." For the protection of American property, the administration had imposed an embargo and other restrictive measures, which the merchants regarded as more harassing than all the impediments placed in their way by the belligerent powers. More than one third of the tonnage employed in the foreign trade of the United States was owned in Massachusetts, and of this trade the British was of much more importance than the French.

soon to devolve upon me. The church of God, purchased with the blood of his Son; the eternal interests of mankind;

—what objects are here presented! I ask your prayers, that I may have grace to be faithful." — *Memoir*, vol. i. p. 171.



Said Mr. George Cabot, a prominent merchant and public man : "Our trade with France was comparatively small, and restrictions as to that nation were not so injurious. With reference to England the case was different. Of all the surplus products of the United States, that country bought annually one half, and of all our foreign purchases she supplied two thirds."<sup>1</sup> The merchants of Boston and the adjacent ports were disposed, therefore, to side with England, and to be lenient in their judgment of her policy upon the ocean, overbearing as it had been for many years. But the leanings of the administration were towards France, and the encounter between the *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake*, near the Capes of Virginia, confirmed it in its sympathies, while it greatly intensified the popular feeling against England. "The country had never been in such a state," says the historian Bradford, "since the battle of Lexington." When the Thanksgiving Day of 1808 came this was the condition of the public mind.

Mrs. Quincy wrote to her husband, the Hon. Josiah Quincy, then in Congress, December 1, 1808:—

Dr. Kirkland disappointed many of his audience this morning by the moderation of his sermon. It was less political than on any former occasion; when it was expected to be the reverse, from the excited state of the public mind. I went to the Old South in the afternoon. Dr Eckley gave a most violent philippic against the present rulers and measures. He spoke of Jefferson, French influence, prejudice against Britain &c.; made out the title of Bonaparte to the character of the second beast in Revelation — Antichrist. Endeavouring to rouse the spirit of the country, he exclaimed, "Where is the warning voice of Washington? where, the spirit of our forefathers? Where is the zeal of New England?" He commanded the deepest attention. I almost expected to hear the people huzza at the close. The musicians in the gallery actually struck up "Washington's March," to the music of which we all marched home to comment on the sermon.

And again, December 7:—

The greatest gloom and consternation prevail at the news, brought by express last evening, of the passage of the Non-intercourse Bill. Every one hoped, to the last moment, that the ruling party would stop short of this full measure of folly and oppression.<sup>2</sup>

In 1809 there was a temporary relaxation of hostilities, and a

<sup>1</sup> *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. iv. pp. 212, 216.

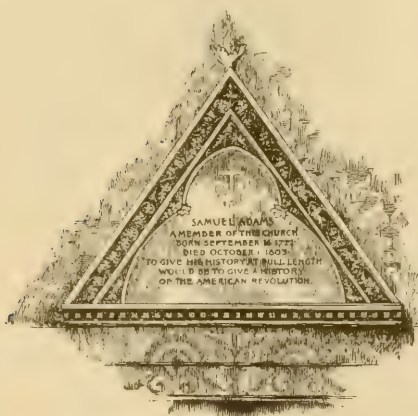
<sup>2</sup> [*Memoir of the Life of Eliza S. M. Quincy*, pp. 110, 111.]

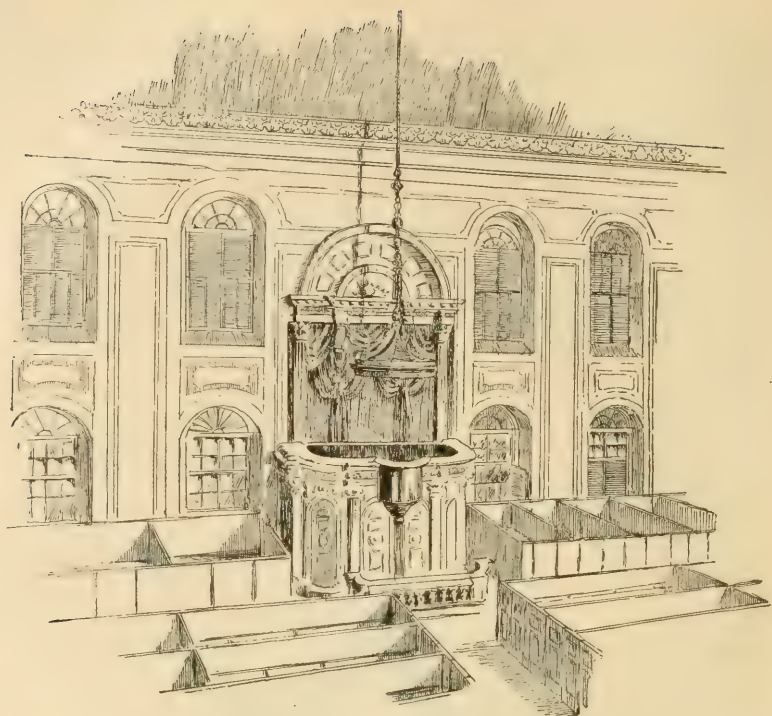
thousand vessels were cleared for foreign ports. The Embargo Act was modified, so far as related to provisions and the exclusion of foreign armed vessels ; but the restrictions upon importations were continued, with a proviso empowering the president to legalize trade with Great Britain by proclamation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. iv. pp. 216, 217.

"The navigation of Boston, and of the New England ports generally, has never been less obstructed than this season, by a Winter Embargo — and never

before so much impeded as by the present Political one. Heaven has thrown every facility into the lap of Commerce; and Ingratitude and Misrule have thrown them away." — *Col. Centinel*, Jan. 11, 1809.





## CHAPTER VII.

1809-1815.

A WIDENING BREACH AMONG THE CHURCHES. — ANOTHER WAR.

ON the first Sabbath morning — New Year's Day — of 1809, the Rev. Mr. Huntington preached a sermon appropriate to the occasion. Among his auditors was the senior deacon, the Hon. Thomas Dawes, who, within twenty-four hours from that time, "resigned his spirit unto God who gave it." On the next Lord's day Dr. Eckley preached a funeral sermon from Job xix. 25. "For I know that my Redeemer liveth," and thus spoke of his departed parishioner : —

As a native of Boston, he discovered a very earnest attachment to its interest, and at an early season of life, bent his mind, among other things, to the desire of its exterior improvement. From the calling which he pursued, and in which he acted as a principal, he greatly amended the style of architecture ; and there is now a considerable number of private, as well as some public edifices in this town and in

the vicinity, indebted for their convenience and beauty to his skill :<sup>1</sup> The American Academy of Arts and Sciences was well justified in making him one of its members.

When the political concerns of our country, no less than fifty years ago, required a martial spirit and knowledge of tactics, Colonel Dawes was one of the most useful officers of the militia of this then province.

To the fiscal state of this capital he paid a very particular and assiduous attention. With its pecuniary concerns, there was no person more intimately acquainted. I have understood that the Town of Boston had often considered itself as having been overcharged in the general tax throughout the Commonwealth. From the knowledge which he was judged to possess on this subject, he was elected by a full vote of the inhabitants of this place, as a member of the House of Representatives in the General Court, in the year 1777, among which body, his information on many points connected with the relative situation of the towns in the whole State, especially on the subject of taxation, gave him, for a number of years, so decided an influence, as to enable him to repel many improper claims, and effectually to serve the interest of this his native place.

Although by these particular exertions, he voluntarily consented to an abridgment of his popularity among the members of the General Court, yet such was the sense which the citizens of Boston entertained of his services, that by their united suffrages he was advanced to a seat in the Senate, in which station he served several years. Soon afterward he was elected to the Council ; and it was no small gratification to him that in each of these offices he acted for a while as colleague with the Hon. Messrs. Phillips and Mason, his brethren both as members and deacons of this church.

The Honorable Mr. Dawes continued in the Council until the age of seventy years, when by the death of Lieutenant Governor Gill, then the Chief Magistrate of the State, he became President of the Council, and for a time, was the first acting Magistrate in the Commonwealth. He had been an Elector at the three first elections of President of the United States. . . .

In his connexion with this religious Society, I find by the records, that Mr. Dawes was baptized by the Rev. Dr. Sewall in this church in the month of August, in the year 1731. He was admitted as a member in full communion, in A. D. 1749, being in his nineteenth year. Since my own relation to this Society, I have always known him among those, who have taken the most active part in its concerns.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The commissioners for the erection of the State House on Beacon Hill were the Hon. Thomas Dawes, the Hon. Edward H. Robbins, and Mr. Charles Bulfinch.]

<sup>2</sup> [Among the sacramental silver of the Old South, there is a beautiful flagon which commemorates Mr. Dawes's love for the church and his faithful service in it.]



After the revolutionary war with Great Britain, during which the internal part of the house in which we are now assembled was destroyed, he drew the plan, in which, with a few alterations, it now appears : and was a principal agent in the erection of the adjoining buildings, belonging to the general estate. In the year 1787, [*? 1786*] he was chosen a deacon, in which office he continued until he was removed by death, being upwards of twenty-one years. He was remarkable for being a constant worshipper in the house of the Lord. During the last year of his life, disorder and sickness impaired, in some degree, the vigor of his mind, which was naturally strong, and being improved not indeed by an academic, yet by a good education, endued him with uncommon ability to serve both the public at large, and his particular friends. . . . In the frequent visits I paid him, and which he always appeared to receive with gratification, he fully expressed his sense of the great depravity and sinfulness attached to human nature,—the necessity of the divine influences in the renewal and sanctification of the heart—the insufficiency of man's righteousness for the end of justification, the glorious nature of pardon in virtue of the mediation ;—with animated hopes that through the faith he had long professed and still continued to declare in the blessed Redeemer, he might be freely accepted, and made completely happy in the enjoyment of a holy God. With these sentiments, he mixed many others respecting the instability of all earthly things—the importance of contemplating time in relation to eternity, and continually seeking a state of preparation, by grace, for the change which will soon be made on us all by the stroke of death.

He lived to the beginning of the new year ; and though weak and faltering, he said to his family he would begin it in the House of the Lord. He heard my worthy colleague in the morning on a subject adapted to the season. He was not able to attend the service of the afternoon, but, as I learn, conversed with his particular connexions in the evening in a manner the most appropriate to the occasion, and with a great degree of seriousness, solemnity, and affection. At four o'clock the following morning, by a sudden fit of the paralytic kind, he was bereaved of his reason ; and in six hours afterward resigned his spirit unto God who gave it.

Thursday, the 16th of February, was observed by the legislature as a day of humiliation and prayer. The two houses walked in procession from the State House to the Meeting-House in Brattle Street, where the two chaplains, Mr. Buckminster and Mr. Lowell, officiated, the former preaching from 1 Peter v. 6. "Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God." An order had been received a few days before that no vessel should be permitted to pass the Castle ; the flags

of the shipping were at half mast, and the days of the Boston Port Bill seemed to have come back again. In response to the popular demand, the extreme severity of the restrictions upon the movements of commerce was soon after relaxed.

Sabbath Day Feby. 24. 1809.<sup>1</sup>

A letter was read from the Church in Hollis Street, lately under the Pastoral care of the Rev'd Samuel West ; requesting the assistance of the Old South Church by its Pastors and other Delegates, at the Installation of the Rev'd Horace Holley, on the 8th day of March following.

Voted to comply with the request. The Pastors, Deacons, and some others, were chosen to attend on the Occasion.

JOSHUA HUNTINGTON.

Mr. Holley graduated at Yale College in 1803, in the same class with Sereno Edwards Dwight, afterward minister of Park Street Church. In 1805 he was settled over the church in Greenfield, Connecticut, of which President Dwight had been pastor previously. He remained in Boston until 1818, when he was called to the presidency of Transylvania University.

Dr. Eckley preached the installation sermon, from Hebrews xiii. 17: "They watch for your souls as they that must give account." Dr. Porter, of Roxbury, offered the ordaining prayer, Dr. Lathrop gave the charge, and Dr. Kirkland expressed the fellowship of the churches. Dr. Morse closed the services with prayer.

At a Meeting of the Old South Church Sabbath afternoon, 26 February 1809,

A letter was read, signed by Messrs Caleb Bingham, John E. Tyler and William Thurston, a committee appointed by a company of believers united for the purpose of establishing a new Congregational Church under the care of the Rev'd Dr. Henry Kollock, requesting the assistance of this Church by its Pastors and one Delegate in union with several other churches in forming them into a Christian Church and giving them the right hand of fellowship at the house of William Thurston Esqr. on Monday the 27 Inst.

The subject was taken into serious consideration, after which it was voted That the Pastors of this Church signify to the above named committee the desire of the Brethren to be excused from the service proposed — At the same time expressing in respectful manner their sincere wishes that grace, mercy and peace, from God the Father and

<sup>1</sup> [This date is wrong. It should be Friday, Feb. 24, or Sabbath, Feb. 19.]

our Lord Jesus Christ may abound to them and their fellow Christians whom they represent on this Occasion.

By order of the Church,

JOSEPH ECKLEY,  
JOSHUA HUNTINGTON.

In the summer of 1808 the religious life of the town received a fresh impulse from the visit and labors of the Rev. Dr. Kollock, of Savannah, Georgia. He came, we are told, in the fullness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ. "He spoke with irresistible energy and power. Unaccustomed as we were," says one who listened to his preaching, "to hear anything moving, his appeals came upon us like thunder. Crowds hung upon his lips, and confessed the power of earnest truth, earnestly preached."

Dr. Kollock was a graduate of Princeton College. His first settlement was at Elizabethtown, but in 1803 he was called back to Princeton as professor of theology and pastor. In 1806 he received the Doctor's degree from both Harvard and Union. In the same year he accepted an invitation to settle in Savannah. During the early part of his ministry there his friends would not allow him to remain during the hot weather, and he spent his summers in the North. In 1808 he travelled through New England, "and wherever he preached," says Dr. Sprague, he "awakened the highest admiration. In Boston, particularly, the multitudes thronged after him, almost as their fathers had done after Whitefield." It was determined to organize a new church, and to call him to become its pastor, and he seems to have given assurances that he would accept. But when he conferred with his friends in Savannah, he found the opposition to his removal too strong to be overcome. A remonstrance, signed by three thousand persons, was sent to the Presbytery of which he was a member, and that body refused to dismiss him. A letter from him was received in Boston in September, 1809, explaining why he could not come, and declining the call, "after he had given it the most serious attention, and disposed of many doubts in respect to his duty."<sup>1</sup> "This was a terrible shock to the high hopes of the little church."

The church was formed at the house of Mr. William Thurston, Beacon Hill,<sup>2</sup> on the 27th of February, 1809. The churches

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Kollock died, after a brilliant and useful ministry, in 1819, at the age of forty-one.

<sup>2</sup> "Not a few of the older inhabitants

of the city," wrote Dr. Shurtleff in 1859, "remember well the lofty mansion of this gentleman, as it presented itself to the sight of all, in the days of its magnifi-

invited were the Old South and Federal Street in Boston;<sup>1</sup> the church in Cambridge, the Rev. Abiel Holmes, pastor; the church in Charlestown, the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, pastor; and the Second Church in Dorchester, the Rev. John Codman, pastor. Dr. Morse preached a sermon from Psalm cviii. 25: "Save now, I beseech thee O Lord! O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity." The number of those who entered into covenant with each other was twenty-six, twenty-one of whom presented letters from other churches, and five made a profession of religion for the first time. Among them were William Thurston and wife Elizabeth, John Eugene Tyler and wife Hannah, and Josiah Bumstead and wife Mary Greenough, from the Old South; Joseph W. Jenkins, from the First Church; William Ladd, from Brattle Street; and Andrew Calhoun, from the West Church. Mr. Tyler and Mr. Bumstead were chosen deacons. Deacon Elisha Ticknor,<sup>2</sup> who, with his wife Elizabeth, joined the Old South July 31, 1808, served as treasurer of the new society for several months, but he did not become a member of the church, and he was one of those who withdrew from the enterprise after Dr. Kolloch's declination had been received.

Until this time, the terms of admission to membership in the churches of Boston had been plain and simple—repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. Candidates had been required, not to give definite and particular assent to a system of divinity embodied in a dogmatic creed, but to enter into a covenant in the exercise of a living faith, and in a spirit of holy consecration, in solemn and beautiful language adopted by the fathers when the broad foundations of New England Congregationalism were laid. It has been well said, that creeds are for testimony, not for tests;<sup>3</sup> but the new church was established on the principle that they are for tests, as well as testimony. It not only declared its adherence to the doctrines of religion, as they are "in general clearly and happily expressed" in the Westminster Shorter Catechism, and in

cence, from its towering eminence upon the summit of the once high hill of Bowdoin Street." Mr. Thurston died at Naples, August 25, 1822.

<sup>1</sup> Federal Street Church declined to be represented on the occasion, as well as the Old South; so that the churches which participated in the proceedings were those of Charlestown and Cambridge, and the Second of Dorchester.

<sup>2</sup> Deacon Ticknor had been a school-master, but at this time was doing business as a retail grocer at the sign of the Beehive in Marlborough Street. He was a deacon in Hollis Street Church, and the title clung to him after he changed his membership.

<sup>3</sup> See the Rev. E. N. Packard's Address, *Church Creeds and Church Membership*, p. 4.



the Confession of Faith of 1680, but it formulated these doctrines in a symbol of its own, emphasizing especially the tri-personality of the Godhead, election (with its necessary corollary—reprobation), and imputed righteousness. And it went further: it required subscription both to the general statements and to its own particular confession, as a condition precedent to membership. It thus erected a barrier which would inevitably separate its minister, whoever he might be, from most of the ministers of the long-established churches, who were either negatively Calvinistic or positively Arminian.<sup>1</sup>

This peculiarity in its constitution may have had something to do with the decision of the pastors and members of the Old South, not to give their public approbation to the new church by taking part in the services of the 27th of February. Dr. Eckley, and his more conservative parishioners, must have foreseen that the gathering of a church with such a positive creed and in such an aggressive spirit, would add to the intensity of the doctrinal discussions then agitating the churches, and tend to promote a schism, which they would wish, if possible, to avert. On the other hand, Mr. Huntington who, as we suppose, had been called to the colleague pastorate in order especially to meet the preferences of the progressive men in the church, must have felt hurt that some of these men—who had assisted in the proceedings which led to his settlement only a few months before<sup>2</sup>—should now be leading a movement for the formation of a church whose minister would stand doctrinally where he stood, and would preach as he had been expected to preach, and as he was preaching.

It should be remembered also, that Mr. Tyler, Mr. Bumstead, and Mr. Thurston had not been in accord with the majority of their brethren, in the management of the affairs of the society, and were among the signers of the remonstrance or protest of November 26, 1806, when the building of the new parsonages in Milk Street was first proposed;<sup>3</sup> and although that difference of opinion was amicably adjusted, it is evident, as we have

<sup>1</sup> In 1873 Park Street Church adopted a much more simple statement of belief, as a basis for admission to membership, but it still requires its minister and deacons to subscribe to the original statement of 1808.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante* (February 8, 1808), vol. ii. p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, vol. ii. pp. 301, 312-314.

Mr. William Homes, who had been one of the disaffected members, did not join the Park Street enterprise, but his son, Henry Homes, was prominent in it, and made a public profession of religion on the day when the new church was recognized.

already intimated, that they were not in full harmony with Mr. Dawes, Mr. Salisbury, Mr. Phillips, and General Winslow, who were the most influential men in the church and congregation at that time.

There were nine Congregational churches in Boston — not including the Chapel — at the beginning of the year 1809: the First, Second, Third or Old South, Brattle Street, New North, New South, Federal Street, Hollis Street, and West, this last, gathered in 1737. Mr. Croswell's church, formed a few years later, as we have seen, had ceased to exist. The population of the town was increasing at a rapid rate; in 1783 it was eighteen thousand, in 1810, thirty-three thousand.<sup>1</sup> There was ample room, therefore, for the new society, as the result showed, and the spirit of enterprise manifested by it brought it immediately into prominence. It secured an eligible piece of land at the foot of Park Street, where the Granary had stood;<sup>2</sup> the cornerstone of its meeting-house was laid on the 1st of May, and the building was dedicated on the 10th of January following.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Griffin preached the sermon on this occasion, from 2 Chron. vi. 18: "But will God in very deed dwell with men on the earth? Behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house which I have built!" In closing he said: —

I am prompted not less by justice than by feeling, to commend, in terms the most respectful, the exertions which have been made by the proprietors of this house. That so small a number of men should complete so spacious and beautiful an edifice in the course of eight months, is a wonder which has no parallel in the history of American churches.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation in Marlboro Street Fast Evening April 6 [1809.]

<sup>1</sup> In the *Ind. Chronicle*, January 21, 1811, we find the following census figures for Suffolk County: 1800, 25,786; 1810, 34,381.

<sup>2</sup> The Granary, taken down in 1809, "was constructed of wood, with oaken timbers, and was intended to hold about twelve thousand bushels of grain, annually purchased and stored by the agents of the town, and sold at a small advance to those whose exigencies required such a consideration."

<sup>3</sup> Caleb Bingham, bookseller, Andrew

Calhoun, merchant, and William Thurston, lawyer, were the trustees to whom the land on Park Street was conveyed. The object of the trust deed was to preserve "to the church the unalienable right, given to her by the Lord Jesus Christ, of choosing her own pastors."

Peter Banner, "an ingenious architect," did the carpenter work on the meeting-house, and Benajah Brigham, the mason work. Mr. Banner was the builder of the Old South parsonage houses, built in 1809.

Deacon William Phillips Moderator, twenty nine members being present, John Winslow was chosen Clerk.

The report of the Committee was read as follows vizt.

The Committee of the South Society chosen at their Meeting in April 1808, for managing the prudential Concerns of said Society, beg leave to report, that they expended for the support of the Singing, fixing a new pump at the Parsonage House, new Baze Doors for the Gallery, since the above date, also Wood for the Stoves, and repairing the funnells, and other contingencies, the sum of \$356.85. They have also agreeable to a Vote of said Society passed at their meeting, Aug. 1. removed the Stairs to the front porch of said meeting House, and caused fifty one new pews to be erected on the lower floor and Gallery of said House, the Cost of which amounted to \$1017.25, all which has been paid by the Treasurer of said Society. They have also, agreeable to a Vote of said Society passed Nov 7. put said pews up at Auction, agreeable to their directions, and sold of the same on the lower floor and Gallery to sundry persons thirteen Pews, the Amount of Sales being \$1990, they have left of pews not sold fifteen, and their remains in the Gallery unlet Twenty two pews, both those That are let and those unlet, are for sale, there is due from the Society for pews taken from former proprietors about \$150.

p. order of Committee

(signed) WM. PHILLIPS Chairman.

Motion made and seconded, the report of the Committee be accepted. Voted, unanimously to accept said report.

Voted, we now come to the Choice of a Committee to superintend the prudential concerns of the Society the present year.

Voted, That Samuel Belknap, Joseph Foster and Edward Phillips be a committee to receive, count and sort the Votes. Said Committee report that Deacon William Phillips, Samuel Coverly, Joseph Peirce, Benjamin Whitman, William Homes, Nehemiah Somes, John Winslow, Abraham Wild and James Harris, had the whole number of Votes and are chosen.

Voted, That Deacon Salisbury, Joseph Peirce, S. Coverly, Jonathan Ward and John Winslow be a Committee to examine the Treasurers Accounts and report as soon as may be.

Mr. William Whitwell who had purchased several pews in the Gallery at the sales proposed he might be released from said purchase.

Voted, Mr. Whitwells proposals be referred over to our next meeting.

Voted, We now adjourn to this day week, 3 O'Clock P. M.

Thursday April 13th. Meet according to adjournment, a sufficient number not being present, to proceed to business, a motion made and seconded, that we adjourn to Monday next to meet in this place at

3 OClock PM. and the reverend Pastor be requested, on next Lords day, to notice said meeting from the desk and request full and punctual attendance.

Monday April 17, 1809, the brethren being gott together, the Committee appointed on the Treasurers Accounts have attended that service and report that they found the Accounts right cast and well vouched, as follows in the hands of the Treasurer :

[We omit the figures.]

On Motion Voted, The report of the Committee on the Treasurers Accounts be Accepted.

The subject respecting the Sale of pews in the Gallery sold to Mr. William Whitwell now came before the Society, all which he wish'd to relinquish. The Question being called for it was

Voted, That the Society cannot receive back the pews which have been sold to Mr. Whitwell. Mr. Whitwell makes the following motion — he is willing to relinquish the ten p Cent earnest money which he has paid, provided he be discharged from the remainder of his Contract.

Voted, That the Society cannot accede to this proposal.

Motion made by Mr. Whitwell that he be allow'd to retain Pew N. 120 at \$200. and that the earnest paid by him go towards the payment of said Pew N. 120.

Voted, That the Society accede to the above proposal, and consent to relinquish his purchase to Pew N. 99, N. 102, N. 106 and N. 130, and agree that the earnest paid on those pews go to the credit of Pew N 120, and he have a deed of said Pew N 120, paying the ballance.

Voted, The Standing Committee be a Committee to consider the ways and means to procure funds for the building of two Houses on the Societys land in Milk Street and report the same to the Society as soon as may be.

Voted, The Committee authorized as above will call a Meeting of the Church and Congregation, when ready to report on the above business.

Voted, This meeting be now dissolved.

Mr. Huntington was married, May 18, the anniversary of his ordination, to Susan, daughter of the Rev. Achilles Mansfield, of Killingworth, Connecticut. On the maternal side, she was descended from the apostolic John Eliot, of Roxbury. She had fine mental endowments, and her journals and letters show her to have been a woman of high spiritual attainments. She survived her husband only four years. Dr. Wisner prepared her Memoirs, which passed through several editions, and were reprinted in Great Britain with an Introduction by James Mont-



gomery. When she came to Boston, to take her responsible position in the Old South parish, she was only nineteen years of age.

Soon after reaching Boston, Mrs. Huntington wrote to a sister-in-law (May 30):—

Our ride was very pleasant. I am delighted with the country around Boston, and think the town is handsomely situated, and I doubt not I shall be pleased with the inhabitants. But, my dear friend, flattering as is the prospect before us, I cannot contemplate the responsibility of the station in which I am placed, its total dissimilarity to that to which I have been accustomed, and the arduous duties resulting from it, together with my own inability to perform them as I ought, without feeling a degree of anxiety lest I shall be found wholly unqualified for the situation . . . I have as yet seen but few of Mr. Huntington's congregation. But, if I may form a judgment from those who have called, I think I shall find among them many who cherish an ardent attachment to the doctrines, and maintain a consistent practice of the duties, of the Gospel, unmoved by the prevalence of error,—many real disciples of the blessed Jesus.

In another letter (July 20) she wrote:—

There are a few here, (as is generally the case where impiety or error prevails, if there are any righteous found there,) who appear to be decided in their attachment to real religion and strenuous in its support, uninfluenced by the opposition or the flatteries of the contemners and perverters of the faith. Dr. Griffin has frequently preached in town of late. I have strong hopes that much good will result from his exertions and those of other clergymen who are labouring to promote the cause of truth. It is melancholy to see people disputing about that Gospel which was designed to produce nothing but peace on earth. But I believe that the overruling providence of God frequently causes the most salutary effects to arise from religious controversy. Truth never suffers by investigation; and it is evidently better to hear people inquiring what is truth, than quietly embracing error, without endeavouring to ascertain whether they are right or not.<sup>1</sup>

On the 22d of May the brethren of the church and congregation met, and the committee of ways and means made a report, in which it was said:—

There is in the hands of the Treasurer of the Society certain capital Stock, the Interest of which only is appropriated to the use of the poor of the Church; that instead of borrowing money of a bank or of any individuals, and depositing this Stock as security for pay-

<sup>1</sup> [*Memoirs of the late Mrs. Susan Huntington*, pp. 34, 35.]

ment, it should be disposed of, or so much thereof as may be found necessary, and the proceeds invested permanently in those buildings — the interest appropriated to the use of the poor may always be drawn from the surplus of permanent income as stated in the schedule annexed. By this operation the business will be simplified, and the Society freed from the necessity of borrowing money. Your Committee after mature consideration could not fall upon any other measure to accomplish the wishes of the Society without their being burthened with a debt that would hang upon them many years, before it could be extinguished, and it was their desire if possible to avoid an increase of the Tax on Pews, especially at this particular moment, when it is expected there will be a secession of some from the Society.<sup>1</sup>

The report was accepted and referred to the church for its concurrence, and the meeting was adjourned to the 29th inst. The church met, May 25, to hear the report and then adjourned until the society should ascertain what the actual expense of building the two houses should be.

Boston May 29 1809, met according to adjournment. It was then moved and seconded that the plan drawn by Mr. Benjamin some time since be the plan used for the building the parsonage Houses in Milk Street. Voted unanimously,

Voted, That Joseph Pierce, Samuel Coverly and John Winslow be a Committee to take this plan and make the necessary inquiry what the buildings will cost, and lay the same before the Church, and request the Rev. Doctor Eckley to call them together as soon as may be, say on Tuesday the 6 June. That when this meeting does adjourn they adjourn to meet on Wednesday 7th June in this place to meet at 3 OClock P. M.

Boston June 6. 1809

The Church met according to notice given — to receive the Report of a Committee appointed by the Society to inquire into the Cost of building two parsonage houses — stated verbally that after viewing several houses and conversing with a Mason and Carpenter, received from them their decided opinion that two Houses with basement stories according to the plan long since drafted by Mr. Benjamin and approved by the society could be completed for \$12,000, and that by

<sup>1</sup> [The available funds on hand were \$17,364.49, including 18 shares in the Massachusetts Bank, valued at 25 per cent. advance, but worth at the time 28 per cent. The estimated annual income of the Society was about \$5,000, and the expenditures, \$3,635.88, as follows:—

|                              |             |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| Salary of two ministers      | 2,600.00    |
| Wood for do. 80 Cords @ \$6. | 480.00      |
| Singing Expenses             | 250.00      |
| Sextons Salary               | 110.00      |
| Contingencies, say,          | 195.88      |
|                              | <hr/>       |
|                              | \$3,635.88] |

another plan drafted by Mr. Banner two houses with two kitchens *not* with basement stories, would cost at the extent \$14,000. On Motion made and seconded, it was Voted, *Nem. con.* That the Trustees of certain funds placed in their hands, be requested to furnish the Society with so much from the same as may be required to compleat the building of two parsonage Houses, upon conditions that the Interest be punctually paid and that the buildings be insured to secure payment thereof.

Voted, That this meeting be now dissolved, and it is accordingly dissolved.<sup>1</sup>

At a meeting of the brethren of the Church and Congregation adjourned from 29th May to this 7th of June 1809.

Voted, That we so far reconsider our vote passed on the 29th May, respecting the form of the Houses, agreeable to the plan drafted by Mr. Benjamin, and we now adopt and agree to build the parsonage Houses agreeable to a plan drafted by Mr. Banner which was this day laid before this Society, provided they can be built not to exceed the sum of \$14000. This Vote passed *Nem. con.*

Voted, That a Committee be now chosen to make the Contracts and effect the completion of the new buildings and dispose of the old Building now on the ground to the best advantage.<sup>2</sup>

Voted, That the Standing Committee for the year be the Committee to carry the same into effect.

Voted, This meeting be now dissolved, and it was accordingly dissolved.

Boston April 5. 1810.

At a Meeting of the brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation,

Voted that John Winslow be requested to act as Clerk for the year.

Deacon William Phillips Moderator.

Voted, We now come to the choice of a Standing Committee for the year.

Voted, That Joseph Peirce and Samuel Belknap be a Committee to receive count and sort the Votes.

Voted, The Standing Committee consist of the same number it did last year.

The following Gentlemen were reported to be chosen, Vizt. Deacon William Phillips, Joseph Peirce, Samuel Coverly, William Homes,

<sup>1</sup> [The proceedings of this meeting were recorded in the society's book, as well as in that of the church, in almost identical words.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Milk Street parsonage was completed in the spring of 1810. See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 346, 347. It was occupied

successively by four pastors: Ebenezer Pemberton, Joseph Sewall, John Bacon, and Joseph Eckley. Deacon Samuel Sewall lived in it for a time, after the death of his father; and William Phillips, Jr., after the siege. Mr. Phillips's daughter Miriam, probably, was born there.]

N. Somes, Benjamin Whitman, John Winslow, Jonathan Harris and Abraham Wild.

Voted, That a Committee of five be chosen to examine the Treasurers Accounts, Vizt. Samuel Salisbury, Joseph Peirce, J. Winslow, Benjamin Clark and Abraham Wild; when said Committee is ready to report, they request the Revd Pastor to call a Meeting from the Desk.

Voted, This meeting be now dissolved, and it was dissolved accordingly.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation met June 25, when the Standing Committee reported that during the previous year \$105.50 had been paid for singing master, etc., \$23.82 for cleaning the chandelier and for lights, and \$189.37 for repairs of roof of meeting-house and stores. The committee on the treasurer's accounts reported that they were correct; and the Standing Committee made a report in reference to the erection of the parsonage houses, and then said:—

The Standing Committee also embrace this opportunity to communicate to the Society, that by the records it appears there was a Committee appointed April 3, 1800, to examine into the state of their funds,<sup>1</sup> who reported that the foundation upon which the funds had arisen, consisted of certain items as they stood in 1766, the whole of which amounted to £880.11. Lawfull Money. That the funds on the 18th April 1800 consisted of sixteen Bank Shares, specie value \$8000, and other securities, nominally to \$8062.72. At a Meeting of the Church and Congregation on 11th May 1800 it was Voted, That the Ministers and Deacons deliver from the money of the Church and Congregation to the Committee empowered to erect the Stores, such sum as might be found necessary for that purpose. This last sum, when reduced to specie value, amounted to \$5221.40, and was then considered to be the property of the Church and Congregation, leaving the Bank Shares to belong to the Church; by another part of the report of that Committee of 3d April made the 11 May 1800, it might seem that the whole of \$5221.40 grew out of certain donations from particular persons: that however does not appear to have been the fact, but on the contrary, arose from the four last items as stated in that report amounting to £378. 8. 8 L Money. This statement is founded upon that of the Committee of 3d April 1800 on the state of the funds. The Society will therefore consider whether the Ministers and Deacons had the disposal of the Interest of that part as was then supposed in said Vote. The Standing Committee are unanimously of

<sup>1</sup> [This committee consisted of John Winslow, William Scollay, John Sweetser, Thomas Dawes, Jr., and Joseph Peirce.]



opinion they had not that right: if the Society concur in the same opinion, it should seem that the \$5221.40 vested in the Stores, as well as the income that has since arisen on the same was the property of the Church and Congregation, and entirely at their disposal. If so, the vote or votes passed May 11th 1800 as respects the controul of the Interest by the Trustees should be reconsidered.<sup>1</sup>

The report of the Standing Committee was accepted.

In 1810 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was formed, for the prosecution of the work of missions on a broader scale than had hitherto been attempted by the New England churches. In these churches the missionary spirit had always been present, and active according to the opportunities afforded for its exercise. In every generation zealous and self-denying efforts had been made in behalf of the aboriginal tribes, aided by the contributions of Christian people in England and Scotland; and, in 1787, a society had been chartered for the purpose of preaching the gospel among the Indians, which was sustained wholly by the churches in and near Boston. It is to be observed, also, that the faith of the fathers anticipated not only the conversion of the Indian tribes, but also the triumph of the gospel throughout the world. The writings of Judge Sewall, and the sermons of Dr. Cotton Mather, Dr. Sewall, Dr. Chauncy, and others might be quoted to prove this. Heathendom, however, was inaccessible to them, except as it was represented in the red men who lived on their frontiers and beyond, and in the degraded Africans who were brought by the slave-ships from across the sea.

But the proclamation of the gospel was to be made on a grander scale than had yet been practicable. Maritime exploration and commercial enterprise were preparing the way in every direction for the introduction of a Christian civilization. In 1795 the London Missionary Society was formed by English

<sup>1</sup> [The four items referred to in the report were as follows:—

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| Given, and not mentioned whether to the use of the Church or Church and Congregation, . . . . . | 8. 0.4  |
| Collected from 1733 to May 1757, for the use of the Palls, . . . . .                            | 46. 7.6 |
| Balances arising from the sacramental collections at different times to the year 1766,          |         |

|  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| over and above what paid the expenses, . . . .   | 186.19.5          |
| Given by sundry persons, which we find no minutes in the papers for what use, but as they are in the Church accounts, suppose for their use, . . . . . | 136.14.5          |
|  | <hr/> 378. 1.8    |
| Add for difference . . . .   | 7.0               |
|  | <hr/> £ 378. 8.8] |

Congregationalists, whose first field of labor was in the archipelago of the Pacific, to the south of the equator. In 1800 "The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East" was organized by members of the Church of England. In 1805 Henry Martyn sailed for Bengal, as a chaplain of the East India Company. Having read the Life of David Brainerd, and the record of his missionary labors among the Indians of Massachusetts, "his soul," says his biographer, "was filled with a holy emulation of that extraordinary man, and, after deep consideration and fervent prayer, he was at length fixed in a resolution to imitate his example." The consecration of this young scholar gave a fresh impulse to the missionary cause in the English churches; and, a few years later, a similar spirit of consecration on the part of some young men in Williams College—the men of the Haystack—led to the organization of the American Board. The leading object of the Society of Brethren formed at Williamstown in 1808, and transferred to Andover soon after, "was so to operate on the public mind as to lead to the formation of a Missionary Society." The first steps were taken at the annual meeting of the General Association of Massachusetts, held at Bradford, June 27. The "simple and unpretending" record of these important proceedings reads thus:—

Messrs Adoniram Judson Jr. Samuel Nott Jr. Samuel J. Mills, and Samuel Newell, members of the Divinity College [Andover<sup>1</sup>] were introduced and presented a paper with their names subscribed, on the subject of a mission to the heathen. After hearing the young gentlemen, the business was committed to the Rev. Messrs. Spring, Worcester, and Hale, who reported resolves for instituting a Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, to consist of nine members, all in the first instance to be chosen by the General Association, and afterwards annually, five of them by this body and four by the General Association of Connecticut.

The Report was unanimously accepted. The General Association proceeded to institute a Board of Commissioners, and made choice of the following gentlemen as members: His Excellency, John Treadwell Esq., Rev. Dr. Timothy Dwight, Gen. Jedidiah Huntington, and Rev. Calvin Chapin, of Connecticut; Rev. Dr. Joseph Lyman, Rev. Dr. Samuel Spring, Wm. Bartlet Esq., Rev. Samuel Worcester, and Dea. Samuel H. Walley, of Massachusetts. Measures were provided for calling the first meeting of the Board.

<sup>1</sup> [The Seminary at Andover was sometimes called Trinity College. We read: "Arrived at Savannah Rev. Ezra Fisk and Rev. Richd. S. Storrs, Missionaries from Trinity College, Andover, Mass."—*Centinel*, December 20, 1810.]

Mr. Treadwell was governor of Connecticut ; General Huntington was father of the junior pastor of the Old South ; and Mr. Samuel Hall Walley, a descendant of the Hon. John Walley, was a deacon in the Rev. Mr. Channing's church.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Walley transferred his membership to the Old South in 1818.

The plan of the founders of the American Board contemplated the selection of the members annually by the Associations of Massachusetts and Connecticut, as representing the only churches then directly interested in the work which was to be undertaken. But in 1812 a charter was obtained by which the Board became a close corporation, with the power of perpetual succession, henceforth to be irresponsible to the churches except as it might be dependent upon them from time to time for pecuniary aid. It is difficult now to understand why this fundamental, and, as many believe, disastrous variation from the original plan was made. The English societies established in 1795 and 1800, which have accomplished such magnificent results, were formed and have always been maintained as voluntary and representative bodies. The propagation societies, as they were called, in Great Britain and in Massachusetts, were chartered corporations ; but they had their own invested property, and they relied upon this for their stability and permanence, rather than upon anticipated contributions from the churches.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the American Board, called into existence by a revival of the missionary spirit in the churches, has, until very recently, been altogether dependent upon the continuance of this spirit for its support from year to year.

The close of the year 1810 threatened to be disastrous to the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Samuel H. Walley and Mr. Thomas McClure accepted the office of deacon in Federal Street Church, July 24, 1808.

<sup>2</sup> In the petition of Andrew Oliver and others, in 1762, for an act of incorporation, it was said : —

“A large sum of money has been already subscribed towards the forming a perpetual fund therefor ; and we humbly apprehend in a short time it would be so much increased by other subscriptions, that the profits of it would be sufficient to effect some real service in promoting Christian knowledge if such a society was incorporated.” See *ante*, vol. ii. pp. 67, 68.

In the charter of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians, established in 1787, it was provided : —

“All donations to the society, either by subscriptions, legacy or otherwise, excepting such as may be differently appropriated by the donors, shall make a part of, or be put into the capital stock of the society, which shall be put out on interest, on good security, or otherwise improved to the best advantage, and the income or profits applied to the purposes of propagating the gospel among the said Indians, in such manner as they shall judge most conducive to answer the design of their institution.”

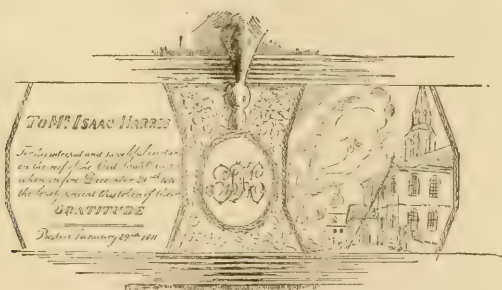
Old South Society. On Saturday evening, December 29, a fire broke out in a stable on the corner of Milk and Hawley streets, which soon communicated to the adjacent buildings, and burnt fiercely for two hours. The meeting-house was in great danger from the sparks which were driven across the street in showers, and it was saved by the intrepidity of Mr. Isaac Harris, a mast maker at the north end of the town, who ascended to the roof, and there fought the fire with axe and buckets, as it caught from time to time.

On Saturday evening last, about 7 o'clock, an alarming fire broke out in a Stable in Milk Street, occupied by Mr. Soper (formerly kept by Mr. Niles) which was totally consumed in a short time, together with a number of other stables and barns, and two Dwelling-houses, one occupied by Mr. John S. Lillie, the other by Mrs. Fosdick. The timely exertions of the citizens prevented its spreading, though the Old South Meeting-house was in imminent danger.<sup>1</sup>

The Society recognized Mr. Harris's valuable services by giving him a silver pitcher, now in the possession of a grand-



Silver pitcher  
presented to  
Isaac Harris



daughter, which bears a representation of the fire, and the following inscription: "To Mr. Isaac Harris. For his intrepid and successful exertions on the roof of the Old South Church

<sup>1</sup> [Ind. Chronicle, December 31, 1810.]



when on fire, December 29th, 1810, the Society present this token of their gratitude. Boston, January 29th, 1811."<sup>1</sup>

At the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, a few months later, Mr. John Lathrop, Jr., read an ode suggested by "the intrepid conduct and personal exertions of Mr. William Brewster of New York, who saved the Brick Presbyterian Church during the late conflagration in that city, and of Mr. Harris, who by a similar act of heroism, extinguished the flames on the roof of the Old South Church in this town last winter." We quote the third and fourth stanzas:—

Such was the deed that lately sav'd,  
Our sister city's beauteous domes;  
The Champion's image is engrav'd  
On hearts secure in peaceful homes—  
Nor Harris, shall the muse's lays,  
Unmindful of thy well-earned fame,  
Refuse the grateful meed of praise,  
Due to thy worth—thy valor's claim.

While sweet Benevolence regards,  
Each generous hero's bold emprise,  
And bids him read his bright rewards,  
In Gratitude's expressive eyes,  
She hails the Charitable band,  
Who sooth the houseless wanderers' care,  
Relieve the poor with liberal hand,  
And cruel Fortune's wrongs repair.<sup>2</sup>

Boston April 11. 1811

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation,

Voted that John Winslow be requested to act as Clerk for the year.  
Deacon William Phillips Moderator.

Your Committee appointed in April 1810 to manage the prudential concerns of the Society beg leave to report, that they have attended the business and have expended the following sums of money, Vizt.

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| Supporting of the Singing School . . . .                                 | 132.00 |
| Wood for Stoves \$20. Sawing do 4.50 fixing<br>funnels 7.62 . . . . .    | 32.12  |
| Printing bill \$4. I. Clap bill 23.75 Watching<br>after fire 8 . . . . . | 35.75  |
| Hall & Giff bill for ladder painting &c . . .                            | 29.15  |

<sup>1</sup> No mention of this incident is made in the society's records, and the author is indebted to the Rev. Edward G. Por-

ter, of Lexington, for his knowledge in reference to it.

<sup>2</sup> [*Col. Centinel*, June 5, 1811.]

|  |                       |                |
|--|-----------------------|----------------|
| S. & D. Bradley bill \$10.73           | Glass to repair after |                |
| fire 17. . . . .                       |                       | 27.73          |
| I Clap, for repairing Chandelier \$22. | Shed's                |                |
| bill .87 . . . . .                     |                       | 22.87          |
|  |                       | <hr/> \$279.62 |

Also the bills for building the Ministerial Houses and out houses, as far as they are finished, amount to the sum of \$16,310. for all of which your Committee have drawn on the Treasurer for payment. They have also directed Insurance to be made on the Houses, the sum of Ten thousand dollars, all of which is submitted

p. Order JNO WINSLOW Sub. Com.

Voted, The report of the Committee be accepted.

Voted, We now proceed to the choice of a Committee for the year ensuing, and it consist of twelve, and they have the same powers, the Committee were possessed of the last year.

Voted, That James Foster and Joseph Calender be a Committee to count and sort the Votes, who report the following gentlemen chosen, Vizt. Deacon William Phillips, Samuel Coverly, Joseph Peirce, William Homes, Benjamin Whitman, Nehemiah Somes, Edward Phillips, John Winslow, Jonathan Harris, Abraham Wild, William Whitwell, and Francis Welch.

Voted, That Deacon Salisbury, Joseph Peirce, Samuel Coverly, John Winslow, and Abraham Wild be a Committee to examine the Treasurers Accounts; when said Committee is ready to report they request the Rev. Pastors to notify it from the desk.

Voted, The Committee be directed to Insure the Stores in Marlboro Street against fire as soon as may be.

Dr. Eckley's pastorate had been attended with many trying conditions. It began when the congregation was scattered, — exiled from its long-accustomed place of worship, — and in the midst of the Revolutionary war. It was continued during a period of severe financial vicissitudes, and of heated political controversy, when the principles upon which the newly formed governments, state and federal, were to be based, were under discussion and on trial. It was to end on the eve of another war with Great Britain, and of a schism in the Congregational body, — already threatening, — one of the effects of which would be to separate the Old South from many of its sister churches with which it had enjoyed Christian fellowship for nearly a hundred and fifty years. During the three eventful decades of his ministry, Dr. Eckley had commanded the respect and confidence both of his own people and of the ministers and churches

about him, and his death, when it came, was regarded as a public calamity. His last sickness was a repetition of an attack, of a similar kind which he had had in New York in the autumn of 1809. "Such was the violence and the rapid progress of the disorder," said Dr. Lathrop, "that he was not able to see and converse with his brethren in the ministry in the last days of his illness. Early in the morning of Tuesday last, that excellent man, that exemplary Christian, and faithful minister of Jesus Christ, expired." The bereaved congregation hastened to pay every possible tribute of affectionate regard to their late pastor, and to express all possible sympathy with his family, in making arrangements for his funeral.

Boston April 30, 1811

At a meeting of the Church in the meeting-house on Tuesday (this day) occasioned by the death of our worthy pastor the Revd Joseph Eckley who departed this life this morning at 2 O Clock,

The Revd Joshua Huntington Moderator,

Voted, That Joseph Peirce be Secretary.

Voted, That the Revd. Dr. John Lathrop be requested to deliver a discourse at the interment of the Revd. Dr. Eckley.

Voted, That a Committee of three wait on the Revd. Dr. Lathrop for the above purpose, — and the two Deacons with Joseph Peirce be the Committee.

Voted, That the Funeral be on Friday at 3 O'Clock P. M.

Voted, That the expences attending the Funeral be defray'd by the Church.

Voted, That the pulpit be covered with black Cloth for several weeks, as insignia of mourning.

Voted, That there be a Committee of arrangements to carry into effect the several Votes preparatory to the funeral, and that the number be five.

Voted, That Nehemiah Somes, Mr. Child, Joseph Peirce, Jeremiah Bumstead Jun. and Mr. Edward Phillips be the Committee.

Voted, That the same Committee of five wait on the family of the late Dr. Eckley and inform them of the arrangements made by the Church and consult them about the coffin, and after the funeral they will wait on them to receive and discharge the accounts consequent upon the funeral — a question arose whether mourning was intended to be included for the domesticks in the family, which was determined in the affirmative.

A Sub-Committee of one, vizt. Joseph Peirce was requested to wait on the Revd. Mr. Huntington and inform him that he was also to be provided with a suit of mourning, and to request that Mrs. Huntington

provide herself with suitable mourning on the occasion — and the expenses to be defray'd by the Society.

Voted, That the Committee give notice in the several Newspapers of the death of the Revd. Dr. Eckley.

Voted, That when this meeting be adjourned it be to tomorrow-morning, then to meet at 9 O. C.

Voted, That upon a representation made by Deacon Phillips, — there be a Committee to consider the propriety of erecting a monument over the remains of the late Rev. Mr. John Hunt, formerly pastor of this Church, which lays deposited in the Cemetery of Northampton without any monument, and who departed this life at Northampton, the place of his Nativity, in the year 1775 at the commencement of the Revolutionary war.

Voted, That this Committee consist of five, Vizt. Deacons Salisbury and Phillips, Mr. William Homes, Joseph Peirce and Samuel Coverly, and to report at the adjournment.

Voted, That this meeting be adjourned to tomorrow morning 9 O. C. and it is accordingly adjourned.

JOSEPH PEIRCE Secretary.

Wednesday April 31.

Voted, That the President of Harvard College (Dr. Kirkland) make one of the prayers at the interment of Dr. Eckley.

The Committee respecting a monument over the remains of the Revd Mr. Hunt, reported in favor of the measure, and

Voted, That there be a Committee of three to carry the same into effect, and to cause a suitable inscription to be placed on the same, Vizt. Deacon Phillips, Deacon Salisbury and Mr. Ticknor.

Voted, That there be a meeting of the Church and Congregation called to meet at this place to morrow afternoon, 5 o'Clock.

Voted, That the several Societies to which the Revd. Dr Eckley belonged be requested to attend the funeral, notice to be given in the newspapers.

A letter was communicated by the Revd Mr. Huntington, from the new South Society directed to the pastors of the Old South Church, inviting them and delegates to assist at the ordination of the Rev. Samuel Cooper Thatcher on the day of

Voted, That the Revd Pastor and four of the Church, Vizt. Deacon Salisbury, Deacon Phillips, Joseph Peirce and Elisha Ticknor, attend.

Adjourned

JOSEPH PEIRCE Secretary.

At a meeting of the Church and Congregation at 5 O'Clock P. M. as notified —

They then Voted to concur in the several Votes of the Church previously passed respecting the Funeral — and also

Voted, That six of the Congregation be added to the Committee of



arrangements, Vizt. General Winslow, Francis Welsh, Abraham Wilde, William Whitwell, Jonathan Harris and Andrew Homer were added, and Joseph Callender was added as one of the Church making the whole number twelve.

Voted, That the members of the Church and Congregation wear black crape on the left arm below the elbow, as mourning, and recommend to the Ladies to wear such insignia of mourning as they may think proper.

Voted, That the Committee of arrangements assign such parts of the meeting house as they may think proper for the members and for the Ladies.

Voted, That the same Committee appoint suitable persons to keep order.

Voted, That the galleries be hung in black.

Voted, That the Sexton apply to the Sextons to toll their several Bells on this mournful occasion.

Voted, That the Committee of arrangements apply to the Board of Health to dispense with the regulation of the tolling of the Bells.

Voted, That the Committee of arrangements have discretionary power to take up any business which may have been omitted.

Voted, That the Stores and Shops of the members of this Society be closed on Friday, 2 O'C p m.

Voted, That the Committee of arrangements determine what musick is to be performed on the day of the funeral.

Voted, That the Society adjourn to Six O'Clock tomorrow afternoon, then to meet in this place.

Attest

JOSEPH PEIRCE.

Thursday 6 O'C. met according to adjournment — there being no business before the Society — adjourned *Sine Die*.

Attest JOSEPH PEIRCE Secy.

The funeral scene on Friday must have been very impressive. "The Society, from lisping infancy to hoary age, preceded the corpse; and gave mournful evidence of the loss they had sustained. The corpse was conveyed into the Old South meeting-house; and a well-adapted affecting discourse on the occasion was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Lathrop. The funeral anthem, which was chaunted with peculiar effect, by the choir, began with the following lines: —

"The righteous soul that takes its flight  
Far from this world of pain,  
In God's paternal bosom blest  
For ever shall remain."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Col. Centinel, May 4, 1811. Dr. 163; the heavy slab which covers it is Eckley was buried in the Granary Burying Ground, in a tomb of his own, No. his name, "Rev. Joseph Eckley."]

Dr. Lathrop's text was Rev. xiv. 13 : " And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth : Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours ; and their works do follow them." The preacher thus spoke of the theological views of his departed friend : —

He was, through his whole ministerial course, a warm advocate for what have been generally called, the doctrines of grace ; this I can testify, because I have always known him, have been associated with him, and our communications with each other have never been interrupted. But while he was an advocate for the doctrines of grace, because he found them in the New Testament, he never would bind himself to receive and defend the explanations which uninspired men have given of those doctrines. While he treated all men with respect, he would call no man master. Christ was his Master, and the words of Christ and of the apostles, made the only confession of faith to which he would subscribe. While he possessed the liberty of searching, of thinking, and of forming his opinions according to the best judgment and understanding, and the best helps which he could obtain, he was quite willing that all his brethren should do the same. He had too much understanding, too much good sense, too much enlargement of mind, to be angry with a brother, and denounce him, or threaten to separate from him, because, on comparing, there appeared to be considerable difference in their opinions and ways of thinking. He made the essential doctrines of his faith but few ; and he verily believed that all sincere Christians, if they would lay aside passion and prejudice, may agree in the essentials, so far as to hold communion with each other, although they may differ widely about modes and forms, and doctrines of minor importance. If he ever seemed to be indignant, it was when he bore testimony against those who misrepresent the opinions of their brethren, and endeavour to make divisions among such as had been long and happily associated. . . .

The loss to the theological interest of the vicinity in which he lived, and to that interest in general, I view as the greatest loss which is occasioned by his death. In our depraved world, where the unhalloved passions, where prejudice and ignorance, have an unhappy influence on our reasonings, and on the opinions which we form, that man is worthy of double honour, who can, without any undue bias, pursue truth ; and when discovered, can embrace the truth, although it may appear very different from what he at first expected. Our departed brother professed to be an impartial, humble inquirer. While he discovered evidence enough to support his faith in the essential doctrines of the Christian religion, he examined those opinions which have divided the church into angry parties ; he examined those

opinions with freedom ; and if the result of his examination gave him different views, and led him to form opinions on some points, different from what he once entertained, it is no more than many have experienced, and many others will experience, who read, examine, and think for themselves.

Dr. Lowell wrote of Dr. Eckley, in a letter to Dr. Sprague, in 1853 : —

I never witnessed his indignation at anything but bigots and bigotry ; and then it was expressed emphatically. I do not remember his ever talking on points of theological controversy, — not even on the subject of the Trinity ; though that was a subject which, in his day, was but little discussed among us. His relations were certainly more intimate with the ‘liberal party,’ as they were termed, than with the Calvinistic party. It was not so with his young colleague, Mr. Huntington, with whom I enjoyed pleasant, personal and ministerial intercourse during his life ; but he was most kind, gentlemanly, and Christian-like, in his treatment of those from whom he differed in sentiment.

On the doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement Dr. Eckley said, not long before his death : “I seek for a plan which exalts the personal character of the Son of God in the highest possible degree.” And, further : “The common plan of three self-existent persons, forming one essence, or infinite being, and one of these persons being united to a man, but not in the least humbling himself or suffering, leads to and ends in Socinianism ; and, though it claims the form of orthodoxy, it is a shadow without a substance ; it eludes inspection ; and I sometimes say to those who are strenuous for this doctrine, that they take away my Lord, and I know not where they place Him. The orthodoxy, so called, of Waterland, is as repugnant to my reason and views of religion, as the heterodoxy of Lardner ; and I am at a loss to see that any solid satisfaction for a person who wishes to find salvation through the death of the Son of God, can be found in either.”<sup>1</sup>

Nine days after Dr. Eckley’s funeral, Mr. Emerson, of the First Church, whose health had been failing for several months, was called to his rest. Mr. Buckminster, of Brattle Street, preached his funeral sermon, and began with this reference : —

<sup>1</sup> Wisner’s *History*, pp. 114, 115. Dr. Wisner says that Dr. Eckley was a Semi-Arian, that is, one who believes “that the Son is, not of the same, but of like substance, with the Father, derived or emanating from the Father, possessing all divine attributes except literal self-existence and independence and absolute eternity.” This was the position, substantially, of the Rev. Noah Worcester.

In this town there still vibrates on the ear the funeral bell of one of our beloved brethren. The earth has not yet settled on his remains; the footsteps of the mourners have hardly turned back from his grave, ere another waits for admission, and the bereaved meet and mingle their lamentations. In the mean while it is not to us, nor was it to him, whose remains are before us, merely a fanciful satisfaction to think, that the beloved Doctor Eckley will hardly have left these regions of mortality, these confines of his former existence, ere this kindred spirit, long waiting to be dismissed, will follow in the still lingering light of his upward track, with the hope, if God so please, of being reunited with him forever.<sup>1</sup>

Sabbath day May 12. 1811

A letter was read from the Church in Summer Street, lately under the care of Revd. Dr Kirkland, requesting the assistance of the Old South Church, by its pastor and delegates, at the Ordination of Samuel Cooper Thatcher on the 15th inst. Voted to comply with the request. The Pastor and Deacons were appointed to attend on the occasion.

JOSHUA HUNTINGTON.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Kirkland was called to the presidency of Harvard College in 1810, as the successor of the Rev. Samuel Webber. Mr. Thacher, fifth in the line of descent from the Rev. Thomas Thacher, was a son of the Rev. Peter Thacher, late minister of the Church in Brattle Street, and bore the name of his father's predecessor in that pastorate. He graduated at Harvard College in 1804, in the same class with Thomas Jeffries Eckley, William Scollay, and (the Rev.) Samuel Sewall. While yet a student in college, he formed the purpose of entering the min-

<sup>1</sup> [On the 21st of October, 1814, the Rev. Edward Everett, then of Brattle Street Church, preached the funeral sermon of Mr. Abbott at the First Church, and said: "Three years and a half are past, since you followed the lamented Eckley and the faithful Emerson to the grave. Another year, and the illustrious Buckminster had joined the assembly of the just. The commencement of the last year bereaved us of the evangelical Eliot, and we are now assembled to pay the mournful tribute of a brother's life to the close of this."]

<sup>2</sup> [The following is a copy of the letter missive:—

It having pleased the great Shepherd and Head of the Church to remove our late beloved Pastor to a sphere of more

extended usefulness, it is a Source of comfort and joy to us, that this Church and Society have united in an invitation to Mr. Samuel Cooper Thacher to settle with us in the work of the Gospel Ministry, and that he has signified his acceptance of our call: We have therefore appointed Wednesday the 15th day of May next, for the Ordination, and invite you to attend by your Pastor and Delegates, to assist at the Council, and in the Solemnities of the day.

Wishing you Grace, Mercy and Peace, we Subscribe ourselves, in behalf of the Church and Society

Your friends &c.

DANIEL BATES } Committee  
JOSEPH FIELDS }

The council will meet at the Rev. Mr. Emerson's meeting House, at 9 o Clock.]



istry. In December, 1803, he wrote to an elder brother: "To this object all my hopes and wishes are directed; and I pray God that I may not be permitted to touch his ark with unholy hands." He studied theology under the direction of Mr. Channing; taught for a time; and travelled in Europe in company with Mr. Buckminster. His ordination took place on the day preceding the funeral of Mr. Emerson, and Mr. Buckminster, in the sermon from which we have already quoted, drew this striking contrast between the two occasions: —

The trying scenes of the passing week offer themselves to us as an epitome of the course of human life. There promise—here disappointment; there expectation—here defeat; there a new gift of heaven—here bereavement and vacancy; there a course commenced with the fairest auspices—here eclipse and disastrous twilight; there prayers and hopes for long life, health and happiness—here condolence, lamentations, and tears over a lifeless body.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Huntington now had the sole charge of the Old South parish, a weighty responsibility—especially at that time—for a young man of five and twenty. Dr. Wisner says that the society was in a flourishing condition. "The attendants on public worship steadily and rapidly increased. The church was continually gaining strength, both as to the decision of its members in regard to doctrine and piety, and increase of numbers. There was, during Mr. Huntington's ministry, no such special attention to religion as we commonly understand by a revival. Yet there was, during the whole time, a serious, growing and efficient attention to the subject. There was, it may be said with strict propriety of language, a continual revival."

At a meeting of the members of the Old South Church and Congregation on Monday May 27 1811—William Phillips Esq. chosen Moderator.

Voted, That Joseph Peirce be Secretary.

[Mr. Samuel Coverly was made a committee to procure insurance on the parsonage houses and on the stores in South Row.]

The Committee on the Treasurer's Accounts reported that they had attended that service, and found the accounts right cast and well vouched, and the following in the hands of the Treasurer,

<sup>1</sup> [Of Mr. Buckminster's funeral discourse for Mr. Emerson, Dr. Sprague says: "This sermon contains splendid

passages, but bears marks of haste, not discoverable in any other of his acknowledged publications."]

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| 2 Shares in the Massachusetts Bank belonging to<br>the Church, prime Cost \$500 . . . . . | \$1000.00 |
| Cash belonging to the Church . . . . .  | 1335.35   |
| Cash belonging to the Church and Congregation   | 1476.31   |

All which is submitted

BOSTON May 27 1811

JOSEPH PEIRCE } Committee.  
SAMUEL COVERLY }

An application was made by Lieutenant Governor [William] Gray by desire of the Supreme Executive for the use of the meeting house for the Religious Services on Wednesday Election day—which was granted—and the Committee of repairs (General Winslow and Abraham Wilde) to remove the mourning on this occasion, and replace it before the next Sabbath—and continue it up the two coming Sabbaths.

Voted, That the black Cloth which covers the pulpit when taken down be presented to the Rev'd Dr. Lathrop—who preached the funeral Sermon—by the Deacons in behalf of the Society.

Voted, That the Treasurer's accounts be recommitted to two, vizt. Joseph Peirce and Samuel Coverly, who reported the same, which report was accepted—see preceeding page.

Voted, That five of the Church and three of the Congregation be a Committee to take into consideration what may be proper to be done for the benefit of the widow of the late Dr. Eckley, and report—And Deacon Salisbury, Deacon Phillips, Joseph Peirce, Benjamin Whitman, Samuel Coverly of the Church, and John Winslow, Francis Welch and Abraham Wilde were chosen.

Adjourned without day.

Attest JOSEPH PEIRCE Secy. Pro Tem.

The Election Sermon was preached this year by the Rev. Thomas Thacher, of Dedham. Anniversary sermons were preached by Professor Ware, of Cambridge, at the First Church, before the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; the Rev. Mr. Dickinson, of Holliston, at the Old South, before the Massachusetts Missionary Society; the Rev. Reuben Puffer, D. D., at Brattle Street, before the Convention; and, a week later, the Rev. Mr. Channing, at the First Church, before the Bible Society.

On the last day of May there was a destructive fire at Newburyport. Two hundred and fifty buildings in the centre of the town were burnt, including the post office, the Baptist Church, four printing offices, and two insurance offices. "Excepting the range under the Town Hall," said the message, "there is

scarcely an English Goods store remaining." The loss was estimated at two million dollars. As soon as the news reached Boston, a meeting was called to arrange for the collection of money for the relief of the sufferers, and a committee was appointed, of which Colonel Thomas H. Perkins was chairman. A few days later, a meeting of those who had subscribed to the relief fund was held, at which Mr. Samuel Eliot presided, and it was determined to ask for a general collection in all the congregations of the town.

Boston June 17. 1811.

At a meeting of the Church and Congregation at 5 o. c. P. M. Joseph Peirce chosen Secretary Pro tem. William Phillips, Moderator.

The Committee appointed to consider of some Provision proper to be made for Mrs. Eckley, have agreed — That it be recommended to the Society to appoint a Committee to wait on Mrs. Eckley and inform her it is the desire of the Society that she remain in the Parsonage house to the end of the present year ; or if it be more agreeable to her to remove from thence, they will allow and pay her at the rate of one thousand Dollars p. annum, from the time she shall cease to occupy the same, until the last day of December next.

They also recommend to the Society that there be allowed to Mrs. Eckley the amount of Sallery which has been usually paid to the late Dr Eckley, from the last payment made to him, until the last day of December next, and that the same be paid to her in monthly instalments of fifty Dollars.

[The report was accepted, and votes were passed in the words of the committee.]

Voted, That a Committee of two, Vizt. the Secretary and Mr. S. Coverly wait on Mrs. Eckley and inform her of the above.

A Communication was made from Mr. Ebenezer Stocker, Secretary, — dated June 14 1811 — from a meeting of a number of the Inhabitants of Boston, Samuel Eliot Esq. Chairman, directed to the Pastor or Deacons, requesting a Collection to be made for the benefit of our suffering brethren of Newbury-Port by the late destructive fire there, — which being read — It was

Voted, That the Secretary request the Rev. Mr. Huntington who is expected to return from a journey this week, to give notice the next Sabbath that there will be a collection for the above purpose on the afternoon of the Sabbath next following — and if he should not return this week, then the Secretary to request the minister who may officiate next Sabbath afternoon to give such notice.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Coverly was authorized to subscribe to the rules and regula-

<sup>1</sup> [The total amount collected in the \$3,500. We give a few of the particulars of the town was about particulars:—

tions of the Massachusetts Mutual Fire Insurance Company, in effecting the insurance voted upon May 27.]

Voted, That there be a Committee of Seven appointed to examine into the State of the Library, and into the Clause of the late Revd Thomas Prince's will respecting the same, to make a Catalogue of the Books &c. And Rev. Mr. Huntington, Deacon Salisbury, Deacon Phillips, Mr. Whitman, Mr. Child, Mr. Welch and Mr. Joseph Callender were Chosen.

Then, Voted, To adjourn without day.

Attest      JOSEPH PEIRCE Secy. Pro Tem.

Sabbath day July 21. 1811.

A letter was read from the Church in Park Street, requesting the assistance of this Church by its Pastor and delegates at the Installation of Edward D. Griffin D. D., on Wednesday 31 Inst.

The Pastor, Deacon Salisbury (Deacon Phillips absent) Mr. Homes and Mr. Coverly were chosen to attend on the occasion.<sup>1</sup>

JOS. HUNTINGTON Pastor.

Edward Dorr Griffin was born in East Haddam, Connecticut, in 1770, graduated at Yale College in 1790, and, in 1795, was ordained pastor of the Congregational Church in New Hartford. In 1801 he moved to Newark, New Jersey, and was settled as colleague pastor with Dr. McWhorter over the First Presbyterian Church, succeeding to the full pastorate in 1807. When Andover Theological Seminary was established, he was called to the Bartlet Professorship of Sacred Rhetoric, and held that chair from 1809 to 1811, preaching much of the time at Park Street.

|                         |          |
|-------------------------|----------|
| Trinity . . . . .       | \$383.63 |
| Brattle Street . . . .  | 331.00   |
| Hollis Street . . . . . | 306.62   |
| New South . . . . .     | 275.81   |
| West . . . . .          | 266.00   |
| Old South . . . . .     | 250.00   |
| First . . . . .         | 244.00   |
| New North . . . . .     | 200.00   |
| Chapel . . . . .        | 175.12   |
| Second Baptist . . .    | 168.73   |
| Park Street . . . . .   | 155.87   |

It should be said that many of the largest givers had already subscribed upon the papers which had been in circulation on 'change and elsewhere.]

<sup>1</sup> [We do not know the precise terms of the Park Street letter, but, evidently, it was drawn in accordance with recognized Congregational usage, and was an invitation to a service of fellowship,

and not to an ecclesiastical investigation. The invited churches were not asked to express a formal opinion upon the orthodoxy of Dr. Griffin, or upon the expediency of settling him. The installation had been fixed for a certain day, and they were requested to assist.

When, in the supposed interest of the evangelical party, the installation of a pastor was transformed from a service of fellowship to an ecclesiastical visitation, the letters-missive very properly limited the invitation in each case to the pastor and one delegate. If the representatives of the churches were coming as judges, to constitute a tribunal clothed with undefined prerogatives, it was something saved to the liberty of the local church, to be able to put a limit upon their number.]



The council for Dr. Griffin's installation met in the Land Office in the State House. At the public services, Mr. Worcester, of Salem, preached from 2 Tim. ii. 19: "Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure," etc. Dr. Holmes, of Cambridge, offered "the consecrating prayer," Mr. Greenough, of Newton, gave the charge, Mr. Homer, of Newton, expressed the fellowship of the churches, and Mr. Huntington closed with prayer.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Griffin was a man of great power, and his brief ministry in Boston was a very exciting and aggressive one. Dr. Sprague records calling upon him, in May, 1811, and hearing him preach, the next Sunday afternoon, on the Apostle Paul's, "Thorn in the flesh." He wore the gown and bands.<sup>2</sup> "His appearance in the pulpit was not only imposing, but really majestic. His voice was one of immense compass as well as great melody, and it seemed to me then, as it always did afterwards, to be modulated to the best effect. He had a good deal of gesture, but it was direct and forcible, and was evidently the simple prompting of nature."

In the summer of 1811 a Philadelphia minister, of Unitarian opinions, visited Boston, and, soon after, wrote a letter to England, in which he gave a glowing account of the spread of Unitarianism in this town. All the ministers, he said, of eight of the Congregational churches were anti-Calvinistic and anti-Trinitarian. He said further:—

The ministers of Boston and its vicinity hold meetings at each other's houses, in rotation, once every fortnight, for the examination of candidates, and for friendly advice and social intercourse. At these meetings you may see Unitarians, Arians, and Trinitarians indiscriminately—as also at the weekly Thursday lecture, which is preached by Orthodox and heterodox men alternately. I heard two of these, one by Mr. Cary [of the Chapel], quite an Unitarian discourse; the other by a Mr. Codman, in the true style of an old Puritan. Dr. Osgood, whose sermon was animadverted on, in the *Monthly Register* (Vol. v. p. 606.) is a high Calvinist, of a warm and affectionate temper, and of

<sup>1</sup> "The whole exercises, which were interspersed with excellent singing, were peculiarly interesting, appropriate, and evangelical."—*Col. Centinel*.

<sup>2</sup> In a sermon preached at Park Street, March 2, 1884, Dr. Withrow, who had recently assumed a gown, said: "Were the fathers and founders to rise from their long sleep and examine what

changes have been made in the religious services, they might be as much amazed . . . as they would to see your pastor wearing a Genevan gown." Is it possible that this speaker was ignorant of the fact that the early New England ministers, almost without exception, and one at least of his own predecessors, wore preaching gowns?

great liberality and candor on theological subjects. His sympathies are with the anti-Calvinists, and if any of his own folks show anything like bigotry, Dr. Osgood is their (the anti-Calvinists') champion. He is, therefore, a great favorite with the Boston ministers.

The Presbyterians of the Middle States, finding that so many of the Congregational churches had departed from the old faith, erected a fine new church at Boston, to promote revivals. It is supplied by one Dr. Griffin, who had been extremely popular in New Jersey, but he has settled down at Boston. The church is deeply in debt, half the pews are yet to let, and the good man himself, by not returning the civilities paid him by the other ministers, when he first came to Boston, is now neglected, not only by them, but by their hearers; and he has to stand his ground, and plead the cause of Orthodoxy, against eight of the Congregationalists, besides the King's Chapel ministers.

This letter was printed in London, together with the report of another observer, who had been told by a gentleman of high celebrity in America, "that he did not think there were two persons in Boston, who believed in the doctrine of the Trinity. This assertion," it was added, "though it certainly cannot be intended to be literally true, may serve to show the great prevalence of Unitarianism; in further proof of which it may be well to mention, that a very large and expensive place of worship, which has been recently erected to enforce Calvinistic doctrines, has completely failed, and it was expected would be sold to its opponents. The office of president of Harvard College having lately become vacant, Dr. Kirkland, a professed Unitarian, was elected by a very great majority of votes."

These very broad statements attracted the attention of the Rev. Francis Parkman, who was in London at the time of their publication, and who, a year or two later, became the minister of the New North Church, and he wrote a letter in reply to them, denying that Unitarianism had then made any such progress in and about Boston as had been represented. His letter seems to give a very fair view of the state of the churches in this vicinity at the time it was written, and, for this reason, we shall quote largely from it. There were twenty-one places of public worship in the town; three were Baptist, two Episcopalian, two Methodist, and these seven, as Mr. Parkman remarked, were Trinitarian. He then said:—

But it is, I presume, to the Congregational Churches, that your friend's account must chiefly refer. With the ministers of these, I am well acquainted. I have always heard their preaching, and as a student

of divinity, I constantly attended for two or three years their monthly meetings, when they frequently converse upon their religious opinions. This Association is composed, not only of the ministers of Boston, but of several of the neighboring towns. Of these gentlemen, about twenty in number, there is only one, whom, from anything I ever heard him offer, either in private, or in his pulpit, I, or anybody else, would have a right to call an Unitarian. Even this gentleman, when I was in Boston did not preach Unitarianism systematically. I never heard him express such views of the person of Christ, and it was rather from inference, that I could say he held them. Many of his people are widely different from him ; and, with the exception of two or three, or, at most four or five heads of families, I may safely say, that there is scarcely a parishioner in Boston, who would not be shocked at hearing his minister preach the peculiarities of Unitarianism.

There is one church in Boston which may perhaps be said to be founded on Unitarian principles. Dr. Freeman of King's Chapel, with his church, about thirty years ago, adopted an amended liturgy. But if you will admit what Mr. Belsham himself very fairly stated "that no man can justly be called by the name of a party, unless he *willingly*, and (if he be a minister) to a certain degree, *openly*, acknowledge himself of that party," Dr. Freeman can hardly be considered as an exception to the great majority of his brethren. For, though on other subjects he is as explicit and unreserved, as he is able and intelligent, I never heard him express an Unitarian sentiment ; and I believe he carefully avoids it in the pulpit, because it might unnecessarily disturb some of his hearers. There is now one more gentleman in Boston, who, with his intimate friends, may, perhaps, be considered a Unitarian ; but he maintains the same cautious reserve ; and from neither his sermons, his prayers, nor his private conversation, could I infer that he was a Unitarian. Now even admitting, what I hardly think I have a right to do, that these three gentlemen are Unitarians, to what can all this prudent reserve be ascribed, but to their conviction that the preaching of Unitarian doctrines would be offensive to their hearers and injurious to their usefulness ? In truth, the Congregational societies of Boston, as are most of those in the country, are composed of hearers of various opinions. Some of them are Calvinists, some of them Arminians ; perhaps the greater part, without having minutely investigated, or having any very distinct views of the shades of difference among them, entertain a general liberality of sentiment. But, as I personally know, from instances, too, of those who attend the three gentlemen I have just mentioned, they regard the doctrines of Unitarianism as unscriptural, and inconsistent with the great object and spirit of Christianity.

Of our other seven Congregational ministers, two [Dr. Griffin and Mr. Huntington] are very decided Calvinists. One of these is the

minister of the new church you mention. I know not how this church flourishes at present, but it was opposed, not because it was founded upon Calvinism ; for this would be altogether inconsistent with our love of religious freedom, but on account of the intolerant spirit some of its first patrons displayed. Our other five ministers, if I must use so many names, which I do not like, are very far from Unitarians. You say they are all Arians or Unitarians ; as if these were very nearly the same. But I assure you they would contend for a very great distinction, and holding, as I believe they do, high and exalted views of the person and mediation of Jesus Christ, resting on the merits of his atonement, his cross and passion, and zealous to pay the honor which they believe due to his name, they would, I think, be very unwilling to be confounded with the followers of Dr. Priestley. Some of them, I know, are utterly opposed to the sentiments and spirit of Unitarianism.

You say that Dr. Kirkland is a professed Unitarian, and mention him, as if his election to the presidency of Cambridge University, were a decisive proof of the prevalence of your sentiments among us. Dr. K. was formerly one of the ministers of Boston, and whatever his particular friends may think of his opinions, he never preached these sentiments. Nay, I may venture to say, that had Dr. Kirkland been an acknowledged defender of Unitarianism, he would not have been elected to that place. Unitarianism is too unpopular in the country, and his friends, who are at the same time the friends and governors of the University, with all the respect they most justly entertain for his exalted talents and character, and particularly for his candid and liberal mind, would, I believe, have deemed it necessary to sacrifice their private wishes, and consulted the interests of the University in electing a president, whose sentiments were more agreeable to the great body of the Massachusetts clergy, of which, *ex officio*, he is generally considered the head, and to the sentiments of the community at large. Had a decided Unitarian been elected, I really believe that the number of the students would have been diminished.<sup>1</sup>

Five young men were ordained to the foreign missionary service, at the Tabernacle Church, Salem, on Thursday, February 6, 1812. Their names were Samuel Newell, Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott, Gordon Hall, and Luther Rice.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Woods, of Andover, preached the sermon, Dr. Spring, of Newburyport, gave the charge, and Dr. Worcester, of Salem, ex-

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Parkman's letter was dated London, February 20, 1812, and we copy it, with the statements which it was intended to controvert, from the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, vol. ii. April, 1829.]

<sup>2</sup> Messrs. Nott, Hall, and Rice sailed from Philadelphia, February 18, in the same vessel with Mr. Johns, a Baptist missionary. Messrs. Newell and Judson sailed from Salem.



pressed the fellowship of the churches. Dr. Griffin and Dr. Morse offered prayer. But the society which at its anniversary meeting in Boston, in 1885, was able to report an expenditure during the last year of six hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and invested funds to its credit of nearly one million dollars, almost staggered in 1812 under the responsibility which it had assumed of sending out to India and supporting there the group of devoted men who had trustfully placed themselves under its care. An appeal was made to the Christian public, in which it was said: "The Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions are not able in the present state of the funds, to do more than to pay the outfits and charges of the voyage to Calcutta, and to advance half a year's salary to the missionaries." A meeting was held in Park Street Church on Sunday evening, February 16, at which Dr. Griffin preached a missionary sermon, and a collection was taken, amounting to \$338.79. The friends of the movement had collected in Boston during the five preceding days \$530, in addition to about \$40 in surgical instruments and medicines, the whole amounting to more than \$900. "This is exclusive," said the Centinel, "of what has been raised by the Foreign Mission Society," and it added: "We are happy to learn that the extraordinary liberality of the public, on this interesting occasion, has enabled the commissioners to support the expenses of the outfit and passage of the missionaries, and to pay them one year's salary in advance."

For the systematic collection of money to support those then embarking, and others who were to follow, Foreign Mission Societies were formed in Boston and other towns. The society in Boston was organized with the following officers: the Hon. William Phillips, president; Deacon Samuel Salisbury, vice-president; the Rev. Joshua Huntington, secretary; Mr. Jeremiah Evarts, treasurer; and Mr. Benjamin Green, auditor. The treasurer announced in the papers that he would be in attendance at the bookstore of Mr. Samuel T. Armstrong, No. 50 Cornhill, every Wednesday afternoon, from three to six o'clock, to receive annual subscriptions and donations.

We have further evidence of the revival of the missionary spirit in Boston at this time:—

The patronage afforded to recent plans for diffusing Christian knowledge in heathen countries, is a matter of great satisfaction to all the friends of the gospel. Rev. Mr. Johns, lately in this town and

vicinity, soliciting subscriptions to defray the expense of translating the Bible into the eastern languages, we understand has received very liberal encouragement. He is a missionary of the *baptist* denomination. But happily for the age in which we live, a *sectarian* spirit has ceased to obtrude itself in the prosecution of the great object of christianizing the pagan world. Many gentlemen of the congregational order have readily contributed to accomplish the laudable purpose in which Mr. Johns is engaged. The Hon. William Phillips of this town has given *one thousand dollars*. The numerous other donations of the same gentleman, for missionary purposes, and pious and charitable objects, are highly creditable to his religious profession; and show how useful the opulent Christian may be by the judicious distribution of his wealth.<sup>1</sup>

An act was passed by Congress, April 4, laying an embargo for sixty days on all ships and vessels within the jurisdiction of the United States.<sup>2</sup> An express was dispatched to Boston, by Mr. James Lloyd, a senator from Massachusetts, and Mr. Quincy, a member of the House of Representatives, in advance of the passage of the bill, and as soon as it was known that it was to be reported from the committee on foreign relations, to warn the merchants of the impending calamity. It reached Boston Friday afternoon, April 3. Mrs. Quincy wrote to her husband on the 6th:—

The intelligence communicated by your letter has excited an unprecedented sensation here. The trucks were going all Sunday; and the wharves, I am told, were as full and as busy as they were ever seen. Every ship or boat that can move is preparing to get off before they are stopped by the embargo. This effort is an important service to the merchants; and another, I hope, will be produced by the industry of the Federalists at the election today. The weather has been threatening, but is now clearing off. Under the present excitement, I do not think a storm would be injurious.

Also, April 8:—

To-morrow is Fast Day. Mr. Channing again declined to read the proclamation. He told me he did not think there was any reason, civil or religious, obliging him to produce in the pulpit the warrant by which he gave notice of the observance of the day according to order and usage.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [*Col. Centinel*, February 19, 1812.]

<sup>2</sup> A correspondent of the *Centinel* had written from Washington, February 12: "The buz of war has intirely ceased in both Houses."

<sup>3</sup> [*Memoir of the Life of Eliza S. M. Quincy*, pp. 150, 151. "In this town the utmost exertions have been used in fitting out vessels for sea. From Saturday to Thursday, eighty-five sail were loaded,

An address to the clergy of Massachusetts had appeared in the federal newspaper, urging them not to read the proclamation for the approaching Fast Day. It recalled the action of Dr. Chauncy and the associated pastors in Boston, under Governor Hutchinson, and declared that Governor Gerry had given a succession of proclamations, replete with assertions and principles which the clergy generally were known to discredit and detest. "With what consistency," it was asked, "can the ambassador of Christ consent to be made the instrument of uttering and publishing, as truth, what, in his heart, he believes to be false; of recommending to his flock to give thanks for the occurrence, and to pray for the perpetuity of events, which he seriously considers portentous and visible judgments of Heaven?"



*Wm. Phillips.*

The state election was a very exciting one, and resulted in a victory for the federalists, or, as one of the papers described them, "the friends of Washington, Commerce and Peace." Caleb Strong and William Phillips were elected governor and lieutenant-governor, respectively, in place of Elbridge Gerry and William Gray. Mr. Gray was not a candidate for reelection, and William King, of the Province of Maine, had been nominated on the ticket with Governor Gerry. Mr. Phillips held the office to which he was now elected until 1823.

At this critical juncture in the politics of the State and nation, the annual parish meeting was held, as usual, in the afternoon of Fast Day.

cleared, and sailed principally for foreign ports. Unfavorable weather detained about twenty of them in the outer harbor. On the arrival of the act yesterday morning a signal was hoisted on Fort Hill, but the haze prevented its being seen; and it was not until the afternoon that they received information of the

arrival of the law, and that the revenue cutter had been despatched to detain them, when the principal part of them cut, and put to sea." Four vessels were detained by the cutter, although the masters made use of every exertion in their power to get to sea. — *Col. Centinel*, April 11, 1812.]

April 9th 1812. At a meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation

William Phillips Esqr. Moderator.

Voted, That John Winslow be requested to act as Clerk for the Year.

The Committee chosen by the Old South Society on the 11th April, 1811, to take the direction and ordering of all temporal matters of said Society, beg leave (as the time being expired for which they were chosen) to report, That they have within the year past directed the Treasurer to pay Sundry bills against the Society, Vizt.

Expences attending the funeral of the late Revd.

|  |          |                  |
|--|----------|------------------|
| Dr. Eckley, . . . . .  | \$504.27 |                  |
| Sundry bills work done on the parsonage House, . . . . .     | 90.64    |                  |
| Iron Fence, Stone post &c. in front of said Houses . . . . . | 384.37   |                  |
| Planks, Boards &c. . . . .                                   | 96.85    |                  |
| Gravel and paving Stones for Parsonage                       |          |                  |
| House . . . . .  | \$267.05 |                  |
| Laying same, . . . . .                                       | 73.21    | 340.26           |
| Sundry Expences of Singing Society, . . . . .                | 52.00    |                  |
| Repairs on Meeting House, . . . . .                          | 527.42   |                  |
| Removing Library and making Cases for Books . . . . .        | 108.35   |                  |
| To Betterments made on Westerly Parsonage House . . . . .    | 80.00    |                  |
|  |          | <u>\$2184.16</u> |

And the Committee further report, that they have let the Easterly parsonage House for One Year at the rent of Six Hundred Dollars, and also the Stores in Marlborough Street on leases of five Years, three of them at \$450. and two at \$500. p. Annum, and generally, that they have attended to all the Affairs of the Society, that were entrusted to their Agency.

Which is respectfully submitted p order

(Signd.) F. WELCH.

Motion made and seconded the report be accepted, which Vote was unanimous.

The Report of the Committee on the Library Vizt.

The Committee appointed by the Old South Society June 17. 1811 to examine into the State of the Library, and into the clause of the Rev. Thomas Princes will respecting the same, and to make a catalogue of the Books &c — Beg leave to report, that they have attended that duty and found the Library in a very ruinous situation, the boxes were some broken to pieces, others uncovered and the books partly taken out and laying about the floor, trodden over and cover'd with dust. They are removed to, and deposited in a room of the Rev. Mr. Huntington's House, and placed in cases fitted up with shelves



in a suitable manner, a compleat catalogue is made of all the books, and there are new bound 90 Vols Octavo, (95 - 12 mo) 16 Folio, 2 Quarto, the Library is now in a respectable situation, and Contains many very excellent and Rare Publications.

p. Order

JOSEPH CALLENDER Secretary.<sup>1</sup>

Expences

|                                      |          |
|--------------------------------------|----------|
| paid Josiah Loring binding . . . . . | 112.46   |
| do Mr. Lord for Catalogue . . . . .  | 120.00   |
|                                      | <hr/>    |
|                                      | \$232.46 |

Moved and Seconded said report be accepted, which was Voted unanimously.

Voted, We now proceed to a choice of a Standing Committee for the Year, and that they be invested with all the powers of former Committees, to consist of twelve.

Voted, That Joseph Peirce and Samuel Coverly be a Committee to count and sort the Votes, who report the following persons chosen, Vizt. Deacon William Phillips, Samuel Coverly, Joseph Peirce, William Homes, Benjamin Whitman, Edward Phillips, David W. Child, John Winslow, Abraham Wild, William Whitwell, Francis Welch and Andrew Homer.

Voted, That Deacon Salisbury, Joseph Peirce, John Winslow, Samuel Coverly and Benjamin Whitman be a Committee to examine the Treasurer's account.

Voted, That Benjamin Whitman, Deacon Ticknor and John Winslow be a Committee to attend to the letting pews in future in this House, so far as to describe the mode and manner of said lease.

Voted, That Joseph Peirce be joined with our reverend Pastor to examine and see what Books belonging to this Society can be found, which may have been lent, that they may be replaced in our Library.

Attest

JNO. WINSLOW Clk.

The declaration of war against Great Britain was signed by President Madison on the 18th of June, in opposition, no doubt, to the desires and interests of the majority of the people of Massachusetts. They were engaged principally in commercial pursuits; "their spirit of thrift was greater than their thirst for military renown; and they were inclined to peace, not from

<sup>1</sup> [More than half a century had passed since the death of Mr. Prince, and in the mean time there had been several changes in the pastorate. During the War of the Revolution, as we know, the library suffered greatly; and, for many years afterward, its existence prob-

ably was almost forgotten. A smaller collection, but one of great value, the gift of William III. to King's Chapel, was partly scattered and much injured during the Revolutionary period. — Foote's *Annals of King's Chapel*, vol. i. pp. 123, 124.]

cowardice nor from a willingness to sacrifice the interests of their country, but from a profound conviction that peace was the policy of the nation, and would subserve its interests better than war." <sup>1</sup>

Sabbath Day Oct 11. 1812

After divine service in the afternoon a letter was read from the fourth Church of Christ in Bridgewater, requesting the assistance of this church, by its Pastor and Delegate, at the Ordination of Mr. Daniel Huntington, on the 28 inst. Voted to comply with the request.

The Pastor and Deacon Salisbury were chosen to attend on the occasion.

JOSHUA HUNTINGTON.

Mr. Huntington was a brother of the pastor of the Old South, and his junior by two or three years. He graduated at Yale College in 1807, and was settled over the North Parish in Bridgewater; here he continued until 1832, when the state of his health compelled him to resign.<sup>2</sup>

At the annual meeting of the church and congregation, April 8, 1813, the standing committee reported that it had expended during the year just ended, \$156 for the support of a choir of singers, and \$411.57 for repairs and for wood; also, that it had let one of the parsonage houses for another year to Dr. Waterhouse. A committee consisting of the deacons and General Winslow was appointed to consider the question of altering the porch on Milk Street, and the standing committee was directed to take into consideration the reduction of the taxes on the pews. A meeting was held April 26, to receive reports from these committees.

The Committee who was appointed to consider the alterations of the porch in Milk Street beg leave to report that in their opinion, the porch might be reduced about one half, and have only one Door in front, they would also report, it would be a very great convenience, to have inside Baze Doors at all the avenues on the Lower floors in the winter season, and that a Committee be appointed to Confer with the Selectmen, before this alteration is made, to have from them a promise that our side walks shall remain in the order we put them.

<sup>1</sup> Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Huntington's first wife was Mary Hallam, daughter of Captain Gurdon Saltonstall, and great-granddaughter of the governor of the same name.

His second wife was Alma, daughter of Benjamin French. Alma French joined the Old South in 1822, and her sister Almira, afterward wife of John Dane, one of the founders of the Harvard Church, Brookline, joined in 1823.

Voted, The report be accepted, and that the Standing committee be appointed to carry the same into effect.

The Standing Committee were appointed to take into Consideration, the lowering the Taxes on the Pews, it is reported that the Society at a Meeting held on the 19th Feby. 1808 did Vote to raise the Taxes on the pews 50 p. ct. in Consideration of settling a colleague with the Rev. Doctor Eckley, whose decease has rendered it unnecessary to continue the same. Therefore Voted, That from the first day of January last the Taxes on the Pews on the lower floor also those four in the Gallery which are really sold to the following persons, William Whitwell, Samuel Salisbury Junr. Thomas Tilden and John Bullman, be reduced one third part from their present rates.

On motion being made and seconded that two Rows of flatt stone be laid across the main Street for the convenience of foot passengers, crossing one from the Steeple Door, the other from the Center of the Society's Stores in Marlborough Street

Voted, The Committee be requested to see the same carried into effect as soon as convenient. (24 members present)

Voted, This meeting be now dissolved, and it was dissolved accordingly.

True Copy Jno. Winslow Clk.

WM. PHILLIPS Modr.

Sabbath-day July 4 1813.

After Divine Service in the afternoon, a letter was communicated from the First Church (Chauncy Place) requesting the assistance of the Old South Church by its Pastor and Delegates, at the Ordination of Mr. John Lovejoy Abbot, on the 14th Inst. Voted to comply with the request.

The Deacons, His Honor William Phillips, and Samuel Salisbury, together with Mr. Peirce, Mr. Homes, and Mr. Ticknor, were chosen to unite with the Pastor on the Occasion.

On motion made by the Pastor, it was Voted, that the Church on communion days, sit in the body pews, reserving the side pews for spectators ; and also, that a general invitation be given from the desk, before the congregation is dismissed, to all persons, members in regular standing, of sister churches, to stay and sit down with us at the Supper of the Lord.

Attest.

JOS. HUNTINGTON, Pastor.

Mr. Abbot, the successor of Mr. Emerson at the First Church, was born at Andover in 1783, graduated at Harvard College in 1805, and studied theology with the Rev. Jonathan French, of Andover, the minister of his father's family, and afterward at Cambridge with Dr. Ware, who preached the ordination sermon.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The council was entertained by the committee of the First Church at Concert Hall. The invitations to dine with the council included Bishop Cheverus, Dr. Sharp and Dr. Baldwin of the Baptist churches, and Dr. Griffin of Park Street.

Mr. Abbot's ministry was of short duration. He preached a few Sundays only after his settlement, "when a wasting consumption obliged him to cease from labors which were never afterwards resumed." <sup>1</sup>

Sabbath Day, Nov. 28 1813.

The church stay'd after divine service in the afternoon, when a letter was communicated from the New North Church, requesting the assistance of the Old South Church by its Pastor and Delegates at the Ordination of Mr. Francis Parkman on the 8th day of December following. Voted to comply with the request.

The Deacons, His Honor William Phillips and Samuel Salisbury, together with Joseph Peirce and William Homes were chosen to unite with the Pastor on the occasion. J. HUNTINGTON, Pastor.

The Rev. Dr. John Eliot died on Sunday the 14th of February, after a faithful ministry of more than a third of a century. His successor, the Rev. Francis Parkman, graduated at Harvard College in 1807, and his ministry continued until 1849.

Sabbath Day, January 16, 1814.

The Church stay'd after Divine service P. M. when a letter was communicated from the Church in Brattle Square requesting the assistance of the Old South Church by its Pastor and delegates at the Ordination of Mr. Edward Everett on the 9th of February next. Voted to comply with the request.

The Deacons, His Honor William Phillips and Samuel Salisbury, together with Mr. Jeremiah Bumstead Senr. and Samuel Coverly were chosen to unite with the Pastor on the occasion.

J. HUNTINGTON, Pastor.

Mr. Buckminster died June 9, 1812, at the age of twenty-eight. Mr. Everett was a son of the Rev. Moses Everett, for a few years minister of the New South Church. He graduated at Harvard College in 1811, and studied divinity under the direction of President Kirkland. His ministry at Brattle Street was very brief, as, in 1815, he returned to Cambridge to take a Greek professorship.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation Fast Evening April 7th 1814, 35 Members present,

William Phillips Esqr Chosen Moderator.

Voted, That John Winslow be requested to do the duty of Clerk for the Year, who was unanimously Chosen.

The Standing Committee chosen by the Old South Society, the 8th April 1813, to attend to the necessary repairs of the Meeting House,

<sup>1</sup> Ellis's *History of the First Church*, pp. 244-246.



and to take the direction of all the temporal Concerns of said Society, Beg leave (as the time for which they were chosen is now expired) to make the following report of their doings, Vizt.

They have caused the South Porch of the meeting House to be altered according to the Vote of the Society — Green Blinds to be put on the front Gallary Windows, and inside doors to the several Porches. They have had new funnels for the stoves and two flues made in the wall of the meeting House. They have also caused to be made, the necessary repairs on the Meeting House, Parsonage Houses and Stores, for all which they have expended the Sum of Eight hundred and thirteen dollars, seventy five Cents. They have also expended for the Support of the Singing \$176.50. There is now a Singing school in great forwardness, at which are taught forty two Young Ladies and about the same number of Young Gentlemen of the Society, who will be able in a very short time to take a part, in that portion of public worship. They have let the Easterly parsonage House for One Year at the rent of \$450, and they would mention that the Stores still remain occupied on the leases mentioned in the last year's report, and they have attended to all matters and things entrusted to them by the Society, all which is respectfully submitted —

F. WELCH p order.

Motion made and seconded, That the report be accepted. Voted Unanimously, That the report be accepted.

Voted, We now proceed to the Choice of a Standing Committee for the present Year, with the same powers of the former Committee.

Voted, That Pliny Cutler and Samuel Armstrong be a Committee to Collect, Count and sort the Votes — Who report the following Gentlemen to be chosen, William Phillips, John Winslow, Benjamin Whitman, Joseph Peirce, D. W. Child Esqrs Mr. Samuel Coverly, Pliny Cutler, William Homes, Edward Phillips, Francis Welch, Abraham Wild and John Winslow Junr.

Voted, That a Committee of five be Chosen to examine the Treasurer's Accounts, Vizt. Samuel Salisbury, Joseph Peirce, Deacon Ticknor, Samuel Coverly and B. Whitman.

Voted, That this meeting be dissolved, and it was dissolved accordingly.

True Copy. Jno. Winslow Clk.

Boston, May 9th. 1814.

The Brethren of the Old South Society, met by notice from the Rev Mr. Huntington on the Lord's day in the Afternoon.

The Committee appointed on the Treasurer's Accounts report that they have examined the Treasurers Accounts and find them well vouched and right cast, and there is in the Hands of the Treasurer as follows Vizt.

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| 2 Massachusetts Bank Shares . . . . .              | 1000.00   |
| 1 3 pr Ct Certificate U. S. nominal \$724.63 c 52  |           |
| cts p 100 . . . . .                                | 376.80    |
| Cash on hand . . . . .                             | 371.35    |
|  | <hr/>     |
| Belonging to the Church . . . . .                  | \$1748.15 |
| Belonging to the Church and Congregation . . . . . | 3783.06   |
|  | <hr/>     |
|  | \$5531.21 |

May 5, 1814.

Sign'd Samuel Salisbury and others.

Voted, The Report of the Committee be accepted.

Voted, We now proceed to the Choice of a Treasurer. Mr. Samuel Belknap was appointed a Committee to receive, count and sort the Votes, who reported that Deacon William Phillips was unanimously Chosen.

Voted, That in future, a Treasurer shall annually be Chosen, and the Choice shall be in the Month of May.

Joseph Peirce and D. W. Child were appointed a Sub Committee to meet Committees from other Societies, — report they have attended that duty and have agreed to pay the proportion of Expence for a Dinner for the reverend Clergy, of Congregational Ministers, who meet on Election week.

Voted, The Society approve their doings, and request the Treasurer to pay the same.

The Standing Committee to whom was referred the Subject of building a Vestry, Having Considered the same, Report that there ought not to be any building whatever erected on the land belonging to the Society.

Voted, The report of the Committee be accepted.

The Sub Committee of repairs reported, that Sundry repairs were necessary, to be done on the meeting House such as painting the House outside, whitewashing inside &c. which in their opinion would cost Eleven Hundred Dollars.

Voted, The Committee proceed and make such repairs, as they shall deem necessary.

Motion made and seconded, that a Committee be appointed to take into consideration the necessity of procuring a suitable place for a Vestry for the use of this society, the following persons were Chosen, Vizt D. W. Child, P. Cutler, Joseph Calender, Isaac P. Simpson and Jonathan French.

Voted, This meeting be dissolved and it was dissolved accordingly. 23 members present.

Attest Jno. Winslow Clk.

The Centinel speaks of Election Day as the "Political New

Year's Day." The annual sermon, this year, was preached at the Old South by Dr. Appleton, president of Bowdoin College, who on the day following preached at Brattle Street before the Convention of Congregational Ministers. On Friday President Kirkland preached in Chauncy Place, before the Society for the Suppression of Intemperance,<sup>1</sup> and, on Thursday, June 2, in the same meeting house, before the Massachusetts Bible Society.

The Convention of Congregational Ministers appointed a committee to prepare and address to Congress a petition against the transmission and opening of the mails on the Lord's day. The committee consisted of the Rev. John Lathrop, the Rev. Samuel Worcester, the Rev. Abiel Holmes, the Rev. Ebenezer Porter, the Rev. Daniel Chaplin, and the Rev. Henry Ware, who, in their memorial, said: "It is with solicitude and grief that we have seen this usage, sanctioned as it is by public authority, made the pretext for various encroachments on the regular observance of the Sabbath."

On the 31st of March Paris surrendered to the allied armies, and the submission of the capital was at once followed by the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon and the return of the Bourbons. The intelligence of these great events was received in Boston with the most intense satisfaction, and arrangements were at once made to hold—in the Stone Chapel (as King's Chapel was then called) on Wednesday, June 15—"Solemnities and Services in honor of the late Restoration of Safety and Peace to Europe, and in commemoration of the downfall of The Tyrant."<sup>2</sup> Governor Strong, Lieutenant-Governor Phillips, the Council, the Legislature, Mr. Pickering, Mr. Ward, and Mr. Pitkin, members of Congress, and many of the clergy, were present. Mr. Huntington offered a "solemn invocation," Mr. Channing preached a sermon of great power, and Dr. Osgood, of Medford, offered prayer. After the benediction by the venerable Dr. Lathrop, the Hon. Christopher Gore (ex-governor) presented some resolutions which had been agreed upon by a committee appointed at a meeting held at the house of the lieutenant-governor a few days before.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Huntington was recording secretary of this society. The New England Tract Society advertised, May 24, that it had opened a deposit of tracts in the chamber over Mr. Armstrong's bookstore, No. 50 Cornhill.

<sup>2</sup> Services were held in the Stone

Chapel, March 25, 1813, to commemorate the victories of Russia over Napoleon.

<sup>3</sup> This meeting was held at Mr. Phillips's, June 8, when "the observance of a solemn religious festival" was determined upon, and a committee of arrange-

At the meeting of the General Association of Massachusetts in Dorchester, at the end of June, 1814, one more — and the last — attempt was made to bring the Congregational churches of the State into consociation. A manuscript document found among the papers of Cotton Mather was submitted to the Association, containing an answer to the question, "What further steps are to be taken, that councils may have their due constitution and efficacy, in supporting, preserving and well ordering the interests of the churches in the country?" The paper was referred to a committee, of which Dr. Morse was chairman,<sup>1</sup> to inquire into its history, with instructions also to report at the next annual meeting, "on the expediency of a recommendation of this body of the plan of discipline there proposed, to the consideration of the association and churches in our connection."

When the year came round, the committee presented an elaborate report, embodying a "Plan of Ecclesiastical Order," expressed in ten carefully drawn "Articles of Agreement" for the churches "explicitly to adopt and duly to put in practice." The old manuscript had proved to be the original draft of those celebrated proposals which John Wise of Ipswich had demolished one hundred years before in his treatise — the "Churches' Quarrel Espoused." "It was the second attempt," says Dr. Clark, "to resuscitate those death-struck proposals, the first having been made in 1774 by Dr. Whitaker for a Presbyterian purpose, and now by this committee as the basis of consociation. Both were alike abortive." A vote was passed, "That the report be printed, and copies sent to the several associations in our connection, for the purpose of ascertaining the public sentiments respecting the plan of ecclesiastical order therein presented, and that the subject be called up at the next meeting of the General Association." The subject accordingly came up, but the most that the Association could be induced to do in favoring the plan was to signify that they had "no objection" to the consociating of those who so desired, as they had "no wish to prescribe opinions to their brethren." Here, says Dr. Clark, the matter ended, and he adds:—

Let us do justice to the motives of our fathers in this transaction.

ments was appointed, upon which Mr. Channing and Mr. Huntington represented the clergy, and Christopher Gore, George Cabot, John Phillips, Harrison Gray Otis, John Lowell, William Sullivan and others, the laity.

<sup>1</sup> The other members were the Rev. Samuel Austin, D. D., the Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., the Rev. Samuel Worcester, D. D., the Rev. Enoch Hale, the Rev. Joseph Lyman, D. D., and the Rev. Timothy M. Cooley.



The ecclesiastical affairs of our denomination were in a deplorable state. The want of agreement in religious doctrine and church-discipline was dissolving the bonds of fellowship between ministers and churches, who yet were held together by ecclesiastical ties that created incessant friction. Almost every council called together to settle or dismiss a pastor, to deal with an erring minister or church-member, or in any way to advise on church matters, was divided in sentiment and discordant in action. To obviate these crying evils, and at the same time to deliver the evangelical interest from its imperilled position, was the leading, if not the only, motive impelling towards consociation. But this was not the first instance in which good men, by attempting to avoid the roaring Scylla, have narrowly escaped the rocky Charybdis. Through the good hand of God upon them, the Association steered through the dangerous narrows, and the desired haven was safely reached. A more effectual deliverance was wrought, in a less objectionable way.<sup>1</sup>

The brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation held a meeting July 18, Mr. Benjamin Whitman in the chair, to hear a report of the committee on a vestry for the use of the society. The committee was unanimous in the opinion that a building for the purpose should be procured or erected at once, and reported that there was a lot of land owned by James Loring, adjoining the society's land in Spring Lane, with a two-story wooden building, which might be purchased for about \$3000. Plans were also submitted, to show how the land belonging to the society might be further utilized by the erection of a building in the rear of the meeting-house, at a cost not to exceed \$1000. The consideration of the report was postponed until the next annual meeting.

Boston, Dec. 1, 1814.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation, Deacon William Phillips chosen moderator.

The request of the Historical Society was then read, and the Committee to whom this Subject had been referred, Reported as follows —

That our beloved Pastor, the Revd. Joshua Huntington with such a Committee as the Old South Church and Society shall appoint, make a Selection of such historical Tracts, Manuscripts and Treatises relating to the History of our Country, from the New England Li-

<sup>1</sup> [Clark's *Historical Sketch*, pp. 252-254. This attempt at consociation, though unsuccessful, aroused suspicions which "for a time hindered the growth of the General Association." Merely the rec-

ommendatory report "occasioned the withdrawal of one or more associations which had united with the body, and probably prevented several others from uniting with it."]

brary, belonging to the Old South Church and Congregation, and now under his care, as they may think proper, and for the benefit of said Church and Society, and the publick, and the same, when so selected, to list, index or number on two separate Lists, which said Lists shall contain and be headed with this Vote, and all the regulations respecting said Subject passed at this meeting, and one of said Lists, he shall deposit in said New England Library, the other of said Lists, after it has been signed by the said Historical Society, their Officers or Agents, shall be by him delivered over to the Clerk of the Old South Church and Society, to be by said Clerk kept among the records of said Church and Society. And said Tracts, manuscripts and Treatises, so as aforesaid by said Huntington selected, shall be by him delivered over to said Historical Society, to be by them carefully kept in their room in Boston, and under their care, for the use of the Old South Church and Society, said Historical Society, and the Publick, upon the terms and Conditions following, Vizt.

1st. Said Tracts, Manuscripts and Treatises shall always be kept by said Historical Society, safely, in apartments by themselves in their room in Boston, and a fair record of the disposition and situation of the same, so kept by said Historical Society that the said Old South Church and Society may always know where and in what situation the same are, and may always have access to said records. And over the place where the same Tracts, Manuscripts and Treatises are, or shall be kept, the said Historical Society shall always keep inscribed in fair legible letters, the following Inscription "The Donation of the Rev. Mr. Prince to the Old South Church and Society."

2ndly. The Pastor or Pastors of the Old South Church and Society, shall at all times hereafter, have a right, and liberty, to inspect or use, or take away for inspection or use, any of said Tracts, Manuscripts or Treatises, leaving a receipt for the same with said Historical Society, to return the same, after the purpose for which the same were taken away, has been answered — and any Member of the Old South Church and Society, shall have like right and liberty, under like Conditions, and for like purposes, producing to said Historical Society a written order therefor, signed by the pastor or pastors of said Old South Church and Society.

3dly. The Old South Church and Society shall at any time hereafter have a right to receive and take back from said Historical Society said Tracts Manuscripts and Treatises, whenever by their Vote, at any meeting of said Church and Society, they shall so Vote and determine

Voted, That Benjamin Whitman, Joseph Peirce and Joseph Calender be the Committee to assist the Rev. Joshua Huntington in carrying the above Votes into effect.

Motion made and seconded that this meeting be dissolved, and it was dissolved accordingly.

True Copy, Attest JNO. WINSLOW Clk.<sup>1</sup>

A defalcation in the Massachusetts Bank was brought to light at this time, which inculpated one who had been teller for twenty years, or more, and a member of the Old South for more than thirty years. The pastor was requested to open a correspondence with the offending brother, and received from him a letter, in which he said : —

Not wishing to avoid a disclosure of the nature of my offences, I will state to you, Sir, that the first article is a debt actually due from myself, incurred in consequence of an unfortunate suretyship. The amount of this debt I counted as money on hand. From the moment I contracted this debt to the last moment of my service at the Bank it was my most solemn determination to repay it, and at every returning period of qualification for the ensuing year, it was first in my mind, and the hope of this restitution was my strongest inducement to continue in that service as the only means by which it might be accomplished.

The second article of my deficiency resulted from the payment of checks drawn by sundry persons, which checks were not good. In some of these instances I was guilty of a criminal compliance.

The third resulted from actual losses in transacting the business. My crime in regard to these, I conceive, was in keeping them secret from my employers.

A fourth article of criminality was unwarrantable accommodation to certain Brokers, to whom I was obliged at certain seasons of examination for assistance to enable me to cover my deficiency. — All which are considered, and too justly, to be inconsistent with fidelity to my employers, and violations of my oath of office.

To attempt to justify or excuse these errors would be vain, if not wicked ; to palliate or extenuate them will not be attempted. I will only state that I was reconciled to the course I pursued, by the consideration that continuance in office was the only means whereby I could make restitution for the deficiencies incurred, and that many of the actual errors that rested upon me, I was led to believe did not originate with me. The circumstances that led me to this belief would

<sup>1</sup> [For full particulars of this arrangement with the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of the deposit of the Prince Library in the Boston Public Library in 1866, see the Preface to the Catalogue of the Prince Library printed by the City of Boston in 1870.

Mr. Huntington was elected a resident member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, with Mr. William Tudor and the Hon. Joseph Story, April 25, 1816, but he declined the honor, we suppose, on account of the poor state of his health.]

be tedious in detail, and would be hardly intelligible to those unacquainted with my situation in the Bank.

The terms of the peace concluded under the Treaty of Ghent reached Boston by express, in twenty-four hours from New York, February 21, 1815, and the following day, Washington's Birthday, was given up to public rejoicings. The merchants and business men of the town had suffered severely from the war, and hardly less from the events which preceded it; and the return of peace was hailed with the greatest enthusiasm. Religious exercises were held in the Stone Chapel, at which Dr. Lathrop and Mr. Cary, the legislative chaplains of the year, officiated.

Dr. Griffin's ministry at Park Street Church closed this spring. "In consequence of the congregation having become embarrassed by means of the war, and withal somewhat divided among themselves, he accepted an invitation to return to Newark, as pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, which was then vacant."<sup>1</sup> He was an able and excellent man, but he failed to make much impression upon the community here, partly, no doubt, but not altogether, because of his very pronounced doctrinal opinions. We find no reference to his departure in any of the papers of the day, nor does a council of churches appear to have been convened to take action upon his resignation. He is now best remembered as one of the distinguished presidents of Williams College.

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation, Fast Evening April 6 [1815] Deacon Wm. Phillips Moderator.

The Committee chosen by the Old South Society on the 7th day of April last, to take the care and direction of all temporal Concerns of said Society, — as the time for which they were chosen has expired, beg leave to report, Vizt.

1st. In compliance with the Vote of the Society at a Meeting held in May last, they have [caused] the meeting House to be painted inside and out, the Walls white wash'd, and the Building thoroughly repair'd, all which has cost the sum of Eighteen hundred and Sixty Eight Dollars, twenty seven Cents — they have also laid out one hundred and fifty Dollars in necessary repairs on the Stores.

2d. They have expended three Hundred Dollars for the support of a Choir of Singers the past year; and finally they have attended to all the Concerns of the Society.

FRANCIS WELCH Clk p. order.

<sup>1</sup> Sprague's *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 31.



Voted, The report of the Standing Committee be accepted.

On Motion made and seconded, Voted we now come to the Choice of a Standing Committee for the Year.

Voted, That Joseph Foster and Joseph Callender be a Committee to receive Count and Sort the Votes, who report the following persons Chosen, Vizt. Deacon William Phillips, Joseph Peirce, Samuel Coverly, William Homes, John Winslow, Abraham Wild, Benjamin Whitman, Francis Welsh, D. W. Child, Pliny Cutler, Edward Phillips and John Winslow Junr. who shall be invested with the same powers as the former Committees.

Voted, That Deacon Salisbury, John Winslow, Joseph Peirce, Joseph Callender and Samuel Coverly be a Committee to examine the Treasurer's Accounts, and report the same as soon as Convenient.

A Motion was made to take up the report of the Committee on the business of a Vestry, which was referred from July to the Annual meeting, on which said report was read by the Clerk.

A Motion was then made and seconded that the subject be referred for one Year.

Voted, The same be referred.

A motion was made and seconded that this meeting be dissolved, and it was dissolved accordingly.

True Copy      Attest JNO WINSLOW Clk.

A meeting of the society was held May 15, to hear the report of the committee on the treasurer's accounts. The amount on hand, in cash and securities, was stated to be \$4,740.98. Mr. Phillips was reelected treasurer.

Boston August 11. 1815

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation, Deacon William Phillips Moderator.

On motion made and seconded it was Voted, That there be a collection on the next Sabbath afternoon after divine Service for the benefit of the sufferers in the late distressing Fire at Petersburg, Virginia, agreeable to the recommendation of the Committee of this Town.

Voted, That John Winslow be a Committee to inform the Rev. Mr. Huntington of this Vote, and request him to mention the same after divine Service in the morning to the Society, and to inform them that all monies not mark't will be consider'd as for that purpose.

JNO. WINSLOW Clk.

The committee of citizens on the Petersburg fire consisted of Daniel Sargent, Thomas Dawes, and Peter Oxenbridge Thacher ; the total collected was \$3,932.29. In making the remittance, the committee wrote : " The amount would have been greater

but for their privations during the late war, and their contributions to neighbors who not long ago had lost their all by fire, especially in Portsmouth and Newburyport."

What is known as the equinoctial storm was exceptionally severe in September of this year, and proved fatal to the Old South bell, which had called three generations of worshippers to the house of prayer.

The Public Buildings, though much exposed, and for which great anxiety was expressed, did not sustain material injuries. One of the high arches of the tower of the Meeting-House in Hollis Street, sprung and hazarded the fall of the steeple; but it stood, and may probably be repaired without being taken down. The Third Baptist, Park Street and Old South Meeting Houses; the Church in Summer Street, the Chapel, and some at the North End, lost many panes of glass, had the leads removed from their ridges and edges, and some of their Venetian blinds destroyed. . . . On land, the most impressive scene was exhibited in the Common and vicinity. About twenty of the stately trees which form the Mall, and skirted the Common, were torn up by their roots and prostrated, carrying the fences with them; and five of the Elms which form what is called Paddock's Walk, in front of the Granary burial-ground, shared the same fate. The overthrow of these trees is perhaps one of the strongest proofs of the fury of the tempest.<sup>1</sup>

Boston, Nov. 20. 1815.

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation called by the request of the Standing Committee, from the Desk, to meet this day at 3 O Clock PM. on the Subject of procuring a New Bell, the present Bell being crack't, supposed by the late Tempest on the 23d of September last, the Bell being Ringing for Fire at that Time, Voted, Unanimously,

That a New Bell be procured for the use of this House.

Voted, That Joseph Peirce, Josiah Salisbury and Edward Phillips be a Committee to procure a New Bell, as near the size and sound of the Old Bell as possible, in any way and manner that they may see proper.

Voted, That the Committee put on the New Bell any inscription they may think proper.

Motion being made and seconded that this meeting be dissolved, and it was dissolved accordingly; 13 Members present.

Att. JOHN WINSLOW Clk.

The brethren met December 12, to consider further the

<sup>1</sup> [*Centinel*, Sept. 27, 1815. The trees which had been uprooted were replanted, with the prospect of preserving them.

See Dr. Holmes's poem, "The September Gale," for the humorous side of this visitation.]

case of the late teller of the Massachusetts Bank. He had addressed a communication to the church in July, which was not satisfactory, and the pastor was requested to inform him that the church was desirous to see an exhibition in his life and conduct of that repentance towards God for his great sin whereby he had brought reproach upon religion, which would justify his restoration to its communion and fellowship ; also, that evidence of this repentance would appear, when he should seek an opportunity to confess his sin before the church, and ask for forgiveness. At the end of the year he wrote a letter, full of expressions of sorrow and shame, which was read at a meeting January 3, and being within call, he was invited to appear before the brethren. He then made oral confession of his sin, asked the forgiveness of the church, and its prayers in his behalf, declared that he cheerfully submitted himself to its government and discipline, and most solemnly professed that his offence towards God, and the reproach which he had brought upon the cause of Christ, bore more heavily and painfully on his mind than any human censure. Whereupon it was voted, *nem. con.*

That brother —— be restor'd to the full communion and cordial fellowship of the Church, and that an outline of the Church's proceedings in relation to him, for the honor of our holy religion, thus deeply wounded in the house of its friends, be communicated from the pulpit as soon as convenient, at the close of the public service of the Lord's day, and that said —— be notified to attend on the occasion.

It adds to our interest in these proceedings to remember that the two deacons of the church which passed thus leniently upon the offender were stockholders and directors (one of them was the president) in the bank whose funds had been taken, and, therefore, were personal sufferers by the defalcation.

At the meeting at which the vote just given was adopted further action was taken, as follows :—

Voted, that all persons who apply for a transfer of their relation from any other church to the Old South Church, shall, in addition to a written testimonial from the church or Pastor of the church to which they belong, of their good standing in said church, give to the Pastor of this, the Old South Church, and to a joint committee of the same, hereafter to be chosen, satisfactory evidence that they approve of the covenant, and are disposed to conform to the faith and government of this church. After which their certificate shall be publicly read before the church as heretofore, and the minds of the brethren taken in the

usual form on the question of their admission. Provided, however, that persons thus admitted shall not thereby become entitled to any of the property appropriated for the relief of the poor belonging to this Church.

The Deacons and Brother Benjamin Whitman, with the Pastor, were chosen a committee for the purpose aforesaid.

Voted, also, that all members of this church, who have for a year ending December 31, 1815, or longer, absented themselves from the communion of this church, and associated with any other church, while their relation and consequent obligations to this church have never been dissolved, shall be requested to apply for a dismission from this church, in order to their regular admission to the churches with which they statedly worship and commune.

Voted, also, that the pastor be requested to communicate this vote to all members affected by it, together with a request that they comply with the same.

J. HUNTINGTON.







## CHAPTER VIII.

1816-1820.

### BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES.

AT the beginning of the new year Dr. Lathrop, the pastor of the Second Church, departed this life, after a ministry of nearly fifty years. One of his successors has said of him: "His light shone with a mild and steady, rather than a brilliant lustre. As a preacher, he instructed, rather than delighted; wisely counselled and gently led his hearers, rather than powerfully moved them. Without being remarkable for learning, he was respected for the soundness of his thoughts, the weight of his opinions, and the soberness of his judgment."<sup>1</sup> He was contemporary with five ministers of the Old South, and with one of them, Dr. Eckley, whose pastorate had been by much the longest of the five, he was on terms of intimate friendship.

At his entrance on the ministry his tenets were strictly such as were then commonly reputed Calvinistical. In some respects afterwards they underwent a considerable alteration. This, however, had no effect on his good opinion of those who differed from him. Whatever sentiments of a religious nature in the course of life he imbibed, and thought proper to avow, they were never accompanied with the bitter

<sup>1</sup> Robbins's *History of the Second Church*, p. 127.

spirit of censoriousness and reproach. He embraced good men of every persuasion, for in every persuasion he doubted not there were such, in the arms of charity and love, and wished rather to enlarge and strengthen than to loosen and dissolve the bonds of Christian fellowship and communion. A more striking pattern of candour and catholicism is not perhaps often to be found among Christians of any denomination.<sup>1</sup>

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation Fast Evening, April 4th 1816,

Deacon William Phillips Moderator.

Voted, That John Winslow be requested to do the Duty of Clerk for the year ensuing.

The Committee chosen by the Society April 6, 1815, to take the care and direction of all the temporal concerns of said Society, as the time for which they were chosen has expired, beg leave to report their doings the last Year, Vizt.

First, They have expended three hundred Dollars for the Support of a Choir of Singers.<sup>2</sup>

2d They have laid out Nine hundred and twenty five Dollars  $1100^{\frac{29}{100}}$  on repairs of the Meeting House, Parsonage House and Stores, which have been completely repaired, and are at present in perfect order — and they would inform the Society, that the Leases on which they were let for five Years, will expire on the first of October next, when they may be rented at a higher rate than is now paid for them.

3d They have rented the Cellars under the Meeting House for four hundred Dollars pr Annum.

4th. They have been able to let most of the Gallery Pews belonging to the Society, the proceeds of which amounted to upwards of three hundred Dollars, and has been paid into the Treasury — and they have the satisfaction to state, that with very few exceptions, the Taxes have been collected from the Pews on the lower floor to 31 December last.

Finally your Committee have attended to all matters and things relating to the Society, entrusted to them.

All which is submitted.

Sign'd

FRANCIS WELCH pr order.

Voted, The report of the Committee be accepted.

Voted, To proceed to the Choice of a Standing Committee for the Year.

Voted, That Deacon Ticknor and Mr. Cleveland be a Committee

<sup>1</sup> [*Col. Centinel*, January 24, 1816.

Dr. Lathrop's successor was the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., whose ordination took place January 1, 1817.]

<sup>2</sup> [At the Fourth of July celebration

at the Old South, in 1816, the oration was given by George Sullivan, and it is said that "several excellent pieces of music" were sung by the Old South Choir. Ex-President John Adams was present.]

to receive, sort and count the Votes, who reported the following persons to be duly elected, Vizt.

Deacon William Phillips, Joseph Peirce, John Winslow, William Homes, Samuel Coverly, Abraham Wild, Benjamin Whitman, David W. Childs, Edward Phillips, Francis Welsh, Pliny Cutler, and John Winslow Jr. with the same powers as the former Committee.

Voted, We now come to the Choice of a Committee, to examine the Treasurer's Accounts, when Deacon Samuel Salisbury, John Winslow, Deacon Ticknor, Benjamin Whitman and Samuel Coverly were duly chosen, and directed to report as soon as convenient.

Deacon William Phillips then brought forward the subject respecting procuring or building a Vestry, when a motion was made and seconded, the subject be referred to the Standing Committee, and they be requested to proceed on said business as soon as a proper place can be procured therefor.

Motion being made and seconded that this meeting be dissolved, and it was dissolved accordingly.

Attest JNO. WINSLOW Clk.

At a meeting of the brethren on the 6th of May, it was reported that the accounts were correct, and Deacon Phillips was reelected to the treasurership. A committee consisting of John Winslow, Joseph Pierce, and William Homes was appointed, to request of the selectmen "that the By-Laws of the Town be put in force respecting the driving of Carriages on the Lord's Day, in the time of Divine Service."

On the 27th of May, the standing committee, having made a report on the subject of a vestry, was authorized to purchase an estate in Spring Lane, belonging to James Loring, for three thousand dollars.

On Wednesday, May 29, the Election Sermon was preached at the Old South by President Kirkland, before Governor Strong, Lieutenant-Governor Phillips, and the legislature. Governor Strong was succeeded at this time by the Hon. John Brooks, of Medford. On Wednesday evening, the Rev. Ezra Ripley, of Concord, preached in the same place, before the Evangelical Missionary Society. The Convention Sermon was preached on the following day, at Brattle Street, by the Rev. Mr. Channing; the sermon was in explanation and defence of the principles of the Peace Society, which had recently been organized, and in reference to which there was a wide difference of opinion.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Centinel* of July 20 contains a letter addressed by Ex-President Adams to Mr. Channing, February 6, declining to become a member of the Peace So-

Boston November 4. 1816. The Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation meet by notice from the Revd. Mr. Huntington on Lord's Day, in the afternoon, to meet at 3 o'clock to receive the Report of the Committee on the Business of the Vestry.

Deacon William Phillips was chosen Moderator.

Report of the Committee empowered by a Vote of the Society passed Nov. 20, 1815, to procure a Bell in place of the one which was cracked while ringing for fire during the Tempest on 23d Sept. 1815, and to have such inscription put on the same as they should think proper, — they have executed that trust to the best of their ability, without however exercising the power of directing any inscription whatever to be put on the Bell. Mr. Thomas Mears of London was the Manufacturer, and Samuel Williams Esq. of London, the Merchant who procured it to be made. The Committee hope it may prove as good, and give as much satisfaction, and last as long as the former one which was the Gift of Capt. Timothy Cunningham in 1728-9; the Invoice of the hereoff being \$668  $1\frac{8}{10}$  including all charges delivered at the Meeting House.

BOSTON NOV. 1, 1815  
[1816]

|                            |              |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| JOS. PIERCE                | } Committee. |
| JOSIAH SALISBURY           |              |
| EDWD PHILLIPS <sup>1</sup> |              |

Voted, The report be accepted, and the thanks of the Society be presented to said Committee for their Care and the Trouble they had in procuring said Bell, which passed unanimously.

The Committee on the Vestry made report and exhibited a Drawing and drafts of the Building, with an estimate of the expences, all which was accepted by the Standing Committee, and ordered to be laid before the Society for their approbation, and that the Society be called together on this day week at 3 O Clock to take the Subject into Consideration.

Voted, That the proceedings of the Standing Committee respecting the building a Vestry upon the plan now exhibited, which have been laid before this meeting at this time by said Committee, meets the approbation of this meeting, and the Church and Society do hereby approve of the same, and direct that said Standing Committee carry the same into full effect, in such way and manner as they may think most for the interest of this Church and Society.

ciety. Mr. Adams wrote that in his earlier years he had read the writings of Fénelon, St. Pierre, and others, on the subject of peace, but had since become satisfied that wars were inevitable, and as necessary in our system as hurricanes, earthquakes, and volcanoes. In closing his letter the ex-president said: "I do

sir, most humbly supplicate the theologians, the philosophers and the politicians, to let me die in peace. I seek only repose."

<sup>1</sup> [In 1860 Mr. Phillips's older brother, Jonathan, gave a chime of bells to the church in Arlington Street, on the corner of Boylston Street.]



Voted, The bill presented by the Committee who procured the bell be paid by the Treasurer of the Society.

This meeting now dissolved.

Attest JOHN WINSLOW Clk.

The new bell arrived in Boston in the month of July preceding, probably in the brig Brutus from London.<sup>1</sup> We find the following mention of it in the newspapers : —

A correspondent congratulates the public on the arrival of a Bell for the Old South meeting-house, as the town will again have the convenience of a clock, that has long, and usefully, told us how our hours pass — conducting materially to the order and regularity of our movements. Especially serviceable to this end, is the Bell rung at nine in the evening — and it is earnestly hoped that those whose duty it may be, will attend to the due performance of the Bell-Ringer's duty — the person who was last employed having shamefully neglected his charge. The proper ringing of the bell at the time mentioned, is of great importance to the comfort, order, and even to the morals of this metropolis.

Preparations are making for placing the new Bell in the steeple of the Old South meeting-house. It is about 400 wt. heavier than the old and excellent bell it replaces. It appears by the inscription on the old bell, that it was placed in that steeple in 1728 ; and was presented to the society by Capt. Timothy Cunningham. The excellent Clock in this steeple was made by Mr. Gawen Brown, an eminent artist of this town. The new bell, we learn, weighs about 1500 wt. was cast in London, by T. Mears, and bears the names of Joseph Peirce, Edward Phillips, and Josiah Salisbury, Junr. Committee of the Society to procure it.

The Bell in the Old South steeple was rung yesterday, [July 23] and proves equal, if not superior in tone, to the excellent old one.<sup>2</sup>

An aged member of the church, Abigail, daughter of Thomas and Sarah Dawes, and widow of Josiah Waters, died on the 22d of November, in her ninety-sixth year. She was born January 13, 1721, early in the ministry of Sewall and Prince (by the former of whom she was baptized, January 15), and she saw the termination of seven pastorates at the Old South ; had she lived three years longer, she would have survived the eighth. Her ancestors had been members of the church since its foundation, and she came into the sacred succession, by joining it in

<sup>1</sup> This bell now hangs in the campanile of the Old South in Copley Square.

<sup>2</sup> [*Col. Centinel*, July 20, 1816. July 24, 1816.]

1736, soon after she had completed her fifteenth year.<sup>1</sup> A few years later she received new impressions of divine truth under the preaching of Whitefield and Tennent, and the beginning of her active religious life dated from that period. She will always be remembered with especial interest as the founder of a female prayer-meeting, which was sustained by three generations of pious women in the Old South membership, and which, perhaps, more than any other one agency, served to sustain the vital energy of the church in the midst of strong, prevailing tendencies to formalism and indifferentism. In a memoir of Mrs. Waters, Mr. Huntington gives the following account of this prayer-meeting :—

Convinced of the necessity and utility of prayer, and encouraged by the examples of union in this exercise, recorded in the sacred volume, she [Miss Dawes] proposed to several of her young female friends, who were “partakers of like precious faith” with herself, to appropriate one afternoon of every week to this most delightful purpose. The proposal was gladly embraced.

Unwilling, however, to act unadvisedly on a subject of so much importance, they applied to their respected pastor, the Rev. Mr. Prince, whose daughter was one of the number, for counsel. Gratified to find they were so piously disposed, he encouraged them to carry their wishes into effect, and assured them of his readiness to give them all the assistance in his power. Desirous of avoiding all ostentation, and, as far as possible, publicity, the execution of their purpose was for a considerable time delayed, for want of a suitable place at which to meet. At length, encouraged by the promise, “if any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth liberally and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him,” they set apart a day, on which, unitedly, to implore the Divine direction. Immediately after, a striking Providence relieved them from their embarrassment, and confirmed their faith in the efficacy of prayer. Miss Dawes, while returning home from the meeting through Portland Street,<sup>2</sup> observed a lady with whom she was unacquainted, beckoning to her to approach. “I hear,” said she,

<sup>1</sup> She used to say that her first religious impressions were received under a sermon which she heard Dr. Cotton Mather preach, in the first meeting-house of the Old South, when she was seven years of age, from Jer. xxiii. 29: “Is not my word like as a fire? saith the Lord, and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?” Her sister Rebecca joined the church on the same day; she married William Homes, “the honest

goldsmith,” a nephew of Benjamin Franklin, who died in 1783. Abigail and Rebecca were cousins of the Hon. Thomas Dawes, deacon from 1786 to 1809.

<sup>2</sup> [Miss Dawes’s father lived in Sudbury Street, in a house which was built by his grandfather, William Dawes, and which, after having been in the family for several generations, was pulled down during the siege of Boston.]

"my dear, that you have found Christ." "I trust that I have," was the reply, "and He is the chiefest among ten thousand, and altogether lovely." "Come in, come in," said the lady, "I want to see and converse with you." The invitation was readily accepted. Miss Dawes then communicated to her, in compliance with her request, the change through which she had passed, and concluded with mentioning the purpose for which she and her Christian companions had been engaged that afternoon. "My dear young friend," said the lady, "God has sent you here. I have this day been kneeling in that place (pointing to a staircase in sight) intreating him to open the way for such a meeting as you contemplate, in my house. I am much confined at home, and of course deprived in a great measure of the privileges which others enjoy, who speak often one to another, and to God. Nothing could delight me more than to have you convene under this roof. There is but one difficulty I can think of in the way. My husband, though kind and affectionate to me, is not a man of religion; and may perhaps object. He is out now. But I will ask his consent as soon as he returns, and then let you know the result." The result was as favorable as could have been desired. A place being now provided for the meeting, the little band, that the design of their union might not in future be frustrated by the admission of unsuitable associates, requested Mr. Prince to draft them a form of covenant, confession of faith, and rules of discipline, which every member should be required to subscribe. This excellent man cheerfully complied with their request, earnestly commending them to Him who despiseth not the day of small things.

The society met eighteen years at the house of this pious lady. At the expiration of that time, her husband became dissatisfied, and another place was procured. It was not long, however, before he regretted the removal,—confessed that nothing in his worldly affairs had succeeded to his wishes since, and begged that his house might again become an house of prayer. Rejoiced at the change in his mind, the society immediately returned to the place where they at first convened, and which so many seasons—delightful and refreshing seasons of communion with God, and one another, had endeared. There they continued to meet, until the British took possession of Boston, in 1775, when they were dispersed. After the evacuation of the town, they again assembled as before, though in a different place, and have continued to do so, to the present day; the vacancies occasioned by death and otherwise, being supplied, and more than supplied, by the addition of new members.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [We get another glimpse of this prayer-meeting, in a sermon by Dr. Codman, preached July 11, 1834, at the funeral of Harriett (Moore), wife of the Rev. Richard S. Storrs, of Braintree: "It is utterly impossible for the speaker to do justice to the character of our much loved friend, though it has been his priv-

In 1743 Abigail Dawes married Josiah Waters,<sup>1</sup> who during his life was a prosperous business man in Ann Street; but after his death, which came very suddenly, September 30, 1784, his widow found herself in somewhat straitened circumstances. Her last illness was a long and painful one, but was borne with true Christian fortitude, and she looked forward to the moment of death with joyful expectation. Her last words were, "Open to me the gates, that I may enter in." Mr. Huntington preached her funeral sermon from Rev. xiv. 13: "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord," and it was printed with her Memoir. "One who had known her half a century" sent an obituary notice to the papers, from which we quote a few sentences:—

Though she was not a nurse by profession, yet her charitable and personal attention to the sick was very extensive, and until the evening of her days, she went about doing good. Her visits were so disinterested, that the most malignant disorders never deterred her from watching with the afflicted; and so benign was her temper, and so eloquent was the expression of it, that many a dying bed was softened by her consoling observations and prayers. That eminent physician, the late Dr. Lloyd, has been heard to pass the most fervent encomiums upon her conduct in the chambers of the diseased; and when the means of her subsistence were impaired by some grievous vicissitudes, which she bore with pious submission, he freely offered her his valuable services, when she might need them. But she seldom required medical aid for herself, so firm was her health for a series of years beyond the age of man.

illegible to have known her worth for nearly thirty years. The circle of Christians which, at the time of his first acquaintance with her, then resided in our metropolis, many of whom are now in heaven, were distinguished for deep and ardent piety. Surrounded as they were by fashionable and increasing errors, they maintained their integrity and held fast their attachment to the doctrines of grace. The precious names of Mrs. Waters and Mrs. Mason, and other aged saints, are embalmed in the memory of many a child of God. With these venerable pilgrims was associated a young disciple, who, with all the loveliness of youthful attractions, separated herself from the world, and consecrated herself to the service of her God and Saviour. From the prayers and conversation of

these aged saints, through the blessing of God, she seemed to receive a peculiar unction of spirit, which was strikingly characteristic of her future course." Mrs. Storrs was a daughter of Samuel and Katharine (Snow) Moore; she was born in Charlestown, December 12, 1784, she joined the Old South in 1811, and she was married by the Rev. Mr. Dwight to the Rev. Richard S. Storrs, of Braintree, September 16, 1819. Mr. Huntington had died the week before.]

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Waters was captain of the artillery company in 1769; his son, Josiah Waters, Jr., was captain in 1791. The latter married, March 14, 1771, Mary, daughter of William and Elizabeth Whitwell. They were married by Dr. Lathrop, as the Old South had no minister at that time.



On the evening of New Year's Day, 1817, the Rev. Mr. Cornelius preached a sermon at the Old South before the Boston Foreign Mission Society. This gentleman had recently made a successful trip through Essex County, to procure funds for the education of heathen children and youth, and this sermon had particular reference to this subject, which then formed a prominent part of the designs of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In a newspaper notice, we read:—

Perhaps no plan for the benefit of the heathen world has ever been so extensively approved, as that which is here referred to, and which has been adopted by Missionary Societies in Great Britain, as well as in this country. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have lately made provision for the support of schools among the Cherokees, and have instituted a school for educating such heathen youths, as may have arrived in our country, and may be expected to return to their respective countries and islands, carrying with them the blessings of Christianity and civilization. They have also gratified the wishes of a multitude of benevolent persons, by furnishing the means of giving Christian education to heathen children at Bombay, in imitation of the three largest Missionary Societies in the world, which pursue substantially the same plan, for the benefit of heathen children in different parts of Asia and Africa.<sup>1</sup>

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation Fast Evening April 3, 1817, Deacon William Phillips Moderator.

Voted, That John Winslow be requested to do the duty of Clerk for the year ensuing.

The Committee chosen by the Society April 4, 1816, to take the care and direction of all the temporal concerns of said Society, as the time for which they were chosen has expired, beg leave to report their doings the last year. Vizt.

1st. They have laid out for sundry repairs on the Meeting House, Parsonage Houses and Stores the sum of \$350.24 and also \$66.50 in repairing and putting up the New Bell.

2d They have expended in purchasing Books for the Singers, hiring a Room for their Use, and paying the Leader and Instructor, three Hundred Dollars.

3d They have let the Stores belonging to the Society, on leases for Five Years, three at the rent of \$600. and two at \$650. p. Annum; they have also let the Eastern parsonage House for one year for \$750., and the cellars under the Meeting House at \$400 pr Annum.

<sup>1</sup> [*Col. Centinel*, January 1, 1817.]

4th They have let the Pewes in the Gallery belonging to the Society, and collected the Rents amounting to nearly \$400. which they have paid into the hands of your Treasurer, and your Committee would here observe that with few exceptions the taxes have been regularly paid.

5th They have sold the Old Bell at 8 19 p. lb amounting [to] One Hundred Eighty Two Dollars  $1\frac{21}{100}$  which is paid over to the Treasurer.

6th The Committee were impowered by the Society to procure Materials and Contract for building a Vestry the ensuing year, but after paying Mr. Loring for the House and Land purchased of him, by order of the Society, they found so small a Sum on hand that it was the unanimous opinion of said Committee to defer the erection of said Building for the present.

7th Your Committee have attended to all matters and things entrusted to their care, all which is respectfully submitted

FRANCIS WELCH Secy p order.

N. B. But they would however recommend that suitable Lumber be purchased as early as possible the insuing season, that it may be better prepared for use.

Voted, the Report be accepted.

Voted, That we now proceed to a Choice of a Standing Committee for the year, who shall have the same powers as former Committees, to attend to all matters and things.

Voted, That Mr. Armstrong and Charles Cleveland be a Committee to count and sort the Votes, which Committee reported the following persons as chosen, Vizt. William Phillips, John Winslow, Joseph Pierce, William Homes, Samuel Coverly, Abraham Wild, Benjamin Whitman, David W. Child, Edward Phillips, Francis Welsh, John Winslow Jun. Porter Cleveland.

Voted, We now come to a Choice of a Committee to examine the Treasurer's Accounts, and they be requested to proceed on the same as soon as convenient, and when they are ready to report, they request the Rev. Mr. Huntington to call a meeting from the Desk. The following Gentlemen chosen, Deacon Salisbury, Joseph Pierce, Deacon Ticknor, Samuel Coverly and John Winslow.

Lord's Day May 4th 1817. The church staid after Divine service in the after noon; when it was proposed to consider the expediency of electing two additional Deacons. The present Deacons being far advanced in life; and the duties of the office becoming more laborious, it appear'd highly proper that they should be reliev'd, in some degree at least, by the addition of two to their number. After some conversation on the subject, it was Voted to adjourn the meeting to the Tuesday following, 4 P. M. The church met accordingly. The meeting was opened with prayer by the Pastor. Brother Joseph Peirce was chosen Secretary. After some discussion, it was Voted, that in the

opinion of the church, it is expedient that two additional deacons be chosen. The time when the election should take place, was then consider'd; whereupon it was Voted, to proceed to the election immediately. This vote however was reconsider'd; and after some deliberation, it was Voted, that the election of the two deacons be postpon'd to Thursday next, at 4 o'clock P. M. The meeting was accordingly adjourned to that time. JOSEPH PEIRCE Secretary.

Boston May 5. 1817.

At a Meeting of the Church and Congregation of the Old South Society, notified from the Desk by the Rev. Mr. Huntington to meet this Day at 10 O Clock A. M.

Voted, That in Consideration of Several Sums of Money paid by our Revd. Pastor to many Gentlemen, for supplying the pulpit, at periods of time when he has been prevented by Illness from performing the duties of his Office, and when absent in journeying for the benefit of his health, and also in consideration of the Sickness in his family and Expenses thereof at this present time, a Gift or Grant be made him of Three Hundred Dollars, and the Treasurer be requested to pay the same forthwith.

This Vote passed unanimously.

The Committee on the Treasurer's Accounts beg leave to report, That they have attended that business, and find the same right cast and well vouched, and the following in the Treasurer's hands, Vizt.

Belonging to the Church

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| 2 Mass. Bank Shares . . . . .                        | \$1000.00 |
| Of 3 pr ct Stock 2 Certificates nom. \$998.66 @ 64 c | 639.14    |
| Cash on hand, . . . . .                              | 817.85    |
| Belonging to the Church and Congregation . .         | 2897.27   |
|  | <hr/>     |
|  | \$5354.26 |

All which is submitted.

JOS. PEIRCE p order.

BOSTON May 5 1817

Voted, The above Report be accepted.

Voted, That the Standing Committee be authorized to settle and pay to Mr. Luman Streeter the monies agreeable to the vote passed by them which stands recorded in their Clerk's Books.<sup>1</sup>

Voted, We now proceed to the Choice of a Treasurer for the Year, and that Mr. French be a Committee to receive, count and sort the Votes, who reports that the Honble William Phillips was unanimously chosen.

Voted, This meeting be dissolved.

<sup>1</sup> [We find in the Directory the name of Luman Stretar, Distiller, Haskins Wharf. He may have rented the cellars under the meeting-house, and have had a claim against the society, in some way growing out of his lease.]

Thursday 8th May 1817. The church conven'd agreeably to adjournment, in the Meeting-House, 4 o'clock P. M. and proceeded to the business assign'd.

Voted, that brothers Cutler and Whitman be a committee to collect and sort the votes. The committee having attended to this service, reported, that brothers Josiah Salisbury and Edward Phillips were unanimously chosen. On motion of brother B. Whitman, it was then Voted, that a committee of three be appointed to wait on the newly elected Deacons, and inform them of their election. Brothers B. Whitman, P. Cutler and S. Coverly were chosen for this purpose, and directed to report to the Pastor.

Attest, JOSEPH PEIRCE Secretary.

Twenty-three years before, the fathers of Mr. Salisbury and Mr. Phillips had been elected together to the office to which the sons were now called, nor could the succession have fallen upon worthier men. Edward Phillips was also a grandson of a deacon of the church, and his wife, Mary, was a daughter of Deacon Samuel Salisbury. He became a member in 1806. He was a man of the highest character, but died at a comparatively early age, and before his father. His older brother and partner in business, Jonathan Phillips, joined the church in 1800; a few years later, as we have said, he was attracted to the ministry of Mr. Channing, and subsequently became a deacon in his church.

Josiah Salisbury<sup>1</sup> was born in Worcester, during his father's temporary residence there, February 15, 1781. He graduated at Harvard College in 1798, and among his classmates were William Ellery Channing, Joseph Story, Sidney Willard, and Stephen Longfellow. His son, Professor Salisbury, of New Haven, writes:—



Immediately after leaving college, my father "commenced a merchant," as he says; but soon turned again to his studies: in August 1799, he was re-established in Cambridge. On the 29th of June 1800,

<sup>1</sup> The above portrait is after an original miniature by Grimaldi, taken in London in 1802, and owned by Professor Salisbury.



he united with the Old South Church in Boston, under the pastorate of Rev. Dr Eckley ; and then, in compliance with his father's wishes, resolved to prepare himself for the sacred ministry. He traced the beginnings of his Christian life to his mother [Elizabeth (Sewall)]'s influence, who had died when he was about eight years old, who daily took him with her into her closet, to commend him to God in prayer.

Soon after this he embarked for Liverpool, on his way to Scotland, to join the theological class in the University of Edinburgh, taking with him letters of introduction, which, together with his prepossessing manners, disposition and culture, at once secured for him hospitalities and friendships. He remained in Edinburgh till the spring of 1801, chiefly devoted to study and social intercourse ; then by way of Aberdeen and Glasgow, went to London. Here he seems to have sought to add to his knowledge of the world by frequenting places of fashionable amusement, while at the same time he fostered a tender sympathy with the sufferings of his fellow men, and widened his acquaintance with the means of relief, by visiting prominent charitable institutions — using his pen, meanwhile, to record his observations, or more directly in the line of his chosen profession. Here, too, he made acquaintances and friends ; among whom he mentions Mr. Cecil and Mr. Newton of the Established Church — evidently Rev. Richard Cecil, who was minister of St John's, Bedford Row, from 1800 till his death in 1810, and Rev. John Newton, who removed from Olney to a rectory in London, on the presentation of Mr. Thornton, and remained there till his death in 1807. . . .

Immediately after his return to Boston, while yet receiving the congratulations of his friends, he was licensed to preach (doubtless by a Boston Association) ; and the first pulpit he occupied appears to have been that of his "dear friend Joseph," Rev Joseph Tuckerman, a college classmate and intimate associate, at Chelsea, Massachusetts. He afterwards preached several Sundays "in the environs of Boston," finding "the reverend fathers very willing to receive [his] labors of love" ; and then made his "entrée into the metropolis in the presence of the venerable audience at the Old South," then still under the pastorate of Dr. Eckley. A letter of his written in the spring of 1803 speaks of his "just now finishing an engagement in Brattle Street Church," at that time without a pastor, Dr. Peter Thacher having died in 1802, and his successor, Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster having come into office in 1805. Another refers to his preaching "at Dr. [Samuel] West's," then pastor of the Hollis Street Church, and to his expectation of going, after four Sundays, to Providence, for the two succeeding. Here he was with great unanimity invited to settle. But experience had convinced him that "his bodily strength was not equal to the effort required in continual preaching," to which being added "a natural reluctance to be the object of public attention, and extreme

diffidence of his qualifications for usefulness as a minister," he decided, about a year after his return from Europe, to relinquish the profession. "His pulpit performances," however, are said to have been "excellent and highly acceptable." Only two fragments of his sermons (one of them on the characteristically chosen text: Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth,) escaped the burning of his papers already referred to; these are in a thoughtful and instructive strain, but it would not be just to his memory to make any use of them. For the service of public prayer he had adopted the plan of preparing himself by writing out forms of his own. This I learn from a volume of prayers in his own hand, which came to me from a daughter of his friend Joseph Tuckerman. As to his theological opinions, he wrote, while yet in Scotland, that the Scotch clergy were evidently divided in sentiment, some being "more orthodox," others being "moderates"; that his intimacy was with the former; that the opinion prevailed in Scotland "that the American clergy particularly in Boston" had "departed widely from the sound doctrine"; that he perceived a "desire that [he] should conform [his] opinions perfectly" to the established creed; but said "*I cannot adopt these sentiments in their full extent*, yet I feel persuaded that they are for the most part true; and, when I return, I expect to preach on the same plan, with very few exceptions." Later, he writes to a sister from London:

"For my part, I am fully and heartily convinced of the truth of those doctrines which were maintained by our pious ancestors, and still commonly professed in Scotland. If my life is spared, and I am exalted to that honorable and solemn office of an Ambassador of God, it is my fixed resolution to preach no other doctrine. It appears to me, on reflection, that some of those gentlemen in Boston, who are what is called orthodox, are not sufficiently active in bringing forward those peculiar doctrines which they think are essential."

These quotations sufficiently define his early theological position. A few years later, when the great rupture took place in the churches of Massachusetts, he felt constrained to withdraw from the Federal Street Church, of which Rev. W. Ellery Channing was then the pastor, who had baptized his first child, my sister,<sup>1</sup> (thus sacrificing an early and cherished friendship to his convictions of what he owed to truth,) and returned to the Old South, where he remained, and, from May 8 1817 till his death, officiated as deacon.

Mr. Josiah Salisbury's Old South lineage, covering the entire period of the church's history to the time of his election as deacon, — a century and a half, — is worthy of record. In the Salisbury and Sewall line, the representatives of the five gen-

<sup>1</sup> [Elizabeth Martha, daughter of Josiah in 1831. She married Theodore Dwight Salisbury, joined the Old South Church Woolsey, president of Yale College.]

erations in the Old South were : Deacon Samuel Salisbury, and his wife Elizabeth (Sewall) ; Deacon Samuel Sewall, and his wife Elizabeth (Quincy) ; the Rev. Dr. Sewall, and his wife Elizabeth (Walley) ; Judge Samuel Sewall, and his wife Hannah (Hull) ; John Hull, and his wife Judith (Quincy), founders.

At a meeting of the brethren, June 30, the standing committee presented the report of a sub-committee on the question of building a vestry : —

The Sub Committee to whom was referred the subject of the Vestry, having examined the Estate purchased for that purpose, considered it to be their Duty to represent as their opinion that by making some alterations in the House, and an addition at the southerly end of it, ten feet high, taking down the chimneys, removing the chamber floor, making an arch from end to end of the main House, and all other necessary repairs, so that it may be made perfectly convenient, to hold upwards of one hundred persons, and at the expence of not more than five Hundred Dollars, including all the materials and workmanship ; after which the workman says it will last twelve years or more : — If we build now as has been contemplated, the interest on the cost say of \$7000, would be \$420 p annum, which in twelve years would amount to \$7000—but suspend building for twelve years, and this amount will be saved, and thereby enable the Society to erect a building without feeling the expence ; this plan of repairs appeared to the Sub Committee to be so much more for the interest of the Society, than preparing materials for a new building at a distant period, while the other may be almost immediately completed, that they could not refrain recommending it to be referred to the Society at large for their consideration. With deference the foregoing is submitted

|               |                     |
|---------------|---------------------|
| JOSEPH PEIRCE | } Sub<br>Committee. |
| SAML COVERLY  |                     |
| EDWD PHILLIPS |                     |

BOSTON June 24 1817

This report was adopted, and the standing committee was directed to carry it into immediate effect.

Boston August 24. 1817.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation, called by Rev. Mr. Huntington from the Desk,  
Deacon William Phillips was chosen Moderator.

At which time it was represented that some further assistance ought to be given to our Revd Pastor, untill his health should be confirmed.

Voted, That the Minister and Deacons be a Committee to furnish such assistance from time to time as may be necessary, during the ill

state of the Rev. Mr. Huntington's health, and the Treasurer be directed to pay the Expenses of the same.

This meeting was then dissolved.

Att. JNO. WINSLOW Clk.

Mr. and Mrs. Huntington had been absent five or six weeks, on a journey to Saratoga and Niagara, returning to Boston, August 7; but the result, so far as the health of the pastor was concerned, was not satisfactory.

On Wednesday, September 3, Mr. Sereno Edwards Dwight, a son of the late president of Yale College, was ordained pastor of Park Street Church. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Lyman Beecher, of Litchfield, Connecticut, from Psalm xix. 8-10; Dr. Dana, of Newburyport, offered the consecrating prayer; Dr. Spring gave the charge; and Mr. Huntington, the right hand of fellowship. "Excellent music by a deputation from the Handel and Haydn Society."

Mr. Huntington and Mr. Dwight had been friends in Yale College, and both rejoiced in the renewal of the intimacy of their earlier days, which, however, was soon to be interrupted by the death of the former. Mr. Dwight practised law for a time in New Haven, but was converted during a revival of religion in the summer of 1815, and then gave himself to the work of the ministry. He preached his first sermon in the pulpit of the First Church in New Haven, on the same Sabbath day on which his distinguished father, from the same pulpit, preached his last.<sup>1</sup>

On the day of Mr. Dwight's installation, and after an hour's intermission, Messrs. Elisha P. Swift, Allen Graves, John Nichols, Levi Parsons and Daniel S. Buttrick, were ordained missionaries in Park Street meeting-house, to preach the gospel in India and among the Indian tribes. Dr. Worcester, Dr. Morse, Mr. Codman, Mr. Huntington, and Mr. Storrs took part in the services. "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was then administered to nearly five hundred communicants by the Rev. Dr. Payson, assisted by the Rev. Mr. Beecher. A numerous audience was assembled, and the scene was solemn and impressive."<sup>2</sup>

Some of these missionaries sailed from Boston, on Sunday October 5, in the ship Saco, owned by the Hon. William Gray,

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Mr. Dwight preached in the Old South meeting-house, before the Howard Benevolent Society, November

26, 1817, and a collection of \$320.31 was taken.

<sup>2</sup> *Col. Centinel*, September 6, 1817.



then, or soon afterward, a member of the Old South Society, who gave them a free passage to India. An appeal appeared in the *Daily Advertiser*, the day before, signed S.,<sup>1</sup> asking for articles of comfort for the missionaries, which might be sent to the store of Mr. Samuel T. Armstrong.

On the same Sunday, at forty minutes past eleven in the forenoon, an earthquake shock, lasting a little more than half a minute, was felt in the town. It was during the hours of divine service; and in one of the churches the shock was felt so sensibly that the preacher paused in his discourse, "and the congregation, almost with one accord, rose from their seats."

On Wednesday afternoon, October 8, Mr. Huntington preached at the Old South, in behalf of the Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor. A large number of Sunday-school children were present. This society, from which our most efficient and excellent City Missionary Society sprang, was founded in 1816, and, as its original name indicates, began as a Sunday-school society; during the first year of its existence, it gathered five hundred children into its two schools, one of them in Mason Street, the other in School Street. It was undenominational in its scope, and, just before this anniversary occasion, had passed a vote, that it would supply with books and papers any religious society or individuals in the town, who should establish Sunday-schools and provide themselves with superintendents and teachers.

Mr. Huntington was the first president of this society, and took the deepest interest in its work. Four years later, October 17, 1821, Mr. Codman, preaching in its behalf at the Old South, said:—

But why should I detain you any longer from carrying your benevolent purposes into operation? I will only say, that there is a circumstance in the history of this society which, while it awakens both pleasing and painful emotions in my own bosom, cannot but be deeply interesting to those who usually worship in this consecrated temple. It is the memory of its early and constant friend and president, the ever lamented and beloved Huntington. If his pure spirit is permitted to concern itself in the affairs of mortals, may we not indulge the pleasing thought, that it is hovering over this assembly, and regarding with peculiar complacency, the society which, when living, was so near his heart.—And how can you, my Christian friends, better express your regard for his memory, than by contributing this evening, as God

<sup>1</sup> Probably Mr. Josiah Salisbury.

has blessed you, to aid the funds of the Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor?<sup>1</sup>

The Society for Educating Pious Youth for the Gospel Ministry, which we now know as the American Education Society, was brought into existence in 1815, at a meeting held in the study of the Old South parsonage. It began as an undenominational institution. The Hon. William Phillips was its president, and the Rev. Asa Eaton, rector of Christ Church, was secretary. The following newspaper paragraph gives us an idea of its objects and endeavors:—

This Society has been in existence about two years, and has commenced its operations under favorable auspices. It has already given assistance to more than a hundred pious young men of talents, who are now pursuing their literary studies principally in the several colleges and academies in New England. We understand that the Society is established upon the broad principles of the Gospel, disregarding the narrow limits of sect, and intending to increase the number of pious and learned ministers of every denomination, in which hopeful piety can be found. Accordingly the Directors are composed of gentlemen in three different communions; and they have given assistance to young men of the five following denominations, viz. Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists and Methodists. It is presumed, therefore, that Christians who wish to see our new settlements, and the destitute portions of our beloved country, supplied with pious and learned ministers will be disposed to give their attendance, and contribute of their substance for the promotion of this great and benevolent object.<sup>2</sup>

We have had occasion to notice the removal of prominent members from the Old South to Federal Street Church, and from Federal Street Church to the Old South. In the diary of Deacon Samuel Hall Walley<sup>3</sup> we have the following record of his withdrawal from the ministry of Mr. Channing:—

1817 October 22. Spent two and a half hours with Rev. W. E. Channing this afternoon at his house, conversing with him on the subject of my intended removal from his church, of which I informed him for the first time this afternoon.

<sup>1</sup> [This society was incorporated by the legislature in 1820. The meeting for organization, called by Josiah Salisbury, Sereno E. Dwight, and William Jenks, was held in the Old South vestry, April 27, 1820.]

<sup>2</sup> [*Col. Centinel*, October 15, 1817.]

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Walley married, January 4, 1803, Miriam, daughter of William Phillips, Jr. She joined the Old South May 1, 1796; it does not appear that she ever became a member of the Federal Street Church. She died March 26, 1827, and was buried in the Bromfield tomb.

26. Lord's Day. I yesterday addressed a letter to Rev. Mr. Channing, confirming what I had said to him respecting my removal from his church, and resigning the office of Deacon.

I trust that in taking this step, this very painful and important step, I have been following the dictates of conscience and the guidance of the Spirit of God. I have weighed the subject long, I have conversed confidentially in reference to it with Christian friends of sound judgment and distinguished prudence; above all, I have sought direction from the Father of Lights, and as far as I can discern, my path has been made plain to leave the church in Federal Street, and to attach myself and family to the church under the care of Rev. Mr. Huntington. I withdraw from my late place of worship in the exercise of the most candid and benevolent feelings towards those I leave, and with a sincere desire that they and myself may be guided into all necessary truth.

November 1. Called upon Rev. Mr. Huntington this morning and communicated to him my intention of attaching myself and family to his church and society.

There was a more general observance of Christmas this year in the town perhaps than ever before. Business was suspended at the banks and public offices, and in many of the stores. There was preaching at the First and First Baptist churches; and, in the evening, the annual meeting of the Peace Society was held at the Old South. At this service prayer was offered by Mr. Channing; a discourse was delivered by Judge Dawes, then a member of the Federal Street Church; a report was presented by Mr. Worcester, and prayer followed by Mr. Lowell. A Christmas anthem was sung, and a collection was taken "for promoting the object of the institution — Peace on earth, goodwill towards men."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Huntington had been confined to his house for two or three weeks with rheumatic fever, and was not well enough to be out on Christmas day. Mrs. Huntington, writing to a friend in New York at the close of the year (December 29), said: —

The state of things here, in a religious point of view, is brightening. Much is doing in various ways, for promoting the influence of truth. And we do hope, we think not without reason, that there will soon be seen here, an increase of real Christianity, more remarkable than has been experienced in Boston for a long time. What is the state of things in New York now? Does party spirit run as high as ever? I do not much wonder that some persons, seeing the bitterness of such reli-

<sup>1</sup> *Col. Centinel.*

gionists against each other, should be led to think there is nothing in religion. But let them, as they certainly ought to do before they decide, examine the Scriptures with impartiality, and they will find that the wars and fightings among Christians, differing only in non-essentials, proceed, not from the religious principle, but from those sinful "lusts" which the Christian religion most pointedly condemns.

Boston April 2d 1818.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation, Deacon William Phillips Moderator, John Winslow was chosen as Clerk for the year ensuing.

The Committee chosen in April last year, to take the direction and care of all temporal concerns of the Society, request leave, as the time for which they were chosen has expired, to make a Report of their doings while in office.

They have expended \$326.26 for sundry repairs on the Meeting House, parsonage Houses, and Stores. They have also expended \$300 for the support of the Singing.

The Gallery Pews have all been let, and the Taxes thereon collected, amounting to \$456.97, which sum has been paid over to the Deacons, and the Committee have the pleasure to add, that the taxes on the Pews on the lower floor, have been, with few exceptions, regularly paid.

The easterly parsonage House has been rented for one year for \$750, and one half the cellar under the Meeting House for \$200 — the other half of the cellar, the Committee have not been able to let in the manner they would like. The stores are rented on lease, which do not expire untill the year 1821. Finally your Committee have attended to all matters and things relating to the Society, entrusted to their care. All which is respectfully submitted

FRANCIS WELCH Clk. of Com. p order.

Motion made and seconded the report be accepted.

Voted, To accept the above Report, and it was accepted accordingly.

A letter was then read from Joseph Peirce,<sup>1</sup> contents, he wished not to be considered a candidate for the Standing Committee for the present year.

Voted, The Thanks of this Meeting be presented to Joseph Peirce and John Winslow Jr. for their faithfull services in said Committee for a number of years past.

Voted, We now come to the choice of a Standing Committee for

<sup>1</sup> [Joseph Peirce died January 1, 1828. Lathrop. His store was on the north side of State Street, and his sign appears in some of the old pictures of the Old State House. His wife was a daughter of Deacon Thomas Dawes. His daughter Ann married John, son of the Rev. Dr. John



the year, to manage the temporal concerns of the Society, and that Charles Cleveland and George Lane be a Committee to count and sort the Votes, — which Committee declared the whole number of Votes to be thirty-three, but did not report any number of persons chosen.

Voted, That the Box be placed in front of the Clerk, and that he call the list of Proprietors of Pews, and they put in their Votes, which was done by said Clerk beginning with pew No. 1. All the proprietors present, when called did if they chose put in their Votes and the whole number was declared by said Committee before chosen to be twenty-six, and the following Gentlemen were by them declared to be chosen, Vizt. Hon. William Phillips, William Homes, John Winslow, Samuel Coverly, Benjamin Whitman, Francis Welch, Abraham Wild, David W. Child, Edward Phillips, A. P. Cleveland, Pliny Cutler, and Isaac McLellan.

Voted. That Elisha Ticknor, Samuel Coverly, John Winslow, Samuel [H.] Walley, and Thomas Vose, be a Committee to examine the Treasurer's Accounts and report thereon as soon as convenient.

This meeting was then dissolved.

True Copy      JNO. WINSLOW Clk.

One of the senior deacons of the church, Samuel Salisbury, died on the 2d of May. He had been a member of the church since 1790, and a deacon since 1794. In an obituary notice, it was said : —

In the decease of Deacon Salisbury, though his years were many, society, friendship, an extensive family, and the Church of Christ, have abundant cause to weep. His mental energies were but little impaired, and his active usefulness was conspicuous to the very moment of that attack which carried him to the chamber of sickness, and confined him to the bed of pain, of languishing, and death. His religion, of which he was an early professor, was of a kind "retired yet substantial, elevated in its principles, yet chiefly discernible in the moral regulation of the heart and life by the precepts of the gospel." Through the whole of his sickness, though at times his sufferings were acute and protracted, his patience and devout submission were uninterrupted, and his chief thoughts were on the concerns of his soul.

His grandson, Professor Salisbury, says of him : —

In his religious opinions he was conservative, and accordingly sided with the so-called orthodox party in that division which sprang up in the churches of Massachusetts in the early days of the present century — a division attended, probably, with some loss of Christian charity, and an exaggeration of differences, on both sides. But his religious conservatism did not prevent his taking an active part in those

new forms of Christian benevolence which came into being, around him, after he had passed middle life. His papers show that as early as 1801 he imported Bibles from England, on his own "account and risk," to the value of £179.7.8 in one invoice — of course, for public distribution.<sup>1</sup>

The pall bearers at his funeral were Chief Justice Parker, the Rev. Dr. Holmes, the Hon. William Gray, Dr. Aaron Dexter, and Deacon John Simpkins.<sup>2</sup>

After Divine service in the afternoon of June 7th 1818 a letter was communicated from the Church and Society in Brattle Square, requesting the assistance of the church by its Pastor and Delegates at the Ordination of Mr. John G. Palfrey on Wednesday the 17th inst.

Voted to comply with the request. The Deacons and brothers B. Whitman, W. Homes and P. Cutler were chosen delegates for the occasion.

JOSHUA HUNTINGTON Pastor.

Mr. Palfrey was settled as the successor of Mr. Everett. Of his ministry of nearly twenty years, it has been said that it was "by no means inferior to that of the men whose place he filled;" and of himself, that until recently he "survived in feeble age, with mind undimmed, and in the full enjoyment of an undoubting Christian faith and a sight-like hope of immortality."<sup>3</sup>

The brethren of the church and congregation met, June 22, when Mr. Ticknor reported on the treasurer's accounts, and Mr. Phillips was again unanimously reelected. Mr. Samuel Coverly was appointed a committee to effect insurance on the stores, parsonage houses, and vestry in Spring Lane, in the Massachusetts Mutual Fire Insurance Company.<sup>4</sup> The society confirmed the action of the standing committee in its vote to pay \$200 to Mr. Huntington, to cover the expenses of a journey which he was about to take for his health.<sup>5</sup>

At a meeting of the Church June 28th 1818, a letter was communicated from the Church in Park Street, inviting by a unanimous vote the members of the Old South Church to unite with those of Park Street in

<sup>1</sup> [*Family Memorials.*]

<sup>2</sup> Deacon Salisbury lived in an old mansion in Summer Street, opposite Trinity Church. He married a second wife, late in life, Abigail Truman Snow, who survived him forty years.

<sup>3</sup> *Mem. Hist. of Boston* (Dr. A. P. Peabody), vol. iii. p. 476.

<sup>4</sup> For the purposes of insurance, the parsonage houses were valued at \$10,000,

the block of stores at \$6,000, and the vestry at \$1,200.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Huntington's salary was \$1,300 a year, with parsonage and firewood. The salary of the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., settled January 1, 1817, over the Second Church, was \$1,200 and twenty cords of wood. The salary of Mr. Prentiss, settled over the Second Church, Charlestown, in 1817, was \$1,040.

the monthly Concert for Prayer on the evening of the first Monday of every month, (the two Churches having previously met apart). And proposing that the joint meeting be held either alternately in the two houses for public worship, or constantly in that in Park Street, as the brethren of the Old South Church shall prefer.

After due consultation on the subject it was Voted to comply with the request of Park Street Church and that the meetings should be constantly in their place of worship.

JOSHUA HUNTINGTON Pastor O. S. C.

Mr. and Mrs. Huntington spent seven weeks in Connecticut, during July and August, partly for the benefit of the health of the former, and partly because of the illness of General Huntington, whose death took place on the 25th of September. Writing in Boston, September 5, Mrs. Huntington says that her husband had just been called again to the bedside of his father, and mentions the recent death of a Mrs. C.<sup>1</sup> She then gives expression to forebodings which, twelve months later, were to be sadly realized : —

I have been somewhat dejected in mind, of late, from another cause. My husband's health is feeble ; and the fear that he will have to leave Boston, or soon die under his labours here, has hung as a heavy weight upon my heart.

On Sunday [August 9] Divine Service was performed for the first time at the Long Room over the centre-arch on Central-Wharf by the Rev. Mr. Jenks, in presence of a large concourse of the mariners of Boston, and those attached to coasting vessels now lying in our port. The sermon delivered on the occasion was such as might be expected from this learned divine. It is the commencement, we understand, of a regular course to be delivered on every succeeding Sabbath.<sup>2</sup>

William Jenks was born November 25, 1778, and graduated at Harvard College in 1797. For several years he was pastor of the Congregational Church in Bath, Maine, and then re-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Lydia (Lathrop), wife of Aaron Porter Cleveland, who died May 29, 1818, aged twenty-five. His first wife, Abigail, sister of Deacon Josiah Salisbury, his partner in business, died July 17, 1814. Mr. Cleveland and his brother Charles were sons of the Rev. Aaron Cleveland, and great uncles of Grover Cleveland, president of the United States from 1885 to 1889. The Rev. Aaron Cleveland, whose mother was a daughter of the Rev. Aaron Porter, of

Medford, wrote some humorous lines, beginning : —

Four kinds of blood flow in my veins,  
And govern, each in turn, my brains,  
From Cleveland, Porter, Sewall, Waters,  
I had my blood distinct in quarters.

<sup>2</sup> [See *Daily Advertiser*, August 7, August 12, 1818. On Sunday, July 4, 1819, four hundred persons were present at the seamen's services. — *Col. Centinel*.

Mr. Jenks was chosen chaplain of the House of Representatives, May, 1819.]

ceived a call to settle at Portsmouth, as the successor of Dr. Buckminster, and, at the same time, an invitation to Bowdoin College, to take the professorship of Oriental and English literature. He accepted the latter. In 1818 he moved to Boston, and opened a private school. His labors in the interest of the seamen of the port were carried on under the auspices of the Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor. He was afterward, for twenty-five years, pastor of the Green Street Church, whose meeting-house, in 1847, came into the possession of the Church of the Advent.<sup>1</sup>

At a meeting of the Old South Church Lord's Day October 25 1818 a letter was communicated from the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions requesting the assistance of the Church by its pastor and one delegate at the Ordination of Messrs Pliny Fisk, Levi Spaulding, Miron Winslow, and one or two others as the case may be, at Salem Wednesday 4. November 1818.

Voted to comply with the request, and Deacon J. Salisbury was chosen to attend with the Pastor on the occasion.

JOSHUA HUNTINGTON Pastor.

The ordination of the missionaries named above, and of Mr. Henry Woodward, took place at the Tabernacle Church, Salem. Professor Stuart preached the sermon, Professor Porter offered the consecrating prayer, Dr. Worcester gave the charge, and Mr. Huntington, the right hand of fellowship.<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Alfred Finney, who had been ordained previously, and who was under appointment to a mission among the Chickasaw Indians, received the charge and the right hand of fellowship with his brethren.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the latter part of his life Dr. Jenks worshipped at the Old South, and occupied a seat in the capacious pulpit. His venerable appearance—white hair, benignant face, and scholarly bearing—as he sat there, with his ear-trumpet opening towards the preacher, is vividly remembered by the writer. He frequently assisted in the devotional exercises.

<sup>2</sup> The Prudential Committee at this time had no policy of its own apart from, much less in opposition to, the churches, whose servant it knew itself to be. At the meeting of the American Board at Springfield in 1887, some of the officials presented a lengthened report in which

they attempted to show that it would be utterly impracticable to do now in a few "difficult cases" what in the earlier years of the board was done in all cases. The members of the committee were selected until recently with reference rather to their business qualifications than their doctrinal preferences; and, everything else being satisfactory, they would no more have thought of overruling the judgment of a council or a presbytery in its approbation of a clerical candidate, than of casting aside a diploma of the Harvard Medical School presented by a candidate for a medical appointment.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Spaulding, Mr. Winslow, Mr. Woodward, and Dr. John Scudder, sailed



"At the close of the exercises, the Lord's Supper was administered to a great number of communicants, who had convened on the occasion from many churches."

In a letter dated December 20, 1818, Mrs. Huntington mentions that two missionaries (Mr. Fisk and Mr. Parsons) were expecting to sail in the spring, on a visit of exploration to Palestine, to ascertain what encouragement existed for the establishment of a mission station in Jerusalem, and she adds : —

All the information we receive respecting the Jews, both in Asia and in Europe, seems to indicate, most clearly, that the present is a time in which they are expecting something remarkable, in a political and religious view, to be done for their nation. Nothing seems to give such a spring to missionary exertion, as an increased attention to the Jews, for we know that their ingathering will be as life from the dead to the Gentiles. Park Street Church and ours have agreed to unite in the observance of the Monthly Concert of Prayer, and at each Concert to take up a collection for the support of one of these Missionaries to Jerusalem. Both churches have also determined, severally, to educate at least one young man for the ministry, agreeably to the plan proposed in the pamphlet, entitled "The Claims of Six Hundred Millions of Heathen."

Lord's day Decr 20th. after divine service P. M. a proposal was made by the pastor, that the Church should, by the voluntary contribution of the members, defray the expense of educating one or more young men of promising talents and piety for the Gospel Ministry. After some deliberation, it was

Voted, that the subject be referred to a Committee, who should report at some future meeting of the Church. The Pastor and Deacons, with brother Elisha Ticknor, were chosen for this purpose.

The Committee met at the Parsonage, the Friday following, decided that the object was important ; and voted, that it should be recommended on the ensuing Sabbath, to the attention of the Church, and also, that the Society should be requested to furnish or make a grant for the same purpose from their funds, should the Church see fit.

Lord's day Decr 27th, the Church staid after divine service P. M. when the report of the Committee was communicated by the Pastor. Whereupon it was

Voted, that the report be accepted. And the Pastor and Deacons were chosen a Committee to open a subscription, receive contributions

from Boston for Calcutta, in the brig Indus, Captain Wills, of Newburyport, June 8, 1819. In the *Centinel*, May 29, there is an earnest appeal for donations to the missionaries, signed "James." See the *Panoplist* for an account of an interesting revival of religion on the voyage from Boston to Bengal.

from the members of the Church and Society, and select one or more suitable objects for the charity. JOSHUA HUNTINGTON Pastor.

The first day of the new year, 1819, was devoted to the anniversary exercises of the Boston Foreign Mission Society. A business meeting was held in the forenoon, in the hall of the Massachusetts Bank, at which the following officers were chosen : president, his honor, William Phillips ; vice-president, Deacon Josiah Salisbury, in place of his father, the late Deacon Samuel Salisbury ; secretary, the Rev. Mr. Huntington ; treasurer, Mr. Jeremiah Evarts ; auditor, Mr. Charles Cleveland. In the afternoon, a public meeting was held in Concert Hall ; and in the evening, a sermon was preached at the Old South, by the Rev. Mr. Gile, of Milton.<sup>1</sup> It had been advertised that at the afternoon meeting seats would be provided for ladies ; and that this was something quite new, we infer from a remark made by one of the speakers, congratulating the ladies on their being present. Addresses were made by Mr. Evarts, and the Rev. Messrs. Jenks, Huntington, and Dwight. From Mr. Huntington's address, we make the following extract : —

I will not believe that those who are erecting hospitals for the sick and the insane ; who are supporting by their annual contribution, almshouses for the poor, and asylums for the orphan, would have no bowels of compassion for the helpless infant sacrificed by its parents to Gunga ; or suspended in a basket from the limb of a tree, to perish with hunger, and be devoured by birds of prey ; — or for the aged decrepid father, abandoned by his children to perish miserably by famine ; — or for the widowed mother, hurried by the violence of her own son into the funeral pile of her deceased husband ; — or for the deluded victims, who are annually crushed to death under the wheels of the modern Moloch.

Much less can I suppose that those who prize their Bibles, their Sabbaths, their hopes of immortality, could see (without emotion, and without at least the attempt to save them,) these thousands hurrying their passage to the bar of God, unwashed, unjustified, unsanctified ; — to the bar of Him, who hath said, "The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God ;" and who hath solemnly pronounced idolaters, of every description, without excuse.

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not say, that the guilt of those who die in heathen lands is commensurate with that of those who perish from under the gospel. Guilt, other things being equal, is in

<sup>1</sup> After the sermon, a collection was taken up, amounting to \$208. Mr. Huntington was appointed preacher for the anniversary of 1820, but before the year came round, he had passed into a higher and wider sphere of being and of service.

proportion to light resisted, and means abused. I do not say that the heathen are answerable for unbelief,—the rejection of a Savior of whom they have never heard. “God is not an hard master.” But I do say; and I say it on the authority of eternal truth, and of unquestionable facts, that they are destitute, the great body of them at least, of that “Holiness without which no man can see the Lord,”—that they are enslaved to passions, and polluted with sins, which utterly disqualify them for that world, into which there shall in no wise enter anything that defileth;—that they have no meetness for the society, the employments, or the pleasures of heaven; and that, therefore, they are excluded, not less by necessity, the very nature of things, than by the decision of Jehovah himself, from that holy place.

Thus situated, they call upon us;—’tis the language not of their lips; for alas! they know not what they do, or whither they are going; ’tis the language of their miseries and their sufferings,—to come over and help them;—to impart to them the blessings of that gospel, which is “good tidings of great joy *unto all people.*”<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Huntington evidently believed in the doctrine of the irrevocable doom of the heathen who die without a knowledge of the gospel, and he had the courage of his convictions. He did not shrink from the logical results of his belief, or endeavor to find a method of salvation for heathen souls by “some other way” than Christ and his atoning work.

Lord’s day Jan’y 9th [? 10th] 1819, the Church staid after Divine service P. M. when a letter was communicated from “a company of Believers,” requesting the assistance of the Old South Church by its Pastor and one Delegate, in their organization as a Church, and in the Installation of their Pastor, the Revd. James Sabine, late of St Johns, Newfoundland—Whereupon it was

Voted, that the request be complied with; and that brother William Homes attend with the Pastor on the occasion.

JOSHUA HUNTINGTON Pastor O. S. Chh.

This congregation had been worshipping at the south end of the town, in Boylston Hall. The recognition of the church, and the installation of Mr. Sabine as its minister, took place on Wednesday, January 27. President Allen, of Dartmouth College, Dr. Worcester and Mr. Jenks offered prayer; Mr. Codman preached the sermon; Dr. Morse gave the charge, and Mr. Dwight the right hand of fellowship. Land on which to build a meeting-house was bought a few months later in “Rowe’s Pasture,” now the corner of Essex and Chauncy streets; and the

<sup>1</sup> [This speech is given at length in the *Panoplist* for February, 1819.]

corner-stone was laid on Wednesday, June 23, with an address by Mr. Codman, and prayer by Mr. Huntington. This was probably Mr. Huntington's last appearance in public, outside his own pulpit.

Mr. Sabine came from England to Newfoundland in 1816. After the fires in the autumn of 1817, which impoverished many of the business men of the island, he removed to Boston, under the patronage, if not at the instance, of Mr. Nathan Parker, and Mr. James Melledge, who had been in business at St. John's, and members of his church there, but were now living here. He arrived at midsummer, 1818, and soon after began to hold services regularly in Boylston Hall, with the encouragement of the ministers and members of the Old South, Park Street, and some churches in the vicinity. Mr. Parker and Mr. Melledge were chosen deacons of the new church. The former was a wealthy man, and advanced large sums of money for the purchase of the land and the erection of the meeting-house, so that when the latter was completed the society was heavily in debt to him. Mr. Sabine and several of the members of the church became dissatisfied with the financial policy upon which he insisted for his own protection, and this, as will appear shortly, led to painful divisions, and to the withdrawal from the society of the pastor and a majority of the church.

Mrs. Huntington wrote, March 14, 1819:—

With respect to educating a Heathen child, we have long had a quarterly collection, the avails of which have been appropriated to this object. We originally intended that it should be devoted to the support of a female in India; but in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining such subjects of this character there, we recently determined to devote it to the education of a female of the Cherokee nation of Indians. We hope the time is not far distant, when the degraded women of the East will be so far emancipated from their present abject condition, as to be suffered, with their fathers and brethren, to stretch out their hands, and lift up their voices, in supplication for the blessings of the Gospel."<sup>1</sup>

Boston March 23. 1819.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of Church and Congregation being pew proprietors, as notified by the Rev. Mr. Huntington, from the Desk, (by desire of the Standing Committee,) March 21. 1819.

A Remonstrance was presented by Thomas Vose against the legality of said Meeting's proceeding on the business for which they were

<sup>1</sup> [*Memoir of Mrs. Huntington*, pp. 190, 191.]



notified, signed by fifteen persons said to be members of the Church, four of whom are Pew Owners.<sup>1</sup> After considering thereof it was agreed it should be committed to the following Gentlemen as a Committee, Josiah Salisbury, Benjamin Whitman, Thomas Vose, Samuel Davis and Francis Welch, they to report at some future meeting.

The Meeting being called to consider of a Recommendation of the Standing Committee respecting the purchasing an Estate of Mrs. Driscoll which is adjoining the Vestry in Spring Lane,<sup>2</sup> motion made and seconded, it was

Voted, That the Deacons, Hon. William Phillips, Josiah Salisbury and Edward Phillips, be a Committee to purchase the same, and they are requested and directed so to do, if it can be obtained for \$3000, which sum they are not to exceed.

Hon. William Phillips was chosen Moderator.

True Copy

JNO. WINSLOW Clk.

Boston, April 1. 1819

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation being pew proprietors, as notified by the Rev. Mr. Huntington from the Desk this day [Fast Day], Hon. William Phillips was chosen Moderator.

John Winslow was chosen Clerk of said Society for the year.

The Committee chosen in April last year, to take the direction and care of all the Temporal Concerns of the Society, request leave as the time for which they were chosen has expired, to make Report of their doings while in Office.

They have expended in various repairs on the Meeting House, Parsonage House and Stores, Three hundred, ninety four Dollars, Eighty one Cents, have also expended nearly four Hundred Dollars, in support of the Singing — this Sum includes the Expences of a School, in which has been employed a Master of first rate talents and respectability. The Committee invited all the members of the Society, who wished to be instructed in sacred musick, to attend said School, upwards of One Hundred young Gentlemen and Ladies availed themselves of the Opportunity. Their progress may be judged of, as they have filled the singing seats, and taken the lead, for the last three months, in that part of public worship. And the last summer they [the Committee] made a grant of two Hundred Dollars to our Revd. Pastor, for the purpose of enabling him to travel for the improvement of his health. They have let all the Gallery Pews and collected the Taxes thereon, amounting to \$398.48, which sum has been paid to

<sup>1</sup> [We have not found this paper, but we suppose that the grounds of the remonstrance were the same as those of the remonstrance of November 26, 1806.]

<sup>2</sup> [Mrs. Driscoll, as we suppose, was the widow of John Driscoll "lemon dealer," 17 Dock Square, house in Spring Lane.]

your Deacon [*sic*], they have also let the easterly parsonage house, for one year, for \$750. and the Cellars under the Meeting House for \$230. — the Stores were let on lease of five years which will not expire until the year 1821. The Committee have great satisfaction in being able to say that the rents have been regularly paid, all which is respectfully submitted.

p. Order FRANCIS WELCH Clk to sd Committee.

The Sub Committee appointed to inquire into the present state of the Old South Charity School, so called, have attended to the duty assigned to them and ask leave to make the following Report.

Your Committee have waited on some of the Managers of this School, and find from conversation with them, many interesting particulars relating to it; they have received a Statement in writing on the Subject; from these sources the following facts may be stated. — That this School has existed for nearly five Years, by the exertion of Ladies, exclusively of our Society, that during this period One Hundred and three Children have entered, most of them at the time ignorant of the Alphabet, that fifty four of these have been fitted for the Town schools, that seven have gone into families, two have died, and thirty four remain at school.

The Committee will pass over the first four years, and confine their statement of the expences of the School for the present year, ending in May next, the funds which have been at the disposal of the Managers. The expences consist in the hire of a Room, in the support of a Mistress and for fuel, the whole amounting to the sum of \$250. The yearly subscription, which are the only funds that can be considered in any way permanent, amount to one hundred, ninety three Dollars, leaving a deficiency of \$57. A Meeting of the Ladies was called previous to the end of the third quarter, to determine whether they would make further efforts for the support of the School, or give it up for the remainder of the year. They preferred the former course, and have since obtained donations to cover a part of the above mentioned deficiency. The Committee would here observe, that these children are taken from a class of people, who usually employ them in begging from House to House, and it has been only by personal application to the Parents of these Children that [they] have been induced to permit them to attend the Schools. The Ladies have also been under the Necessity of furnishing them with Clothes to appear in, but in this part of their Charitable labour they have been assisted by the Fragment Society. To afford some Assistance to the Ladies in their laudable endeavours to give instruction to some of the most necessitous of the rising generation, your Committee would propose that this Board should recommend to the Society at their next meeting, to pass the following Vote — That this Society make a Gift of One Hundred Dollars to the Managers or Directors of the Old South Charity School

so called, which has been supported for the Five Years last past by a number of Ladies of this Society, in order to afford them some assistance in their praiseworthy and Charitable work, and that the Treasurer be requested to pay the same forthwith to Mrs. Mary Mason the President of the Association.

DAVID W. CHILD & FRANCIS WELCH Committee.<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing reports having been read, it was moved and seconded, they be accepted.

Voted, To accept the reports, and that the Treasurer be directed and requested to pay over to the president One Hundred Dollars, for the use and benefit of said School.

Voted, We now proceed to the choice of a Standing Committee for the Year, to manage the Temporal Concerns of the Society, and that Mr. Hunting, Mr. Lane and Mr. McLellan be a Committee to receive count and sort the Votes — who reported the following Gentlemen to be chosen, Vizt. Hon. William Phillips, William Homes, Samuel Coverly, Benjamin Whitman, Edward Phillips, David W Child, [A.] P. Cleveland, Pliny Cutler, John Winslow, Abraham Wild, Francis Welch and Samuel Davis.

The Committee chosen at our last meeting, 23 March, to attend to a remonstrance, reported they had one meeting, but had not agreed, and they were to meet again on said business.

Voted, said Committee be allowed further time.

Voted, That John Winslow, David W. Child, Samuel Coverly, Josiah Salisbury and James Pickins, be a Committee to examine the Treasurer's Accounts, and that they report as soon as may be. 39 members present at the meeting.

Motion made and seconded that this meeting be dissolved, and it was dissolved accordingly.

True Copy

JOHN WINSLOW.

April 4th after divine service P. M. a letter was communicated to the Church from the Church and Society in Hollis Street, requesting the assistance of the Old South Church, by its Pastor and Delegates, at the ordination of Mr. John Pierpont, on the 14th inst. Some objections having been made to a compliance with the request, chiefly on the ground of the difficulty which was anticipated in obtaining satisfaction with regard to the sentiments of the candidate. and so, of acting understandingly on so important an occasion, a Committee was appointed to take the subject into consideration, and report to the Church the next Sabbath.

J. HUNTINGTON Pastor.

April 11th. The Church met after Divine service, when the Committee appointed the preceding Sabbath, consisting of the Pastor,

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Child and Mr. Welch were directors in the State Bank at this time.]

Deacon Phillips senr. Deacon Salisbury, and brothers Ticknor, Homes and Whitman, reported by a majority of one, in favor of complying with the invitation from Hollis Street. After considerable debate, it was Voted, not to accept the report ; and that the Pastor be desir'd to communicate the result to the Church and Society in Hollis Street.

J. HUNTINGTON Pastor of O. S. Chh.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Aaron H. Bean has kindly copied for us the following extract from the Hollis Street Church Book of "Church Meetings and Doings," pp. 279-281 : —

1819. Sunday April 18th. The brethren were stayed after divine service in the evening ; when Deacon West, the Chairman of the Committee, consisting of the three deacons appointed to "confer with Mr. Pierpont and agree on the Churches to compose the Council for his ordination, and to sign the letters missive for that purpose," stated to the Church that twenty one Churches had been invited to attend by their pastors and delegates, and compose the ordaining Council : that of these twenty one Churches, twenty were represented in the Council : that the remaining one, viz. the Old South Church under the pastoral care of the Revd Joshua Huntington, had not appeared either by pastor or delegates : but that, previous to the Ordination, the Committee had received a letter from the said pastor, stating the determination of his Church to decline the invitation contained in the letter missive. The letter missive was then read, as was also the reply of the Revd Mr. Huntington. In that reply no reasons were assigned why the invitation to unite with the ordaining Council was not accepted. And lest it might thence, at some future period, be inferred that the refusal, on the part of the Old South Church to unite with the Church in Hollis Street on this occasion, must have been occasioned by some unchristian expression, or offensive allusion in the letters missive, or by some invidious distinction between the letter addressed to the Old South Church and to the other churches invited, (all which letters were of uniform tenor,) Voted that the Pastor

of this Church be requested to put both the letter missive and the reply of the Revd Mr. Huntington upon the records of this Church, that, should it unhappily prove that the ties of christian fellowship and charity which had so long connected these churches were finally severed, it might appear of record, by which of the Churches those ties were *not* first broken.

#### LETTER MISSIVE.

To the Revd Joshua Huntington, and the Church under his pastoral care.

BOSTON March 15th. 1819

#### *Christian Brethren*

The members of the Church and Society in Hollis Street, Boston, having unanimously elected Mr. John Pierpont to be their pastor and teacher, and he having made known to them his acceptance of their call to that office : Wednesday the 14th day of April next has been appointed for his ordination.

Your presence and assistance by your pastor and delegates is requested on the occasion. With devout wishes for your happiness and welfare, both in this life and the life to come, we remain your friends and brethren in the faith and hope of the Gospel of Christ.

(Signed)

|               |             |
|---------------|-------------|
| BENJAMIN WEST | } Committee |
| SAML MAY      |             |
| WILLIAM BROWN |             |

REPLY OF REVD. JOSHUA HUNTINGTON.

To Mess. Benjamin West, Samuel May and William Brown, Committee of the Church in Hollis Street.

#### *Respected Brethren*

Your request in behalf of the Church in Hollis Street for the presence and assistance of the Old South Church in the



Of the change which was taking place at this time, in the relations of the Old South to the other Congregational churches in the town, formed before the commencement of the present century, Dr. Wisner said, in 1830, in one of his Historical Sermons :—

Formerly there was the closest union evinced by a constant interchange of all the acts of ecclesiastical and ministerial communion. Eighteen or twenty years ago, this interchange began to be less frequent; and, for some time past, has entirely ceased. In 1819,—it having become common for councils composed of representatives of those churches and others of similar views, to induct persons into the ministry without any examination in reference to doctrinal belief and personal religion, and the then pastor of this church having, while sitting on such councils, been repeatedly denied the privilege of putting questions, relating to the particulars just named, to candidates for ordination,—the church decided, on the 4th of April in that year, to accept no more invitations to such councils.<sup>1</sup> And no invitations have since been received. About two years before his death, Mr. Huntington made his last exchange with a minister of one of those congregations. And I have been assured from the best authority—his lamented widow—that he had decided, never again, be the consequences what they might, to make another such exchange. And such another has never since been made.

The action of the Old South Church in April, 1819, undoubtedly marks an epoch in its history. We do not understand, however, that it was, in words, as broad as Dr. Wisner described

ordination of Mr. John Pierpont as your pastor having been submitted to our Church it was Voted to decline the same, and that the Pastor be desired to Communicate this Vote to the Committee from whom it was received, and through them to the Church which they represent.

Wishing you Brethren, the guidance and blessing of the great Head of the Church in the solemn transaction before you, and devoutly praying that you and your pastor elect may be each others' joy and Crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord Jesus

We remain

Very respectfully and affectionately  
yours

In behalf of the Church  
(sd.) J. HUNTINGTON, Pastor.  
May 4th. 1819.

A note is added: "Date should probably have been *April* 4th as it was received April 5th. by S. May." There is also a discrepancy between the corrected date of the letter and the date of the final action of the Old South. The record is not in the handwriting of Mr. Huntington, and in transcribing, it would seem that the dates April 4 and April 11 were given by mistake for March 28 and April 4.]

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Wisner added in a note: "Before [his own ordination], in every case, all the Congregational churches of Boston had been invited by this church to its ordaining councils. In this instance it was determined to pursue a different course. After full deliberation and discussion, the church decided to adopt the different principle in selecting the council."]

it, although, in effect, it was precisely as he stated it. Whether intended to be so or not, the declination to assist at Mr. Pierpont's ordination was a test case; and it led to the ecclesiastical separation of the Old South from the churches with which, for so many years, it had been on terms of friendship and fellowship.

The relations of the Old South with the church in Hollis Street had been exceptionally intimate ever since the foundation of the latter, when, in 1731, Governor Belcher gave the land on which its meeting-house was built, and Dr. Sewall, a year later, drew up the form of words under which its members entered into solemn covenant with God and with each other.<sup>1</sup> When its meeting-house was burned in 1787, the Old South opened its doors in Christian hospitality, and the two congregations worshipped together for many months. At a service in the open air, after the foundations of the new house had been laid, Dr. Eckley invoked the blessing of the Most High on the rising walls. At the installation of Mr. West in 1789, Dr. Eckley gave the right hand of fellowship to the pastor, and made an address to the people, in which he said: "Often have we mingled our souls together at the same Church, in humble adoration of the God of heaven; often have we sat as brethren around the same table of our Saviour." Again in 1809, preaching the sermon at Mr. Holley's installation, Dr. Eckley spoke with affectionate interest of the time when the two congregations worshipped together as one. No wonder that when the question was presented, whether or not these fraternal, or, we might say, these filial relations, hallowed by the memories of more than fourscore years, should be interrupted, there was a minority which hesitated to take the responsibility involved in the refusal to accept the invitation then under consideration.

No church recently established could be confronted by such

<sup>1</sup> "The site upon which the first meeting-house in Hollis Street was erected, was given in 1731 to William Pain Esq. by His Excellency Governor Belcher, on condition that he, 'with a covenant number, would associate themselves together, and build a house for the publick worship of God.' This first edifice was built in 1732, and upon the eighteenth of June of that year, the first sermon within

its walls was preached by the Reverend Joseph Sewall, pastor of the Third (or Old South) Church. It was he who 'more immediately formed' or organized the church here. He wrote its covenant, dedicated its house of worship with prayer, gave the charge to its first pastor, and laid the hand of ordination upon his head." — *Historical Sermon*, by the Rev. George L. Chaney.

traditions and memories as these, when it passed upon questions of fellowship with the historical churches by which it was surrounded. The division now taking place in the denomination could not mean for it what it meant for the Old South. Be this as it may, we cannot believe that Mr. Huntington, and the leading men of his church who agreed with him, were in favor of a division in the denomination — positive, sharp, final. It must be remembered that the only matter upon which the church voted at this juncture was the adoption of the majority report of its committee, recommending the acceptance of the invitation to assist at Mr. Pierpont's ordination. By a majority vote it refused to adopt this report, for reasons which do not fully appear. Dr. Wisner says that Mr. Huntington had not been satisfied with the course of procedure in recent installation councils of which he had been a member. He desired the privilege of examining the pastors-elect on such occasions, in accordance rather with the principles of consociationism under which he and Dr. Morse and Mr. Dwight had been trained, than with the usages of Massachusetts Congregationalists. When Mr. Lowell was ordained at the West Church in 1806, he did not preach his own ordination sermon, as had been the custom in the past, and Dr. Eckley and Mr. Channing were in favor of his presenting a statement of his theological views, but they did not go so far as to recommend his submission to an examination upon his statement by the assembled ministers. Such an examination, as we know, easily degenerates into cross-examination, and captious criticism, and unseemly wrangling. An installation council is convened, usually, by the church which is about to settle a minister, and not by the pastor-elect; and it is expected to act, chiefly at least, in view of its acquaintance with and confidence in the inviting church, for, in most cases, its members can have no such personal knowledge of the pastor-elect as would justify them in passing an independent judgment upon his fitness for the position to which he has been called. A man should possess, we think, extraordinary powers of intellectual and spiritual insight who would venture, after an acquaintance of an hour or two, to pass adversely upon the choice of a church and congregation made after months of careful and prayerful deliberation. Undoubtedly a church has a right to decline an invitation to an ordination or installation council; were it otherwise, the bonds of denominational fellowship would be like fetters of iron. It ought, of course, to be

sure of its ground in such a case, for it is not a light thing to disturb the relations of sister churches dwelling in unity. The proper time, however, for declination or dissent is on the presentation of the letters-missive, and when the question of accepting the invitation has come up for definite action. Then it may become the duty of a church to decline, and, if it wishes to do so, to give reasons for its declination ; but it can never be its duty to accept such an invitation, and allow its representatives to go and stir up strife and sow the seeds of rancor in the solemn services in which they have been asked to assist as an act of fellowship. This view of the case can be controverted only on the dangerous assumption that Congregational churches are answerable to each other, that is to say, to each other's ministers, for their doctrinal beliefs and ecclesiastical doings ; and the logical issue of such accountability, as Dr. Emmons said of the consociationism of his day, is the absolute supremacy of an hierarchy.

The minister of the Old South, as we suppose, thought that he was not in theological agreement with the pastor-elect of Hollis Street Church, and without an opportunity of satisfying himself on this point, he would not have been willing to propose to him an exchange of pulpits ; he hesitated, therefore, to meet him in the highest act of ministerial fellowship, that of participation in the services of his ordination. But this did not necessarily open an impassable, denominational gulf between the two pastors, or between their churches, which would prevent their coming together in acts of fellowship under any new circumstances which might arise in the future.<sup>1</sup> Much less, as it seems to us, did the declination of the Hollis Street invitation lead of necessity to the opening of such a gulf between the Old South and the other historical churches in Boston ; and we think it will appear, as we proceed, that it was not intended to do so.

From the following account of Mr. Huntington, written at the time of his death, a few months later, we can judge somewhat as to his personal attitude to the controversies which were raging around him : —

He was not a disputant. He was not deeply versed in critical studies. He was not formed to cope with bold and daring polemics.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Pierpont preached in the Old South pulpit in behalf of the Asylum for Indigent Boys, April 27, 1821. He and Mr. Huntington had been classmates at Yale College, in the class of 1804.



To these things he made no pretensions. But he was a man around whom the pious loved to gather. They saw that he understood the gospel; that he was its friend; that he had felt its power; that he preached it with firmness, in its simplicity and purity; and that it was his delight to guide the anxious and enquiring in the way everlasting. His trials were often great. As a preacher of the evangelical system, among his brethren of the Boston Association, his situation was peculiarly delicate. But possessed of uncommon prudence, he maintained with firmness what he conceived to be truth, and uniformly commanded affection and respect. . . . At such a time as the present, when the churches are distracted, and the passions of men are high, such a man was greatly needed — a man who would stand firm, yet with whom conflicting parties might meet, and often come to a happy reconciliation.”<sup>1</sup>

Boston May 10. 1819.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation, being pew proprietors, as notified by the Rev. Mr. Huntington from the Desk, — Hon. William Phillips was chosen Moderator.

At a meeting of the Standing [Committee] the 26 April 1819, it was Voted, That this Committee recommend to the Society at their next meeting, to make a grant of \$200 to our Rev'd Pastor to assist him in making a journey the ensuing season, and that the Committee recommend the sum of \$200 be granted to the Society for the moral and religious instruction of the Poor of the Town of Boston, for the special purpose of aiding the support of one or more Gospel Preachers for the Poor.

Said report being laid before said Meeting, it was

Voted, That they comply with said recommendation, and that the Treasurer be requested to pay to the Revd. Mr. Huntington Two Hundred Dollars, also that he pay over to Mr. Thomas Vose, the Treasurer of said Society, the sum of Two Hundred Dollars, for the purposes recommended by said Committee of the Society.

The Committee appointed the 23 March 1819, on the remonstrance of Thomas Vose and others, Report as follows —

The Committee, to whom was referred the Remonstrance of Elisha Hunt, Thomas Vose and others. against the proceedings of the Old South Church and Congregation, being pew holders, and therein claiming a right for Church members who are not owners in Pews, to vote in Parish meetings — have attended to the duty assigned them; and after twice meeting, and much examination, consideration and conversation on the subject, they cannot agree in opinion. They

<sup>1</sup> [*Christian Spectator*, September, 1819, copied into the *Boston Recorder*.]

therefore ask leave to report — that it is the wish of the Committee to be discharged from any further attention to this subject. All which is respectfully submitted. (Signed) BENJAMIN WHITMAN

p. order.

BOSTON April 8. A. D. 1819

Voted, said Committee be discharged agreeable to their request.

There being no other business before this meeting, a motion was made it be dissolved, and it was dissolved accordingly.

Attest JNO. WINSLOW Clk.

We take the following account of the closing weeks of Mr. Huntington's life from the Panoplist : —

A close attention to the services which were expected of him, and which it was his delight to render, gradually undermined a constitution far from robust. Several times he had been obliged to intermit his parochial labors for a season ; but a resort to travelling had usually given him recruited health and vigor. In the spring and summer of 1819, he experienced considerable debility, and determined upon another journey. He did not find it convenient, however, to leave the people of his charge till the 19th of July, when he commenced a tour of more than seventeen hundred miles, in company with a beloved friend and brother in the ministry [Mr. Dwight]. Though feeble when his journey was commenced, he wrote from Saratoga Springs, that he thought his health essentially improved ; and that he expected to return to his people, prepared by a great increase of strength to serve them more effectually, than he had before been able to do for a long time. After having been at the Springs for ten or twelve days, his letters mentioned the intensity of the heat, and his depression in consequence of it. He appeared to suffer greatly from the same cause, during his journey to the Niagara frontier, and while passing down Lake Ontario. His last letter written to Mrs. Huntington from Montreal, August 23d. mentioned his having been quite sick the day before, in returning from Quebec, but added that he was then very well, and thought he should be better for this short illness. In the beginning of the letter, written two days before, he says, "Should I not feel it my duty to spend a week at the Springs, on my way, I shall be at home, a kind Providence permitting, the last of next week : I say *duty*, for nothing else could detain me longer from you and my people." The next day he parted with Mr. Dwight at Whitehall, and took the nearest route to Boston. In consequence of some irregularity of the stages, he was disappointed in not obtaining four or five hours sleep, as he had expected, on Wednesday night, but was obliged to ride the whole time. In the course of Thursday, he was seized so violently, that he was compelled to leave the stage at Groton, thirty miles from Boston, where he was kindly and hospitably received by

the Rev. Dr. Chaplin and his family, and where he experienced every attention and alleviation, which it was in the power of Christian benevolence and medical skill to afford. Here he languished of a fever for sixteen days, and sunk to rest on Saturday September 11th, in the twelfth year of his ministry, and the thirty fourth of his age.

Mrs. Huntington had been staying at North Bridgewater during her husband's journey, and was there when the intelligence of his sickness reached her. She did not know how alarming the symptoms were until she arrived at Groton. Several of the members of the Old South hastened to the bedside of their dying minister, among them Deacon Phillips and his wife.

The Revd Joshua Huntington died at Groton in the County of Middlesex, at the house of the Revd Mr. Chaplin, on Friday evening, Sept 10th 1819. He was there, on his return from a journey, which he had undertaken for the benefit of his health.

Sept 11th Saturday morning. The melancholy tidings of the decease of our beloved pastor having reached Boston, the Deacons summoned a meeting of the Brethren of the Church at the Vestry at 11 o'Clock A. M. At this meeting, sundry votes were passed relating to the funeral solemnities, — which were afterwards taken up and carried into effect by the Church and Congregation. (Vide Records of Ch. and Cong.)

At a Meeting of the Old South Church held at the Vestry on Saturday, September 11, 1819, on account of the Melancholy Death of our beloved and excellent pastor, Rev. Joshua Huntington, Brother William Homes, Chairman, —

Deacon J. Salisbury read a letter from the Rev. D. Huntington, containing the very sorrowful tidings. When, upon motion of Deacon Salisbury, a Committee of Arrangements, to make all necessary preparations for the Funeral, was appointed, who are as follows: viz. The Standing Committee of the Society, together with Brothers Whitman, Vose and Armstrong.

Voted, To request the Rev. Mr. Dwight to preach the sermon at the Funeral, and the Rev. Mr. Channing to offer a prayer.

Voted, That the Deacons be a Committee to wait upon the Reverend Gentlemen above named, and request the favor of their attendance and performances.

On motion of Brother Whitman,

Voted, That the same measures be adopted, in the present case, as were adopted at the decease of the late Rev. Doctor Eckley.

A messenger now announced that the Body had just arrived from Groton, where Mr. Huntington died, and that it was at the parsonage.

On motion of Brother Whitman,

Voted, That the Church repair to the parsonage house, and receive the corpse.

On motion of Brother Vose,

Voted, That the thanks of this Church be presented to the Rev. Doctor Chaplin and his Family, for the care and kindness exhibited towards our beloved Pastor during his last sickness at their house in Groton, and that the Deacons be requested to convey this vote of thanks to them ; and to pay all expences which may have been incurred, and to make all such compensation as they may deem generous and proper, in consequence of our lamented Pastor's sickness and death at Groton.

Attest      SAM. T. ARMSTRONG  
Secy. of this meeting.

At a Meeting of the Old South Church and Congregation held in their Vestry, this eleventh day of September A. D. 1819,

On motion of Brother Whitman,

Voted unanimously, That the Thanks of this Church and Society be presented to the Rev. Doctor Daniel Chaplin of Groton, his Family, the People of his parish, and his Neighbors, in particular, with the humane Doctor Bancroft, for their very benevolent and Christianlike attention shown to the late Rev. Joshua Huntington, the beloved Pastor of this Church and Society, during his late sickness, which terminated in his Death. And may the God of all grace bless them for their labor of benevolence and love. And the Clerk of this Church and Society is directed to forward to the Rev. Doctor Chaplin a copy from the record of this vote.

SAM. T. ARMSTRONG Secy.<sup>1</sup>

The funeral took place on Monday afternoon. The body was carried by sextons from the parsonage to the meeting-house, preceded by the committee of arrangements, and followed by the relatives, a large number of the clergy of all denominations, and members of the church, and was placed on a bier in the broad aisle. "The meeting-house was crowded to excess, and was shrouded in black. The principal part of the numerous Church of the Society was in deep mourning ; and the whole Society wore suitable badges of respect." The solemnities began with a funeral anthem by a large choir ; prayer was offered by the Rev. Professor Porter, of Andover ; Mr. Dwight, of Park Street, preached from Phil. iii. 21 : "Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Chaplin was the last minister of the united parish of Groton. He was ordained January 1, 1778, and continued his active ministry until the summer of 1825. A division came on the question of settling his successor. A majority of the church were in favor of the Rev.

John Todd ; a minority of the church with a majority of the parish favored the Rev. Charles Robinson. The result was a separation. Mr. Robinson was settled over the old parish, and Mr. Todd over the new church called the Union Church. Dr. Chaplin died April 8, 1831.]



body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself." Mr. Lowell, of the West Church, offered the concluding prayer. The pall-bearers were, Mr. Lowell, Professor Porter, Dr. Harris, of Dorchester, Dr. Morse, of Charlestown, Dr. Porter, of Roxbury, Dr. Freeman, of the Stone Chapel.<sup>1</sup> A procession of two hundred persons on foot, and sixteen carriages, followed the body to the grave; the route taken was, down Milk Street to Adams Street, through Kilby Street, State Street, Washington Street (then Cornhill and Marlboro Street), to School Street, through School Street, and Tremont Street (then Common Street), to the Granary Burying Ground, where the remains were laid to rest in the Old South tomb.<sup>2</sup>

From Mr. Dwight's funeral sermon, we quote the following passages :—

Death, his own death, I need not say, was not a new subject of contemplation. Long had he been accustomed, and for the last two years often, if not daily, accustomed to think solemnly of his own death, his last account, and his final sentence. When the grim messenger arrived, it did not surprise him. It found him ready and willing to die. Near the close of life, he expressed his strong conviction, that he had long rested on the promises of God; that his covenant God had been with him during his sickness, and lifted upon

<sup>1</sup> In the selection of pall-bearers, Congregational ministers of various shades of theological opinion were chosen, from Dr. Morse at one extreme, to Dr. Freeman at the other. This, of course, was in the interest of harmony.

<sup>2</sup> See *Col. Centinel*. The Old South tomb, No. 160, was built a few years after the death of Mr. Willard, and he and (we suppose) his family were buried there. Mr. Pemberton was placed there in 1717, and we have no knowledge of its being again used until Mr. Huntington's death. We think, however, there is every reason to believe that Mr. Prince, in 1758, and Mr. Cumming, in 1763, were buried in it. This, no doubt, is the tomb in which Mr. Whitefield would have been buried, if what was known to have been his wish had been carried out. See *ante*, vol. ii. pp. 128, 129, note. The late Rev. Samuel Sewall, of Burlington, had no doubt that his ancestors, Dr. Sewall and wife, and Dea-

con Sewall and wife, were buried in the Hull-Sewall tomb, No. 185. Dr. Eckley was buried in his own tomb, No. 163. When Dr. Wisner died in 1835, his body was deposited in the Old South tomb, but was afterward removed to Andover Hill, where a monument to his memory was erected by his former parishioners in Boston.

On the 25th of April, 1889, we made an examination of the Old South tomb, assisted by Dr. Samuel Abbott Green, and Mr. Edward MacDonald, superintendent of cemeteries. We found the coffins of Mr. and Mrs. Huntington on the right as we entered, and the tombstone of Abigail (Sherman), first wife of Mr. Willard, who died before 1679, and whose remains, we suppose, were placed there, when the body of her husband was transferred from Judge Sewall's tomb in 1712. We gained no information whatever in reference to other interments.

him the light of his countenance. Being told by one who was at his bedside [Deacon Phillips], that he was going to meet his father ; he replied, " Yes, and a glorious meeting it will be." — The pains of death were for a time excruciating ; but at length the struggle was over. A delightful calm succeeded. The soul now purified, conscious of its state, and ready for its final flight, was waiting the summons from heaven. Its composure was sweet and tranquil ; and with the serenity of a sleeping infant it entered on its final rest. . . .

While I feel for the sorrows of the mourning connexions, I also remember with the tenderest sympathy, that a church of Christ is here clothed in sackcloth, and that a bereaved people are in tears.

What I at this moment witness, my friends and brethren, is perhaps the highest testimony which you could give to the worth of my departed brother. On whatever side I cast my eyes, I can read, in silent but expressive language, the estimate which you form of the greatness of your loss. Never on a similar occasion, have I seen proofs, more clear and unequivocal, of deep and universal mourning. The relation which he sustained to you, was in the highest degree important and endearing. How he discharged the duties of this relation, I need not ask you ; nor appeal to the evidence which you now furnish me, of your strong conviction that he was a good man and a faithful minister of Christ. I can here state what I personally know ; and your own memories will bear witness that it is true.

Religious integrity was the solid foundation of his ministerial and pastoral character. By this I intend a conscientious devotedness to the service of God in the preaching of the gospel. It included a constant and earnest desire to do good to the soul, and thus to accomplish the great purpose for which Christ came into the world. This habitual regard to the high and holy service in which he was employed was visible in all his public labours, and all his private instructions. . . .

The doctrines which he taught you are the doctrines of the Reformation. They have long and deservedly been distinguished as the doctrines of grace. They are the doctrines which in every age, have been embraced by that portion of the Church of Christ, to which, as your departed minister fully believed, we are especially indebted for the existence of evangelical religion. These doctrines he clearly explained and successfully defended. He loved them as the Truth of God, and made them the foundation of every instruction and every exhortation. On them rested every hope which he indulged, of heaven and eternal life. . . .

No characteristic, perhaps, contributed more to his usefulness than his prudence ; a virtue rarely possessed even by men of eminent piety to the same desirable extent. In this he greatly resembled his excellent and venerable father, who has left a " name which is better than precious ointment." It was a prudence which bore no resemblance

to cunning or timidity. It was simply a habit of preparing by sufficient deliberation, to speak and act wisely, before he ventured to speak or act at all, on any important occasion. His prudence was peculiarly manifested in avoiding unnecessary comments on opinions or characters. On these topics he rarely spoke unless called upon by duty. Who can remember an indiscreet or unguarded remark which fell from his lips?

His prudence was accompanied by immovable firmness. It was apparent that his great object was to discover his duty, and when discovered to perform it. His opinions were his own. While he paid a proper deference to those of others, he always declared his own, when called upon, freely and firmly; yet with great candour, and a delicate regard to the feelings of those who differed from him. Few of these ventured to question the purity of his intentions. The tendency of his instructions was to soften the asperities of controversy, without the slightest dereliction or concealment of his principles. The regularly increasing attachment and respect of his people, at a period of great diversity of religious sentiment on topics within the direct range of his instructions, furnish very strong testimony to his prudence and firmness.

His humility was unaffected. As a preacher, few young men in our country have been equally popular. When a mere youth, he received the unanimous call of this large and respectable church and society to become their Pastor. A very flattering invitation of a similar nature, was given him, at the same time, from a neighbouring state. None of these things however moved him. If I mistake not, I never knew the young man who was more entirely free from personal vanity, or less anxious for popular applause. If he made peculiar progress, during the latter years of his life, in any one Christian grace it was in humility. He habitually felt as though he were the least of all saints, and hardly worthy to be called a minister of Christ.

On the Sunday following the funeral, Mr. Codman preached a sermon to his own people, at the Second Church, Dorchester, from Psalm xii. 1: "Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth," in which he paid an affectionate tribute to his departed friend:—

He filled a conspicuous and most important place in our churches. He stood, as it were, alone. Surrounded by those who differed widely from him in opinion, he did not hesitate to declare his firm, unshaken faith in those doctrines which were once the glory of the New England churches, and which he fully believed were the wisdom of God and the power of God unto salvation. These doctrines he boldly and constantly preached without the fear of man. In the faith of these doctrines he lived, and in the faith of these doctrines he died. While he

contended earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, he had learnt of his Divine Master to blend the wisdom of the serpent with the meekness of the dove. In his whole character and deportment as a Christian minister, he discovered the wisdom, and prudence, and discretion of *age*, while he retained in a remarkable manner the pleasing appearance of youth. . . .

By his death, I may be permitted to say, I have lost the friend of my youth, with whom I took sweet counsel, and who was endeared to me by many tender ties. Providence cast our lot in the same part of the vineyard; we were ordained in the same year; have repeatedly been called to act together in various ways, and ever maintained the most intimate and uninterrupted friendship. We were perfectly united in sentiment and affection. We fought side by side the battles of our King. He is taken, and I am left. He is gone home to glory, and I am left to struggle a little longer on the field of battle. Oh that I might be found faithful unto death, and receive with him a crown of life that fadeth not away!<sup>1</sup>

A writer in the *Panoplist* said of Mr. Huntington:—

The style of his written and extemporaneous performances was neat, simple and dignified, never descending to coarseness, or unbecoming familiarity, sometimes rising to impassioned eloquence. His delivery was easy and natural, chaste and animated. His voice, at once sonorous and agreeable, easily filled the largest houses of public worship. The highest proof of the interest which his preaching excited, is found in the fact that this interest was regularly increasing. Many times, in the two last years of his life, did we hear different members of his congregation express their warm attachment to their pastor, their high sense of the power and general excellence of his preaching, and their conviction that, though always beloved, he was becoming more and more dear to his people.<sup>2</sup>

We have this sketch of Mr. Huntington as a preacher, from the pen of Dr. Sprague:—

I heard Mr. Huntington preach while I was a student in Yale College. I remember him as a small but finely formed person, as speaking with much animation and fervour, having a pleasant voice, and abounding in graceful gesture; and his sermon, which was on the

<sup>1</sup> [*Boston Recorder*, September 25, 1819.]

<sup>2</sup> [It was proposed to print a volume of Mr. Huntington's sermons, and the MSS. were placed in the hands of his brother for selection and preparation; but it was found that many had been written in short hand, and many others

only partially written, so that a compilation could not be made which would do justice to their author. See *Boston Recorder*, November 20, 1819, for the Prospectus; and, February 12, 1820, for Mr. Daniel Huntington's letter to Mr. Armstrong, giving reasons for not going on with the work of preparation.]



Deluge, was written in a highly figurative, — perhaps I may say florid — style. His manner in the pulpit — as I gather both from tradition and from my own impression — must have been much more than commonly attractive.

The Rev. Daniel Huntington thus wrote of his brother to Dr. Sprague: —

Commencing his ministry in Boston at an early period of that memorable controversy which separated the Unitarian from other Congregational Churches of Massachusetts; — as colleague with one of the oldest members of the Boston Association, and feeling conscience bound to pursue a course somewhat at variance with the opinion and practice of that venerable man, and distasteful to some estimable members of his church and parish, and to multitudes in the surrounding community; — he had need of all the conciliating power which could be found in the most agreeable personal appearance and deportment; and with that power he was armed in no ordinary degree. Treating those with whom he was constrained to dissent with scrupulous delicacy and uniform kindness, he never rendered himself needlessly offensive, and never failed to command respect, at least as a gentleman and a Christian.

The following verses on the death of this faithful servant of Christ appeared in one of the newspapers of the day. The initials of the writer were given as C. D. C., which we identify as those of Charles Dexter Cleveland (son of Charles Cleveland), then in his seventeenth year, and afterward distinguished for his scholarship and authorship: <sup>1</sup> —

His voice, no more, to sinners shall proclaim  
The rich provision of the gospel feast;  
No more shall urge them, in his master's name,  
To leave delusive joys, for heav'nly rest.

His gracious words no more shall greet my ear,  
When anxious doubts and fears distract my mind;  
No more his eye the sacred page explore,  
In search of balm, to heal my bleeding wound.

For *this*, he often sought, with fervent prayer  
That God would bless the work — display his grace,  
Crown his own precious word with mighty power,  
And show his glory in Immanuel's face.

God's ways are righteous — *none* can stay his hand,  
Nor disappoint his wise and sov'reign will;  
Our pulse shall cease to beat, at his command,  
Who sits, and reigns supreme, on Zion's hill.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Dexter Cleveland was born in Salem in 1802, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1827, and died in Philadelphia in 1869.

The orphan's father and the widow's God,  
 Will ne'er withhold his kind, parental care,  
 From those who bow, submissive, to his rod,  
 And seek support in faith and fervent prayer.

Confin'd, a tenant of the silent tomb,  
 Safely encircled by his kindred dust,  
 Our Friend shall sweetly sleep till Christ shall come  
 To take his Saints to their eternal rest.

*Then*, at the sound of trump, his dust shall rise,  
 Assume its glorious form, and wing its way  
 With rapid speed, till far beyond the skies,  
 It pass the gates to everlasting day.

May the surviving children ne'er forget  
 The kind instruction of a Father's love,  
 Nor from his faithful counsels turn their feet,  
 Nor fail to meet him in the realms above !

Weep not, dear Widow ! wipe away thy tears,  
 A few more days, and thou wilt meet thy friend  
 Beyond the reach of pains and griefs and fears,  
 Where friendship's holy joys shall never — never end.<sup>1</sup>

It will be proper in this connection to present the action of the church and society, making provision for Mrs. Huntington and her family.

At a Meeting of the Committee of the Society on the fifth day of October, in the year of our Lord 1819,

Present, William Phillips, Homes, Coverley, Child, Cleveland, Cutler, Edward Phillips, Davis and Welch, — The following votes unanimously passed, —

First, That this Committee recommend to the Society, to grant to the widow of our late beloved Pastor, the use of the parsonage house which she now occupies, the usual quantity of Fuel, with the salary of her late Husband, for one year from the first day of this present October, and that it be paid to her in the same manner, that it was to him, during his lifetime.

Second, That this Committee also recommend, that the Society should grant to her, from and after the first day of October, which will be in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twenty, One Thousand Dollars per annum, for six years, to be paid by the Treasurer of this Society in quarter yearly payments.<sup>2</sup>

Third, That this Committee further recommend to the Society, to

<sup>1</sup> [*Col. Centinel*, October 16, 1819. The *Boston Recorder*, November 6, 1819, has some lines on Mr. Huntington's death, which we should be glad to quote.]

<sup>2</sup> [For the provision made by the

church for the widow of the Rev. Samuel Willard in 1707, see *ante*, vol. i. p. 228, note. No pastor's widow since that time had needed pecuniary assistance from the church.]

present to the Rev. Mr. Jenks, a complete suit of clothes, or the value thereof in money, at his option, as a compensation in taking a lead in the public devotions at the Vestry.

Fourth, The Committee having been made acquainted, that by the sudden death of Mr. Elms, our late Sexton, his Widow has been left with eleven children in distressed circumstances, It was also Voted to recommend to the Society to give her One hundred and fifty dollars.

FRANCIS WELCH, Sec. to the Committee.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation (being proprietors of Pews) held at the Meeting-House on the eleventh day of October 1819, having been regularly notified from the desk the previous Sabbath,

Francis Welch was chosen Clerk pro tem.

William Phillips was chosen Moderator.

The above Votes of the Committee having been read, were severally put to vote, and all of them unanimously passed in the affirmative.

It was also Voted unanimously, that in the event of the decease of Mrs. Huntington, the Salary and Annuity shall be continued, and paid, for the benefit of her children, for the time before mentioned.

FRANCIS WELCH Clerk pro-tem:

The tenth annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was held in Boston on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September, in the council chamber in the State House. On the afternoon of the 16th, the Rev. Joseph Lyman, D. D., preached the annual sermon at the Old South, from Isaiah lviii. 12.<sup>1</sup> At this meeting it was voted to choose corresponding members of the Board by ballot, to "assist in its deliberations, and by communicating information, and in various other ways, enlighten its course, facilitate its operations, and promote its objects."

On Wednesday, September 29, the annual meeting of the Education Society was held at the Old South, his honor, William Phillips in the chair. After prayer by the Rev. Dr. Holmes, of Cambridge, Professor Woods, of Andover, presented the report for the year, in which it was stated that the Society had under its patronage about two hundred young men fitting for the ministry, and that its receipts had been \$19,000. Addresses were made by the Hon. William Reed, of Marblehead, the Rev. Mr. Tappan, of Augusta, the Rev. Mr. Codman, of Dorchester, and the Rev. Mr. Meade, of Virginia. "The allu-

<sup>1</sup> The collection taken after this sermon amounted to \$154.

sions to the death of the lamented and beloved Huntington were tender and respectful, and melted many even to tears.”<sup>1</sup>

On the same day, September 29, Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston were ordained to the missionary work in the Sandwich Islands, by the North Consociation of Litchfield County, Connecticut. On Friday, October 15, these missionaries and five assistants, with their wives, and three Hawaiian natives, — seventeen persons in all, — were constituted a church of Christ by solemn services held in Park Street Church, Boston. They sailed from this port, October 23, in the brig *Thaddeus*, Captain Blanchard, which cleared at the Custom House for the Sandwich Islands, the Northwest Coast, and Canton.<sup>2</sup>

October 25, 1819. Monday 3½ o Clock P. M. The Brethren of the Church met at the Vestry agreeably to the notification from the pulpit, on the preceding Lord's day. His Honor William Phillips, the Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth, being the senior Deacon, took the chair, as moderator, according to the order of our congregational churches, when without a pastor. The Rev. Mr. Jenks attended, by invitation, and opened the meeting with prayer, after which he retired. It was then, Voted to proceed to the choice of a scribe to continue in office until the settlement of a pastor over us. Brother Charles Cleveland and Brother Samuel T. Armstrong were chosen to collect and count the votes. After the votes were received and counted, the committee declared the choice of Josiah Salisbury, one of the deacons, as scribe.

The subject of admitting members under our present bereaved circumstances being taken into consideration, it was Voted, To choose by ballot, a Committee of Inquiry, whose duty it shall be to receive applications for admission into this Church — to examine into the views and qualifications of the applicants for church membership, and when they see fit, to cause such as they may approve, to be propounded in the usual way. After these persons have stood propounded the customary space of time, the committee shall cause a meeting of the church to be called from the desk, to determine definitively on their admission. The said committee to continue in office until the settlement of a pastor over us.

<sup>1</sup> *Col. Centinel*. A collection was taken, amounting to \$174. Mr. Meade, who was one of the speakers, was the Rev. William Meade, afterward Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal diocese in Virginia. Bishop Griswold was an honorary vice-president of the society.

<sup>2</sup> She was cleared by Messrs. Hall & Thacher; she loaded at May's or Union

Wharf, and sailed from Long Wharf. In the *Daily Advertiser* of October 25 there is a card from Dr. Worcester, thanking the friends of the cause, who, during the thirteen days of preparation here, showed the most ready and affectionate kindness to the missionaries, and an animated and inspiring interest in their Christian enterprise.



After proceeding to ballot for the Committee of Inquiry, it was found that the following persons were chosen, viz. His Honor William Phillips, Josiah Salisbury, Edward Phillips, the three Deacons, Brother Pliny Cutler, Brother Thomas Vose.

October 29th 1819. Friday evening, after the sacramental lecture, the Brethren of the church tarried, after the assembly had been dismissed.

It was stated that the Missionaries the Revd. Messrs. Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons were about sailing from this port to Smyrna in the Levant, having been solemnly ordained to preach the Gospel at Jerusalem and the neighboring parts of Palestine and Asia Minor. This mission being one in which this church, and the church in Park Street, had manifested a peculiar interest, by devoting to its support the contributions at their united *monthly concert of prayer*, it was Voted, that the Deacons present an affectionate invitation, from this church, to the Jerusalem missionaries, and to the Pastor and church in Park Street, to unite with us on the approaching Lord's day, at the table of the Lord, in commemorating the dying love of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Voted, that in order to give our fellow Christians, who are invited, an opportunity of joining us before the communion service commences, there be an interval of a few minutes after the usual morning services.

Memorandum, October 31st 1819. Agreeably to the invitation, the Missionaries, the Pastor and church in Park Street, and the Rev. Dr. Worcester, Secretary of the Board for Foreign Missions, met us at the sacramental table, in our church in Marlboro Street. The Rev. Mr. Codman of Dorchester, being our officiating clergyman on that day, took the lead in the services, assisted by the Rev. Dr. Worcester of Salem, Rev. Mr. Dwight, Rev. Mr. Jenks and the missionaries. It was, we trust, a day of refreshing from the Lord to many believers in both churches. In the evening of this day, a solemn service was performed at our house of worship, amidst a crowded audience. Mr. Fisk preached a farewell missionary sermon, and the two missionaries received the charge of the missionary board of Directors, from the Rev. Dr. Worcester. It was expected, they would embark and sail on the day following.<sup>1</sup>

In another account of the services of this interesting day we read : —

On Lord's day, October 31st. at the return of the communion in the Old South Church, the two missionaries, and the members of Park Street Church, with several clergymen, were present by invita-

<sup>1</sup> [The collection at the close of Mr. Fisk's sermon amounted to \$293.31.]

tion. While surrounding the table of the Lord, the exhortations, the prayers, and the numberless associations, were calculated to increase that zeal and self denial, which are peculiarly necessary to the prosecution of this divine work. In the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Parsons preached in Park Street Church, from Hosea iii. 4. 5. on the Dereliction and Restoration of the Jews; and in the evening Mr. Fisk delivered a farewell discourse from Acts xx. 22. on the Holy Land, as a Field for Missionary Enterprise. On this occasion the Old South Church was excessively crowded, and a highly respectable audience testified their interest in the subject, by the profoundest attention, and a liberal contribution. The Instructions of the Prudential Committee were then delivered in public. . . . On Monday Evening the united monthly concert for prayer was held at Park Street Church. As the collections at this meeting for the preceding twelve months had been made expressly for the Palestine mission, it was peculiarly grateful to join with the first missionaries in prayer and exhortation, just before their departure.<sup>1</sup>

The missionary company sailed for the Levant, by way of Malta, in the ship *Sally Ann*, Captain Edes, on Wednesday, November 3.

On the evening of the same day, at the Old South, the Rev. Professor Murdock, of Andover, preached the annual sermon in behalf of the Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor. Of the work of this society, it was said in the *Columbian Centinel*: "The seamen's meeting on Central Wharf, the meeting every Sabbath at Parkman's market, a Missionary who constantly labors among the poor, and four Sabbath Schools, in which are about six hundred children, are under their superintendence, and dependent on their support. They look into the recess of poverty, and draw from thence the child of want; supply what is necessary for his comfortable and decent appearance, and take him to the Sabbath School and the Sanctuary. There he learns to love virtue, and to shun those vices into which he would otherwise be plunged. He learns to become a useful citizen here, and to be happy hereafter."

Brigadier-General John Winslow, a much respected citizen, and one of the most useful members of the Old South Society, died November 29, in his sixty-seventh year. We do not find his name on the roll of church members, but it appears on the list of baptisms, — September 30, 1753, — and its frequent recurrence in the records of the church and congregation testifies

<sup>1</sup> [*Panoplist*, vol. xvi. p. 553.]

to the active and constant interest which he manifested in their concerns during all his mature years. As a youth, he was instrumental in preserving the sacramental silver during the siege of Boston,<sup>1</sup> and in his manhood he consecrated his business ability and experience to the service of the church. There had been Winslows in the Old South almost from the beginning. John Winslow, father of John, became a member in 1742; Edward, who joined in 1692, was his grandfather; John and Mary (Chilton), who brought letters from the Plymouth Church in 1671, were his ancestors. His father died at about the time of his coming of age, and he had to push his fortunes for himself. At the age of twenty-two he entered the Revolutionary army, as deputy-paymaster-general, with the rank of lieutenant. He joined the army before Quebec under General Montgomery, and was in the battle there. In June, 1777, he received a commission as captain of artillery, and was placed under the command of Major Ebenezer Stevens. He was in the battle which resulted in the capture of General Burgoyne, and was one of those appointed to take account of the stores found in his camp; he also had charge of many prisoners.

When the American army was retreating from Quebec, under General Wooster, and the enemy was close upon them, Captain Winslow saved the public chest, and lost his own baggage, as valuable as that of any officer in the line. He was thus left destitute of clothing, not having sufficient to make a change of linen for many days. He received on the settlement of his accounts as paymaster—the foot of which was \$865,700.81—a certificate from the paymaster-general, wherein his conduct was highly approved; it was said that he was almost the only paymaster who had faithfully accounted for the public moneys. He was at the battle of Ticonderoga; and when the army under General Sinclair retreated from that place, he again saved the books and other public property in his charge, and again lost most of his own effects. He was soon after relieved, and made a second satisfactory settlement of his accounts, the amount of which was \$104,518. He was honorably discharged, November 5, 1778.

When the militia of Boston was organized, John Winslow was elected major, and, soon after, colonel. In 1799 he was chosen brigadier-general of the legionary brigade; in 1809 he was chosen major-general, but declined the position and resigned the

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 190, note.

brigadiership. Twice he was captain of the artillery company, and for several years its treasurer, and also treasurer of the Society of the Cincinnati. He was president of the board of health, and many times a member of the house of representatives. In 1810 he lost his property by an unexpected failure,<sup>1</sup> and his pecuniary embarrassments continued to the end of his life. His integrity and honor, however, were never called in question, and during his last years, he filled the responsible office of county treasurer. The fidelity with which he discharged the duties of this position led his constituents to pronounce him the best treasurer they had ever had.

As a neighbor and friend he was zealous and charitable — frequently employed by the rich to bestow their secret alms upon the virtuous poor. He was not by talent or education a great man, but formed by nature an upright one. The numerous instances of his being guardian, referee etc. prove his integrity. He was prompt, but prudent; rigid, but not austere; independent, yet popular; shrinking from public honors, yet deserving them; fearless in the discharge of public, social and moral duties, yet amiable and beloved by all. The composure with which he met his troubles, and even saw the approach of death, show the sterling value of his heart and mind. He never communicated his troubles, because it might disturb others; but rather suffered them to gnaw upon him in secret, while the world supposed him cheerful. In his family, he was spotless, kind and affectionate; his fireside was the seat of hospitality, his home, the mansion of happiness.<sup>2</sup>

President Kirkland preached the Quarterly Charity Lecture at the Old South, Sunday evening, December 5, taking the place of Mr. now Dr. Channing, who was prevented by the state of his health from performing the duty. On the evening of Christmas Day, the annual meeting of the Peace Society was held there, and an address was given by Mr. John Gallison, a young lawyer of high promise, and an active member of Dr. Channing's

<sup>1</sup> He was in partnership at one time with Deacon Jonathan Mason, who died in 1798. In the Directory for 1816 his name appears as county treasurer, with an office in the Old State House; inspector of nails, 2 South Row.

<sup>2</sup> [See Whitman's *History of the A. and H. Art. Co.*, 2d ed., 1842, pp. 331-333.

In an obituary notice of General Winslow, it is said: "He was a man of extensive but unostentatious benevo-

lence; a cheerful but sincere Christian, and the best of citizens and of men." At his funeral, the Society of the Cincinnati, the artillery company, and a light infantry company called in his honor the Winslow Blues, were present to pay respect to his memory. He was buried in the family tomb in the Chapel burying ground. His daughter Mary Ann, who joined the Old South in 1833, and died in 1882, was buried in the same tomb.]



church, who died after a short illness on the eve of the next Christmas Day.<sup>1</sup>

There was a touching scene at the Old South on Sunday, January 30, 1820, when the late pastor's widow presented her infant son for baptism, the Rev. Daniel Huntington, of Bridgewater, officiating. Writing to a sister-in-law, in anticipation of the service, Mrs. Huntington said :—

Next Sabbath I expect to carry my little Joshua to the sanctuary, and devote him to that God whose gift he is. May the offering be accepted! May the first lispsings of his infant tongue, be the expressions of holy and grateful affections to his Maker and Redeemer. I expect our dear brother Daniel to administer the ordinance, and Deacon Phillips has kindly offered to stand up with me, and present the child. I sometimes fear it will be more than I can bear. But I feel it to be a duty to have him baptized in public; and his dear father always objected to private baptisms, except on extraordinary occasions.<sup>2</sup>

An honored member of the church died, February 23, in her eighty-seventh year — Mary, widow of Deacon Jonathan Mason, a granddaughter of the Rev. Mr. Pemberton, and a great-granddaughter of James and Sarah Pemberton, founders. She became a member in 1755, three years before the death of Mr. Prince; and during her long life, she faithfully loved and devotedly served the church for which her ancestress, Sarah Pemberton, suffered and wept.<sup>3</sup> She is described to us as "the disinterested friend, the judicious adviser, the affectionate counsellor, the mild but faithful reprover, the humble, self-denying, fervent, active, cheerful Christian." "For more than seventy years she hath not only professed but adorned the gospel — and till within three months has continued to tread with delight, and almost without interruption, the courts of the sanctuary."

On the 23d of February the Rev. Warren Fay was installed pastor of the First Church, Charlestown, as the successor of Dr. Morse. Professor Woods preached the sermon, and Dr. Holmes, Mr. Greenough, Professor Stuart, and Mr. Codman, took part in the services.

<sup>1</sup> John Gallison, Harvard College, 1807, studied law under Joseph Story. He died December 24, 1820. His mother was Katharine, daughter of Deacon Samuel Sewall; she was baptized at the South Church, June 8, 1760.

<sup>2</sup> [*Memoir*, pp. 218, 219. This dear

child, "who never looked into his father's face" here, was soon called (August 25, 1821) to join him in the heavenly home. A few days later, one of his sisters died.]

<sup>3</sup> She was suspended by the First Church, May 15, 1671. See Felt's *History*, vol. ii. p. 443.

The attention of the church was called at this time to a brilliant young Presbyterian clergyman, the Rev. Matthias Bruen, who graduated at Columbia College in 1825, studied theology under the Rev. Dr. J. M. Mason, and went abroad with that divine in 1816. He spent several years in Europe, and for six months preached in the American Chapel of the Oratory, in Paris. The following letter to Mr. Charles Cleveland was written by the Rev. Philip Melancthon Whelpley, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, New York, and himself a young preacher of high reputation :<sup>1</sup> —

NEW YORK, Feby. 28, 1820.

*My dear Sir :*

For some time previous to the reception of your favor, 22 inst. it had been matter of conversation, and I may say of opinion, in my family, that Mr. Bruen would be the most suitable successor of Mr. Huntington that could be named among us. I was therefore agreeably surprised by your communication, and am happy to give you the information you desire, while at the same time I express my opinion.

The advantages of education he has enjoyed, both at home and in Europe, have been superior, and he has made no slight improvement of them. With much of the ease and polish of a gentleman, I believe him to possess a large share of the humility and benevolence of the Christian. His compositions manifest a cultivation of taste and sentiment, rare among us, — are not deficient in judgment, and abound in what *we call* the solidities of gospel truth. His sentiments are highly orthodox, and I esteem him to possess, in an eminent degree, that collectedness and cautiousness of spirit, united with firmness, which so distinguished our lamented Brother Huntington, and which will enable him to stand in the midst of enemies with dignity and without danger. His manner in the pulpit is unimpassioned, his voice good, and his whole appearance simple and solemn. In short, Dear Sir, to express my opinion in one word, I think him vastly better calculated for Boston people generally, and particularly for the Old Church, than any one I know, *and earnestly do I wish you may obtain him.*

Report names him as the probable successor of Dr. Ingliss, in the First Church at Baltimore. But I am assured by himself that he is perfectly free to listen to any propositions from any quarter. He is now contemplating a short journey eastward ; how far he will go, I know not. I make no doubt, however, that, if duly requested, he would have no objection to spend a week or two in Boston, and supply

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Whelpley succeeded Dr. Miller, Davenport, of Stamford, Conn. The original of the letter copied above is in the possession of Professor Salisbury, of New Haven.

your vacant pulpit; if authorized by you, I should be very happy to give him an intimation of the kind. As I esteem him one of those young men concerning whom it is sometimes said, they can *command* any situation, and as you know the interest that, on various accounts I feel in the cause of religion in Boston, I am disposed to be urgent on this subject. Could you through me, or otherwise, invite him to supply your pulpit one or more sabbaths in the coming month? I should rejoice to be the bearer of such an invitation for my Brethren's sake in Boston, and because I think the probability strong, that, when you hear him, you will say with one voice, "Arise, anoint him, *this is he.*"

Mr. B. is not anxious for immediate settlement, but the opportunity may soon pass. May I hear from you soon? Love to the Brethren. That grace, mercy and peace may be multiplied to them is the fervent prayer of  
Yours in Christ

PHIL: MEL: WHELPLEY.

CHARLES CLEVELAND Esq.  
Boston (Mass.)

We have no record of Mr. Bruen's visit to Boston. He went to Europe again in 1821, and, on his return, organized and was settled over the Bleeker Street Church in New York. He died in 1829, in his thirty-seventh year. Dr. Samuel Hanson Cox wrote of him: "Few of his contemporaries could enter the sacred desk with more theological wealth, discrimination of truth, general reading, or sincere desire to be useful." But with all his gifts, it is said that he failed to impress himself upon audiences as many men of less ability were able to do.

March 17th. 1820. Friday evening.

The Church tarried, after the assembly at the sacramental lecture was dismissed, by notice given from the pulpit.

On motion, it was Voted, To observe Friday next, March 24th, as a day of Fast, Humiliation and Prayer, in reference to the particular circumstances of this society.

Voted, To request the Rev. D. Huntington of Bridgewater to attend and to preach to us on that day.

Voted, That besides the usual exercises in the meeting house on that day, the vestry be opened at suitable hours for the accommodation of those who may choose to attend, and there to unite in social prayer.

Boston, April 6th. 1820.

At a meeting of the Brethren of the Old South Church and Congregation (Pew holders) held this day in compliance with a notification from the Desk, It was

Voted, That David W. Child be clerk, vice General John Winslow deceased.

Voted, That the Hon William Phillips be Moderator.

The Standing Committee for the past year, to superintend the Temporal concerns of the Society, made their Report, as follows, —

They have expended \$350. for the support of the singing ; they have also expended \$856.10 for repairs on the Meeting House, Stores and Parsonage houses ; also \$666.49 incurred by the Sickness and Death of our late beloved Pastor, and which was paid, in compliance with a wish of the Church, to defray all the expenses thereof ; also \$59.80 for printing 500 copies of the Rev. Mr. Dwight's Sermon, delivered on the day of his funeral ; and also \$25. paid as a reward for the recovery of the effects of Mrs. Huntington, which were stolen from her House. The Committee presented the eight yards of Broad Cloth, which clad our Pulpit in mourning, on the late afflicting Dispensation of Providence, in equal parts to the Revd. Mr. Dwight and to the Revd. Mr. Daniel Huntington, and twelve yards of the black Flannel that surrounded the Gallery on the same mournful occasion, to the Widow of our late Sexton, and the remaining forty-six yards to the Female Auxiliary Society, for the moral and religious instruction of the poor of Boston. Your Committee have let all the Gallery Pews on the same terms as heretofore, and the easterly Parsonage House for one year for \$750. The stores are yet occupied on leases which do not expire untill October 1821, and the Committee have the satisfaction of being able to say that the Rents have heretofore been punctually paid.

All which is respectfully submitted.

FRANCIS WELCH pr. Order.

Voted, That the foregoing Report be accepted, and that the Committee have thanks, of the Society, for their past able and faithful services.

Voted, That we now proceed to the Choice of a Standing Committee for the year insuing, and that said Committee consist of nine.

Voted, That Messrs A. P. Cleveland, and Bela Hunting be a committee to collect sort and count the Votes, who Reported that William Phillips, William Homes, Samuel Coverly, David W. Child, Edward Phillips, Benjamin French, Abraham Wild, Francis Welch and Samuel Davis had a majority of the Votes and were chosen.

Voted, That the Clerk be requested to prepare a list of the Pew holders.

Voted, That Messrs Welch, Child, Cutler, Salisbury and A. P. Cleveland, be a Committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts.

Voted, That the Standing Committee be the Committee to take into consideration the expediency of procuring an Organ for the use of this Society, and report at our next meeting.

Voted, That the Deacons, with Messrs. Welch and Davis, be a Committee for supplying the Desk with a minister.



The thanks of the Society were Voted to Messrs Cutler and Cleveland for their past services.

Voted, That this meeting be dissolved, and it was dissolved accordingly.

Attest      DAVID W. CHILD Clk.

Mrs. Huntington wrote, April 23, 1820: "There was a very sudden death, by typhus fever, last week, — a young man, one of our church, a member of Cambridge College, and a frequent visitor here. What a world is this! When this youth came to condole with me, after the departure of his minister, how little I thought that he would follow him so soon!" This young man was Henry Maurice Lisle Whitman, a son of Benjamin and Hannah (Gardner) Whitman. He joined the church in 1816, and was a member of the Sophomore class in Harvard College (the class of 1822) when he died.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Benjamin Whitman was a practising attorney, a member of the legislature, and, after Boston became a municipality, chief justice of the police court.<sup>2</sup>

The pew proprietors met on the 1st of May, when the committee on accounts made their report, and Mr. Phillips was re-elected treasurer. The standing committee asked for further time, for the consideration of the question of buying an organ.

On Tuesday evening, May 20, the Rev. Brown Emerson, of Salem, preached before the Massachusetts Missionary Society. On the following day, in the forenoon, the Rev. William Jenks preached the Election Sermon; and, in the evening, there was a meeting of the New England Tract Society, at which Dr. Woods, Mr. Daniel Huntington, Mr. Jenks, Mr. Storrs, and Mr. Jeremiah Evarts were the speakers. All these services were held at the Old South.

Monday, Septem. 18th 1820.

At a Meeting of the Old South Church and Congregation (being Proprietors) agreeable to notification from the Desk yesterday by the Revd Professor Newman, — the Hon William Phillips was chosen Moderator.

The Standing Committee to whom was referred the expediency of procuring an Organ for the use of the Society at our last annual Meeting, Reported as follows —

That as an Organ appears to be wished for by many of the Society, the Committee would recommend to the Pew holders to cause one to

<sup>1</sup> For an obituary by one of his classmates, see *Col. Centinel*, May 3, 1820.      South Bridgewater in 1768, and graduated at Brown University in 1788. He died in 1840.

<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Whitman was born at

be procured and placed in the Meeting House forthwith, and in order to carry this object into effect, they would recommend that a Committee of three should be chosen to provide the same, with full power to have it built of the size, form and price as they in their discretion shall think proper and most suitable for our House of Worship, and that the said Committee or the major part of them should be authorized to draw on the Treasurer for the cost thereof, and for the expences in putting up the same ; all which is respectfully submitted.

F. WELCH pr. order.

Voted, That the foregoing report of the Standing Committee be accepted, with the amendment that the Committee to be chosen shall consist of five, instead of three, and the following Gentlemen were chosen i. e. Hon. William Phillips, F. Welch, D. W. Child, Josiah Salisbury and Benjamin Whitman.

Voted, That the Clerk notify Mrs. Huntington (Widow of our late beloved Pastor) that it is the wish of the Society, if agreeable to her, that she continue to occupy the Parsonage House where she now resides, until notified by the Standing Committee that the said House is wanted by the Society.

Voted, That the Standing Committee be authorized to subscribe for sixty copies of the first volume of the Handel and Haydn Collection of Sacred Musick, for the use of the Society, and the Treasurer is requested to pay the amount of said subscription.

Voted, That this Meeting be dissolved, and it is dissolved accordingly.

D. W. CHILD Clk.

Tuesday, Sept. 19th. A copy of the above Vote respecting the Parsonage House was sent Mrs. Huntington by the Clerk, and the following reply received on the 20th, which was recorded in compliance with a wish of the Standing Committee, viz.

Wednesday Morning

Mr. DAVID W. CHILD

*Dear Sir*

A copy of the vote taken by the Old South Society relative to my continuance in the Parsonage house, I received through you yesterday. As it would be stupidity in me not to *feel*, so it would seem ingratitude in me not to *acknowledge* my obligations to the Society for this renewed act of kindness. The prospect of remaining a short time longer in a habitation which has been rendered dear to me above every spot on Earth, by so many strong and endearing associations, cannot but be pleasant. I receive this favour with gratitude, not merely as it is an important personal benefit and convenience, nor yet as a testimony of affection for *me*, but as it indicates on the part of this dear People, a continued remembrance of *him* whose memory will always be so dear to me, and whose sudden removal, at the same moment that it sun-

dered me from one of the best of Husbands, dissolved also my peculiar relation to that flock over whom the Holy Ghost made him an overseer.

May the best of Heaven's Blessings rest upon that beloved People, my connection with whom I shall always regard as one of the happiest circumstances of my life. May they be richly rewarded for all their kindness to me and mine, with better than *earthly* prosperity, and may we one day meet in that world where the relations of this shall be once more recognized, so far as they have affected our Christian characters, and where the changes and trials of *this*, shall be remembered only with gratitude, as so many instruments of facilitating our progress toward Heaven, hopes and prays, their grateful and most sincere friend

S. HUNTINGTON.

The officers of the church had been in correspondence with some of the professors in Princeton Theological Seminary, in reference to Mr. Wisner, a young man who was just completing his studies there. As soon as practicable after graduation he accepted an invitation to visit Boston and to supply the Old South pulpit. His first sermons here were preached on Sunday, October 8, and made a very favorable impression, especially the discourse in the morning, which was from the text, "Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth; for I am God, and there is none else."

Benjamin Blydenburg Wisner was born in Goshen, Orange County, New York, September 29, 1794. His father removed to Geneva, Ontario County, when this son was three years old; he was an active member of the Presbyterian Church, a lawyer by profession, and, for several years, district attorney for the western part of the State of New York. The son entered the Sophomore class in Union College, Schenectady, in 1810, and graduated in 1813. He took charge of the academy at Johnstown for a year, and was about to commence the study of the law, when he was offered a tutorship in Union College; this he accepted and held for four years. In 1816 he became a member of the Presbyterian Church in Schenectady, and soon after entered upon the study of theology. In 1818 he went to Princeton, and in June, 1820, he was licensed to preach. Dr. Sprague made his acquaintance in the seminary, and afterward wrote of him: "I was impressed from the beginning, as I believe all who knew him at Princeton were, with his substantial and enduring qualities, particularly his sound judgment, his severe intellectual discipline, his thoroughness in everything that he un-

dertook, his unvarying cheerfulness and good nature, and his deep interest in the work to which he had devoted himself. . . . His preaching was eminently sober and instructive ; his style was rigidly correct, without any attempt at ornament ; and his delivery was somewhat that of a lawyer engaged for a client." Dr. Wayland, a college classmate at Schenectady, said that Mr. Wisner was one of the two best scholars in his class ; a sound and accurate linguist, a correct and forcible writer, but most distinguished as a mathematician. He had a strong and disciplined memory, superior command of language, a clear voice, and a distinct utterance. " He was certainly," added Dr. Wayland, " one of the best extempore speakers of his age I have ever known. As he grew up, and especially after he was settled in the ministry, I think he did not improve as a speaker, but the contrary. The reason I supposed to be that the delivery of written discourses was less suited to the habits of his mind than the speaking in debate ; and that being obliged to preach in a house of worship too large for the powers of his voice, the simple effort to be heard destroyed many of those more delicate intonations on which effectiveness of public speaking so much depends." <sup>1</sup>

Nov. 5. 1820. The Brethren of the Church were requested by the Deacons to stay after the usual services of the day. The Senior Deacon, His Honor William Phillips, being the presiding officer of the Church stated — that the time for which the Rev'd Benjamin B. Wisner had been requested to preach on probation by the Committee of the Church and Congregation having elapsed, it was desirable that the Brethren should express their minds in regard to the expediency of choosing him for their Pastor. After some of the Brethren had expressed their approbation of the Reverend candidate, it was

Voted unanimously, That it is proper and expedient to assign a time for a meeting of the Brethren of this Church, for the special purpose of considering whether they will now proceed to give a call to the Rev'd Benjamin B. Wisner to settle with them as their Pastor.

2ndly. Voted, That Tuesday next being November 7th at 3 o'clock

<sup>1</sup> [When Mr. Wisner came to the Old South, the people, who were not accustomed to extempore discourses, were very desirous that he should change his method of preaching ; and to please them, but strongly against his own preferences, as we have been told, he brought written sermons into the pulpit after his settlement. He yielded his preferences

in two other particulars : he consented to the purchase of an organ, and he accepted a preaching gown. We have before us the letter which he wrote on the day after his ordination, in acknowledgment of the gift of a gown from the ladies of the congregation, addressed to Mrs. Margaret C. Welch and Miss Elizabeth Dorr.]



P. M. be the time assigned, and that the meeting be held in the vestry.

3dly. Voted, That notification of the said meeting be given to all the Brethren, individually.

After which, Adjourned to said time and place.

J. SALISBURY Scribe.

Tuesday, Nov. 7. 1820. At a meeting of the Old South Church, in the Vestry, by adjournment from the 5th instant;—notifications of the meeting having been issued to all the brethren, agreeably to the order of said church.

Present: His Honor, William Phillips, Senior Deacon, Deacons Edward Phillips and Josiah Salisbury, Brothers William Homes, Benjamin Whitman, Samuel Coverly, David W. Child, Pliny Cutler, Thomas Lamson, Jeremiah Bumstead, Thomas Barry, Samuel Brewer, Joseph Burge, Elisha Hunt, Joseph Callender, John Gulliver, Isaac Murdock, John Hopkins, Charles Cleveland, Benjamin Morrill, Thomas Vose, Anthony Martis, Jonathan French, Abner Phelps, Timothy Nash, Isaac Adams, S. H. Walley, Nathaniel Pettee, James Clap, John Homes, Paul Whitney, John Stimpson and Elisha Field,  
— 33.

His Honor William Phillips was chosen Moderator, and J. Salisbury Scribe.

The Rev'd Mr. Jenks having been requested to attend, then offered prayers for the divine direction, after which he was invited to take a seat with the moderator, as a spectator and witness of the transactions of the church.

The moderator then addressed the Brethren, stating the purpose for which the meeting had been adjourned, to this time, agreeably to their vote on the 6th [5th] inst. "to consider whether they will now proceed to give a call to the Rev'd Benjamin B. Wisner to be their pastor." As this gentleman had been preaching some time on probation, he invited them to express their minds with frankness on the said subject.

A considerable number of the Brethren expressed their opinions, and those of their families and acquaintances of the congregation, which were very favourable to the character and ministerial gifts and qualifications of Mr. Wisner, and these opinions appeared to accord with the sentiments of the whole meeting.

It was, likewise, testified, that the minds of the female members of the church and congregation accorded with the sentiments now expressed. Great harmony of opinions was apparent, and where a slight diversity appeared in the minds of two of the brethren, it was evinced that they were influenced by a generous spirit of peace and christian fellowship.

The Deacons and others stated verbally the substance of the recommendations they had received from the Rev'd Drs. Miller and Alexander, Professors at the Theological Institution at Princeton ; and from other persons of great respectability, who united in unqualified approbation of the candidate.

The Reverend and truly excellent Mr. Jenks being called upon, favored the church with his opinion, which was in agreement with all the foregoing, — and added a few words on the importance of coming to an early decision in cases of this sort.

After these discussions, it was moved by Brother Benjamin Whitman Esq. that the following Vote with the Preamble preceding it be adopted, as the result of the deliberations of this meeting, viz.

At a meeting of the Old South Church at their vestry, on the 7th day of November A. D. 1819, it appearing that all the Brethren of said church had been notified of this meeting, according to usage and the direction of said church, . . . after which a full and free conversation was had among the brethren respecting the situation of this church, their great desire to have placed over them in the Lord, a pious, devout, able and orthodox Pastor, to supply the place on earth, of their late dearly beloved, and never-to-be-forgotten Pastor, the late Rev'd Joshua Huntington, whom God in his righteous judgment has seen proper to remove from us by death —

Whereupon, many of the Brethren, speaking highly of the character and publick performances of the Revd. Benjamin B. Wisner, who has lately for several Sabbaths preached to this Church and Congregation, on probation, and expressing their belief in his piety, soundness of principles, ability and usefulness, as a minister of the Gospel of our Divine Redeemer,

Therefore, it is Voted,

That this church do elect the said Revd. Benjamin B. Wisner as their Pastor, and desire that he may be ordained over them and the Congregation with which they are connected, as their Pastor and minister, sincerely praying that the great Head of the church may graciously give us his blessing, that the connexion between us of this church, and the Congregation, and the Revd. Mr. Wisner as our Pastor and Minister, may by the mercy and blessing of God, be sanctified to us all, for our spiritual and everlasting good. And this Church request, that the congregation associated with this church in divine worship would concur in this vote of the church, — for which purpose the Deacons of this church are requested to apply to the Standing Committee of the church and Congregation, and request them to call a meeting of the church and congregation, to take this subject into their serious consideration, and join this church in the Christian ordination and settlement of the said Revd Mr. Wisner as their Pastor and minister, and that they furnish said Standing Committee

with an attested copy of the proceedings of this church, at this meeting, to be by said Standing Committee laid before said church and congregation at their said parish meeting.

The Preamble to the foregoing Vote was then adopted unanimously.

It was voted to take the question on the principal motion, made by Brother Whitman by Yeas and Nays.

After calling the names of the Brethren present, it appeared that the following had voted, Yeas . . ., 30. Nays, there were none. Three brethren present [Jeremiah Bumstead, Samuel Brewer, Joseph Callender] declined voting.

Voted, that the committee present to Mr. Wisner, a copy of the preceding Vote.

Voted, that Brothers Homes and Whitman be added to the committee appointed by the foregoing vote.

Voted, that the committee request Mr. Wisner to tarry and preach with us, until after the proceedings of this meeting shall have been laid before the church and congregation for their concurrence.

The Revd Mr. Jenks having again prayed for the divine blessing,  
The meeting was dissolved.

A true Record

JOSIAH SALISBURY, Scribe.

At a meeting of the Old South Church and Congregation at their Vestry this 13th day of November, A. D. 1820, it appearing that this Parish meeting of the Old South Church and Congregation had been warned agreeable to usage,

The following Persons being Pew holders and members of the said Church and Congregation constituting this Parish were present, viz. 49, as follows —

Hon. William Phillips, Brothers Jonathan French, James Murphy, Jeremiah Belknap, David W. Child, Samuel H. Walley, Benjamin French, James Means, Thomas Barry, Thomas Dean, Elisha Hunt, Joseph Baker, Jeremiah Bumstead, William H. Lane, George Todd, John Houston, Aaron P. Cleveland, Joseph Mitchell, Andrew G. Winslow, James Clap, Benjamin J. Gurney, Isaac P. Simpson, David Homer, Tobias Lord, Joseph S. Hastings, John S. Lillie, Joseph Callender, Joseph Burge, Thomas Allen, John Andrews, Bela Hunting, Wells Coverly, George Lane, Samuel Coverly, Abraham Wild, James Clark, James Pickins, Samuel Davis, Thomas Vose, Abraham Foster, Benjamin V. French, Benjamin Whitman, Deacon Edward Phillips, William Homes, Francis Welch, Deacon Josiah Salisbury, John Winslow, Charles J. Adams, and Thomas Tilden.

On motion, His Honor, William Phillips Esq'r was chosen moderator.

The Rev'd William Jenks offered up a Prayer for a Divine Blessing.

The Standing Parish Committee of the Old South Church and Congregation then laid before this meeting the proceedings of the Church

connected with this society of the 7th inst. relative to their election of Mr. Benjamin B. Wisner as their Pastor, and their desire that this Church and Congregation being Pew holders constituting this Parish would concur with said Church in their said election, and cause to be settled over this Church and Congregation as their Pastor and minister the said Benjamin B. Wisner ; whereupon the proceedings of the Church being read,

A motion was read and laid on the Table by Brother Joseph Baker, that the further consideration of the proceedings of the Church which have now been read, be postponed untill the society have further opportunity to hear Mr. Wisner, and the Committee for supplying the Pulpit are requested to give him an invitation for that purpose.

This motion was advocated and opposed in the most friendly and Christian like manner, and when the question was taken, it was by yeas and nays ; and passed in the negative, viz. yeas 17, nays 32, so the motion was lost.

Whereupon Brother Francis Welch submitted for the consideration of said Parish, the following Vote, viz.

Voted, That this Church and Congregation constituting said Parish do elect the said Mr. Benjamin B. Wisner as their Pastor and minister, and will join the Church in the ordination of the said Mr. Wisner over this Church and Congregation as their Pastor and minister, on condition that all the customs and usages of the Old South Church and Congregation as it respects the administration of the holy ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's supper, Church discipline, and the religious and ecclesiastical rights and privileges of the Church in full communion, and all other members of the Congregation, be held sacred and secured to them in the same manner and extent as they have been enjoyed and held while the late Dr. Eckley and the Revd Mr. Huntington were the Pastors and Ministers of this Church and Congregation.

The foregoing Vote passed in the affirmative, yeas 36 noes 10.

Also, Voted unanimously, That should the said Mr. Benjamin B. Wisner agree to settle with us as our Pastor and minister, upon the conditions aforesaid, in that case, we the Old South Church and Congregation, constituting this Parish, agree to allow and pay to said Mr. Benjamin B. Wisner, for and during the time he shall continue to be and remain our Pastor and Minister, and the relation between us, as a society or Parish, and the said Mr. Wisner as our Pastor and Minister continues, the sum of thirteen hundred dollars, yearly, as his salary, or compensation for his services in the Gospel ministry among us, to be paid him by the Deacons, in the usual manner, and in addition thereto, we agree to allow and provide for him a dwelling House and his fire Wood, when he shall think proper to be married or commence Housekeeping, the above being the same compensation or salary that



this society allowed their late beloved Pastor and minister, the Revd. Joshua Huntington, and the conditions of settlement being also the same.

Voted, unanimously, That the Deacons with the Standing Committee of this Church and Congregation be a Committee to communicate to Mr. Benjamin B. Wisner an attested copy of the proceedings of this meeting, and request him to return his answer, as soon as is convenient, to this Church and Congregation, whether he will accede to and accept the terms and conditions aforesaid, and settle amongst us, and be ordained over us, as our Pastor and minister.

Attest. DAVID W. CHILD Clk.

BOSTON, Nov. 16 1820

TO MR. BENJAMIN B. WISNER,  
Geneva, State of New York,  
*Dear Sir*

It affords us great pleasure to address you on this occasion, by command of the Old South Church and Congregation, for the purpose of communicating to you the Votes passed at their meeting on the 13th inst, a copy of the Votes referred to, we have herein enclosed.

The proceedings of the Church in their separate character, have already been laid before you, by a Committee from that body.

By these documents, you will perceive that the said Church and Congregation have chosen you for their Pastor and Minister, and in presenting them for your consideration, thro' our hands, they do call you to come to them in this interesting, important and solemn relation.

We trust the great head of the Church has directed *us* in *our choice*. May the same omniscient being direct *your answer*. May you be to us a *man* and a *Pastor after God's own Heart*, and may this People be to you a *Crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord*.

We are with great respect and regard, and with much sincerity, your friends

WILLIAM PHILLIPS  
JOSIAH SALISBURY  
EDWARD PHILLIPS  
WILLIAM HOMES

SAMUEL COVERLY  
DAVID W. CHILD  
SAMUEL DAVIS  
FRANCIS WELCH

Committee.<sup>1</sup>

A careful reading of the proceedings relating to this call shows that almost every important step in connection with it was taken by the church and congregation as distinct from the church, and this, we think, deserves attention. On the 7th of

<sup>1</sup> [Two members of the standing committee, Benjamin French and Abraham Wild, did not sign this letter; whether or not this absence of their names is an indication that they did not concur in the call, we do not know.]

November, the church took the initiative, and passed a vote electing Mr. Wisner, and directing that its action be reported to the standing committee to be laid before the church and congregation. It requested the committee on supply to present a copy of this vote to Mr. Wisner; and it did nothing further until after the call had been formally accepted. On the 13th of November the church and congregation, "being pew holders," passed a vote, also electing Mr. Wisner, but providing, in terms, for the maintenance of all their religious and ecclesiastical rights and privileges, as a Congregational parish, including, of course, baptism under the half-way covenant. They then appointed a committee of their own number to extend the call; and to this committee, which presented the call, as above, Mr. Wisner addressed his letter of acceptance. It was not a joint committee; it was not constituted by the separate action of two coördinate bodies, — the church, and the church and congregation, — but by the latter, acting as pew-holders, and as a parish.

In the controversies which were agitating the Congregational body at this time, a dividing line, in several instances, had been drawn between the church membership on the one hand and the parish on the other. A majority of the church had been on one side, and a majority of the parishioners, not church members, on the other. This conflict of interest and of action was the almost inevitable result of the old colonial legislation which limited the franchise to church members, and which compelled the towns to provide for the support of public worship. At Dedham, the Rev. Alvan Lamson was settled October 29, 1818, as the successor of the Rev. Joshua Bates, by a minority of the church and a majority of the parish. The majority of the church protested and withdrew; and only a few days before Mr. Wisner was called to the Old South, the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth had been appealed to by both parties, to decide which of the two was rightfully and historically the First Church of Dedham. In settling a minister at this critical period, the brethren of the Old South seem to have been determined that no such separating line as was dividing other societies should divide them, if by any possibility they could prevent it, and, therefore, in every stage of the proceedings, the church members and pew proprietors acted together, not coördinately as two bodies, but as an unit.<sup>1</sup> Thus, if schism must come in the denomina-

<sup>1</sup> Of course, there was an important difference between the churches in Boston and those in the country towns, in that the former were not related to

tion, they hoped, at least, to be able to maintain peace among themselves. They had not been absolutely unanimous in their call to Mr. Wisner; but there had been no factious opposition to him, and no disposition to thwart the preferences of the majority had manifested itself.

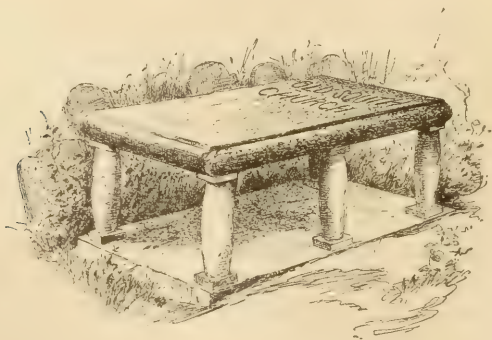
The decision of the court in the Dedham case must have been a surprise to both parties. It was as follows: "When the majority of the members of a Congregational church separate from the majority of the parish, the members who remain, although a minority, constitute the church in such parish and retain the rights and property belonging thereto." Whatever may be thought now of the justness of this decision, it is easy to see that in its application to the conditions existing in Dedham and other places it must have worked great hardship, and that it could not but intensify the feeling on both sides, in the opposing parties into which the Congregationalists of the State were ranging themselves.<sup>1</sup>

geographical parishes, and supported their ministers not by means of a town tax, but by a tax levied by the pew proprietors upon themselves.

<sup>1</sup> The following sentences in the decision have a bearing upon the case of the Old South Church when it removed to the Back Bay:—

"If a donation were made to the Old South Church, Park Street Church, Brattle Street Church or any other that might be thus designated by local quali-

ties, it must be supposed that the donor had in view the society of Christians worshipping in those places, and as his donation is intended to be perpetual, that he had regard to the welfare of successive generations who might become worshipping Christians and church members in the same place. If the whole society should find occasion to remove to some other place in the same town, the identity might be preserved and the bounty enjoyed as he intended it."





## CHAPTER IX.

1821-1836.

### THE SPIRIT OF PARTY — CHURCH-EXTENSION.

**M**R. WISNER'S letter of acceptance of the Old South call was read by the Rev. Mr. Jenks, after service, Sabbath afternoon, January 14, 1821:—

JOHNSTOWN N. Y. Decem. 30th 1820

To the Deacons of the Old South Church, and the Standing Committee of the Old South Church and Congregation, appointed by a Vote of said Church and Congregation, at their Parish Meeting, held at their Vestry on the 13th of November last, a Committee to confer with me on the subject of my accepting the invitation of said Society to become their Pastor and Minister,

*Gentlemen*

If I have been correctly informed, my answer to the above mentioned invitation is to be addressed through you to the Church and



Congregation. I will therefore thank you to communicate to them, the following answer to their invitation.

I am Gentlemen,

With the greatest respect and esteem,

Your obedient and humble servant,

B. B. WISNER.

To the Old South Church and Congregation, of Boston in the State of Massachusetts,

*Dearly beloved Brethren,*

Your call to me to assume the important and responsible station of Pastor and Minister of your Society, voted at your meeting on the 13th of November last, together with an attested copy of the minutes of said meeting, signed by the Parish Clerk, and also an attested copy of the minutes of the meeting of the Church, on the 7th of November last, signed by the Clerk of said meeting were duly received.

The receipt of these several documents was acknowledged, soon after they came to hand.

After much careful consideration of the subject, myself ; after consulting with several judicious and pious friends ; and as I trust humbly and frequently imploring Divine direction, I have concluded that it is my duty to accede to, and accept, and I do hereby accede to and accept, the terms and conditions, specified in your Vote on the said 13th of November last, whereby you did elect me your Pastor and Minister, and in your subsequent Vote passed at the same meeting respecting my salary. I do hereby consent to settle among you, and to be ordained as your Pastor and Minister, in the manner usually practised in your Church.

The Presbytery of Albany, under whose care I am, will meet the second week in January. This meeting it will be necessary for me to attend, to obtain from them my dismissal and recommendation. It will not, therefore, be in my power to be in Boston, till some time during the third week in January. You may expect me by the third Sabbath in that month. If anything occurs to prevent my arriving in Boston by that time, timely notice shall be given to the Committee, that the Pulpit may be supplied.

And now, my beloved Brethren, permit me to add that I feel — deeply feel that the work in which I am about to engage, is a most arduous and responsible one, that I am altogether insufficient for it, and that the *grace of God alone* can enable me to discharge in any degree aright, the important duties that will devolve upon me. It appears to me, and to those whom I have consulted, that the great Head of the Church calls me to this station ; I do therefore trust that he will strengthen and support me in it. But it is in answer to *prayer* that such a blessing is to be expected. Allow me therefore earnestly

to request that you will remember me continually before our Prayer hearing God, and intreat him to give me that *wisdom, prudence* and *piety* which I so much need :—that I may be led by the Spirit into all truth ; that I may be *rooted* and *grounded* in the love of the truth of Christ and of the souls of men ; that I may come to you in the fullness of the blessings of the Gospel of peace ; that we may be mutual helpers in promoting the glory of our Divine Redeemer, and that we may so live together while it shall please God that the interesting relation of Pastor and People shall subsist between us, that we may both have cause to praise him throughout eternity, that in his righteous Providence that relation was constituted.

And now my beloved Brethren, may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all for evermore.

I am

With much esteem and affection,

Yours in the best of bonds,

BENJAMIN B. WISNER.

In the course of arrangements for the supply of the pulpit until Mr. Wisner's ordination,<sup>1</sup> Deacon Salisbury received the following letter from Professor Woods :—

ANDOVER, Feb. 9. 1821.

*My beloved Sir*

Having been unable to comply with your wishes in regard to Mr. Hoadley and Mr. Goodale, I have requested Mr. Hemmenway to seek an exchange with Mr. Green of Reading, and, if he does not succeed there, with Mr. Emerson, or Mr. Rockwood ; that your pulpit may be supplied in that way. It is very gratifying to me that you are disposed to treat Dr. Osgood so respectfully and so kindly.

I give you this notice, that you may feel no anxiety as to the supply of your pulpit.

With respects to your good wife,

I am Dear Sir

Your sincere friend and servant,

L. WOODS.<sup>2</sup>

JOSIAH SALISBURY Esq.

Mr. Daniel Hemmenway was a member of the Andover class of 1819 ; he was settled over the church in Wareham, August

<sup>1</sup> On Sabbath afternoon, January 7, 1821, the Rev. William Ward, an associate of Cary and Marshman in the Baptist mission at Serampore, preached to the congregation at the Old South in behalf of the college at that station. During his visit to the United States, he

preached and took collections in the Baptist, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches. He collected in all nearly \$10,000, of which one third came from Massachusetts.

<sup>2</sup> [We have been favored with a copy of this letter by Professor Salisbury.]

29, 1821. Loammi Ives Hoadly and William Goodell were of the class of 1820. The former was settled over a church in Worcester, in 1823; the latter became a foreign missionary, and labored in Turkey with great fidelity and success for more than forty years.

Dr. Osgood, of Medford, was one of those moderate men who did what they could to soften the asperities of party at this time, and to keep the peace among Christian brethren. He was evidently appreciated at the Old South, was invited to its pulpit, and sat on the council for the ordination of Mr. Wisner.<sup>1</sup>

Monday, January 29th 1821.

The Brethren of the church met at the vestry according to notification given in the usual way.

His Honor William Phillips, Senior Deacon, was chosen Moderator; and Deacon J. Salisbury Scribe.

Prayer in behalf of the meeting was made by Mr. Wisner.

Mr. Wisner having declared his assent, in general, to the confession of faith and the Platform of church government agreed upon by the venerable assembly of Elders and Messengers at their several sessions in Cambridge A. D. 1648, and in Boston A. D. 1680;—and having also exhibited his dismissal and recommendation from the Presbytery of Albany (State of New York) assembled at Amsterdam, January 10 1821, signed by Arthur J. Stanbury, *Stated Clerk*;—It was Voted, That Mr. Wisner be admitted a member of this church. It was then Voted, that, *Deo volente*, Wednesday the 21st Day of February next ensuing, be the day for the ordination of Mr. Wisner as pastor of this church.

Mr. Wisner having nominated the following, for members of the council to be convened on this occasion, It was Voted, That they be

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Osgood preached Leonard Woods's ordination sermon in 1798. The Rev. Convers Francis wrote of him to Dr. Sprague: "With the Unitarian theology, I do not think he had any sympathy, though the largest part of those with whom he loved best to associate were of that way of thinking. I remember, when I was in College [1811-1815], he preached once at Dr. Holmes', and in the course of his sermon, having quoted some strong passage of Scripture on the subject of Christ's Divinity, he turned round (as we thought on purpose, although it might have been accidental) towards the place where the President and some Professors were sitting, and

said with energetic emphasis—What will our Socinian brethren say to this? We students used to talk of it as a bold, good hit, though perhaps not quite fair. The truth is, Dr. Osgood always seemed to me one who could not be classed under the named and regular category of any sect. His repugnance to making creeds the condition of the Christian name and character was far greater than his attachment to any creed on his own part; and this seemed to me to express his chief peculiarity as to theological position. His strenuous advocacy of ecclesiastical freedom, you know better than I can tell you."—Sprague's *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 84.

invited to attend, Viz. Rev. Dr. Nott, President of Union College ; the Revd Professors Alexander and Miller, of Princeton, New Jersey ; the Second Presbyterian Church in Albany under the pastoral care of Rev. Mr. Chester ; the First Congregational Church in West Springfield under the pastoral care of Rev. Mr. Sprague.

The church went into committee of the whole on the subject of the remaining nominations, and reported as follows, *which report was unanimously accepted*, Viz. That we invite to be of the Council: The Revd Professors of the Theological Institution at Andover, and the church under their care, together with all those *pastors of churches*, who have in *conjunction with the said professors*, aided in supplying our pulpit, since the lamented decease of our late Pastor, the Revd Mr. Huntington ; and in addition thereto, the *West Church in Boston*, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Lowell.

The following is supposed to be a list of the Churches intended in this Vote, Viz.

Mr. D. Huntington, Codman, Storrs, Gile, Dwight, Fay, Holmes, Osgood, Edwards, Oliphant of Beverly, Cornelius, Worcester, Emerson of Salem, Emerson of Reading, Walker, Green of Reading, Rockwood and Jenks.

Voted, That the Deacons be a committee to prepare and send the letters missive, to convene this council.

Voted, That the following persons be a committee to lay before the council, when convened, the proceedings of the church in relation to the election and call of Mr. Wisner ; and, also, for *regulating, ordering and providing* such *further* measures, as may be judged expedient on this occasion, Viz.

The Deacons, Brothers Whitman, Homes, Coverly, Child, Walley, Cutler and Vose.

Voted, That the scribe communicate to the standing committee the votes passed at this meeting ; requesting, that they may be laid before the Church and congregation for their concurrence.

Voted, That the committee of arrangements be instructed, that it is the *special desire* of this church, that *affectionate and respectful invitations* to attend on this interesting occasion, and to Dine with the council &c, be given unto the Reverend President and Professors of Harvard College, also, to the members of the Boston association of Ministers, and to the regular Clergy of all other denominations, belonging to Boston.

The meeting was then dissolved.

At a meeting of the Old South Church and Congregation being proprietors of Pews, held according to notification in the usual form, from the Desk, on this 5th day of February A. D. 1821, — The Hon. William Phillips was Chosen moderator.



The proceedings of the Church, relative to the ordination of Mr. Benjamin B. Wisner, as the Pastor of said Church, as done at their meeting January 29. 1821, was then read and duly considered. Whereupon it was

Voted, That the Brethren of the Church and Congregation being Proprietors of Pews, concur in the doings of the Church aforesaid, relative to the Ordination of said Mr. Benjamin B. Wisner, and on their part appoint Brothers Francis Welch, Samuel Davis, John Houston, Isaac McLellan and Andrew G. Winslow, a Committee to be joined with the Committee of the Church, appointed as aforesaid, to make suitable provision for the Council, chosen, as aforesaid, to ordain said Mr. Wisner, as Pastor and Minister of said Church and Congregation, and to assist in the solemnities on that occasion before the Council, and direct and superintend all arrangements relative thereto.

A Communication was received from the Standing Committee, which is as follows, Viz.

At a meeting of the Committee on the 1st day of February 1821, it was

Voted, That this Committee recommend to the Society, at their next meeting, that they present to the Revd. Mr. Jenks, One hundred dollars as a remuneration in some measure, for his pious and religious services, to individual families of this society, and to the society at large, since the Death of their late lamented Pastor. It was also,

Voted, to recommend to the Society to chuse a Committee for one year, whose duty it shall be to procure assistance for our Pastor Elect, in the public duties of the sanctuary, whenever in their opinion it may be necessary.

The above Votes and recommendations being read and considered, they were unanimously adopted, and the Deacons with Brothers Welch and Davis were chosen for one year, a Committee to procure assistance for our Pastor elect, agreeable to the last Vote. It was then Voted that this meeting was dissolved, which was done accordingly.

Attest                      DAVID W. CHILD Clk.

After the meeting of the Church and Congregation on the 5th of February, the Committee of the Congregation joined the Committee of the Church, and chose Deacon William Phillips Chairman, and D. W. Child Secretary.

It was then Voted, That Deacon William Phillips, Benjamin Whitman, William Homes, S. H. Walley, Francis Welch and John Houston be a Committee to introduce Mr. Wisner to the Council, and read the proceedings of the Church and Congregation.

Voted, That Deacon J. Salisbury, Francis Welch and Benjamin Whitman be a Committee to make provision for the entertainment of the Council and invited guests.

Voted, That D. W. Child, Samuel Davis and Andrew G. Winslow be a Committee to provide music for the occasion, and refreshment for the Singing Choir and Musicians.

Voted, That Pliny Cutler, Thomas Vose, Samuel Davis, Francis Welch, Andrew G. Winslow, and John Houston, be a Committee to arrange the sitting in the Meeting House on Ordination day.

The meeting was then adjourned to meet at the Vestry on Monday the 19th Inst. at 10 O clock A. M.

At a meeting of the aforesaid Committee agreeable to adjournment, on Monday the 19th February 1821, the sub-Committees reported as follows, Viz.

Deacon Phillips, as chairman of the Committee to Introduce Mr. Wisner to the Council &c. reported that they would attend to that business.

The Committee to make provision for the Council &c. reported that they had made ample provision for the entertainment of the Council and invited guests, at the Marlboro' Hotel, by an agreement with Mr. Seymore.<sup>1</sup>

The Committee to provide music for the occasion, reported that they had attended to the subject, and had selected suitable music and performers, and refreshment for the Choir.

The Committee to arrange the sittings in the Meeting House on the 21st inst, reported as follows, Viz. The broad aisle Pews are reserved for the Council, invited guests, and the Committee of Arrangements. The eight front body Pews, with the Wall Pews from the east door to the Pulpit, together with those Pews similarly situated on the west side of the House, are reserved for the females of the Church and Congregation. The east gallery Pews are reserved for the male members of the Church and Congregation. The remaining

<sup>1</sup> [In the *Col. Centinel*, June 10, 1820, the following announcement is made of the opening of this hotel :—

“McNeil Seymour who kept the Hotel in Troy, New York, for the last ten years, respectfully informs his friends and the public, that he has taken the new and extensive establishment in Marlboro' Street, Boston, called the Marlboro' Hotel. Its accommodations are second to none in the State. Its local situation fits it for the reception of ladies and of men of business, and it has an advantage over the late Exchange Coffee House [burnt in 1818], as it comprises stables. Travellers in their own carriages may here have their horses put up under their own eye. . . . A few gentlemen may have rooms, take meals at

pleasure, and be charged only for such as they take; and the citizens are informed that an Ordinary provided with every luxury the market affords, and with the best attendance, will be opened Monday, and ready daily for the reception of guests at half past two.”

The expenses of the ordination, as afterward reported to the Church and Congregation, were :

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| Board &c of invited guests                       |        |
| and ministers . . .                              | 37.02  |
| Wine, including what was sent to Mrs. Wisner and |        |
| Mrs. Huntington . . .                            | 123.16 |
| Ordination dinner . . .                          | 233.69 |
| Spirits \$24.10. Music \$45.                     | 69.10  |

\$462.97]

seats are appropriated to the use of strangers. They have engaged five constables and eight young men as marshals, to keep order.

The foregoing was unanimously accepted.

Voted, That the Chairman be requested to inform the President of the Council that a renewal of the question in choice of Mr. Wisner, as their Pastor and Minister, be dispensed with. [It had been the custom for the church and congregation publicly and in the presence of the council, to renew their choice of the pastor-elect by show of hands.]

Voted, That this Committee adjourn now to meet at Marlboro' Hotel on Wednesday next at a quarter before 9 O Clock A. M.

Attest DAVID W. CHILD Secy. to the Committee.

N. B. The Committee of Arrangements afterwards agreed to join their Brethren in the gallery, with the exception of two to conduct the Council when they retired.

Minutes of the Committee of the Church respecting the arrangements of the parts, of performance, at the Ordination of Mr. Wisner, which were afterwards approved of by the Church and Congregation, at their Parish Meeting.

The wishes of the Church and Congregation were, that the Revd. President Nott, at the request of Mr. Wisner, should preach his Ordination Sermon, and that the introductory Prayer should be by the Revd. S. E. Dwight. The Ordaining Prayer by the Revd. Professor Stuart, Charge to the Pastor-elect by the Revd. Doctor Osgood, the Fellowship of the Churches by the Rev. C. Lowell, Address to the Church and Congregation by the Rev. W. Jenks, Concluding Prayer by the Rev. John Codman.

Attest D. W. CHILD Sec'y to the Committee.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The following letter, written on the day of the ordination, appeared in the *Centinel*, February 24. The editor says: "Our correspondent is too respectable not to command notice."

"... It is a fact of public notoriety, that there has always been an opposition to his settlement. A minority, who, we trust and believe, have acted from a sense of duty, and have been urged to the course they have pursued, not merely in reference to their own feelings, but with regard to the harmony of the Society to which they belong, and which has, till now, been happily united. It ought to be remarked, that after the demise of their late beloved and highly respected Pastor in September 1819, no person was ever invited to preach as a candidate (though an anxious expression

was manifested by many of the Society) till Mr. W. of whose history and ministerial qualifications but little was, or could be known; and then the congregation, strange as it may appear, were called upon to settle him, before many of them knew he was a candidate on trial! If a variety of candidates had offered, been heard, and the opinions of hearers had been as various, there might have been some apology for proceeding with some precipitancy in calling a man (after hearing him five Sabbaths) when a majority could be found to invite him to a settlement. But we do not call in question the *right* of a majority to govern. No axiom is more generally true, — it is only *how far* the principle should be relaxed in matters of Christian conduct, from Christian motives, as a matter

Wednesday Feby. 21st 1821.

The Council met agreeable to request at the Marlborough Hotel. The throne of grace was addressed by the Rev. Doctor Osgood, senior member and presiding officer.

of *expediency*, not of right. Neither would we indulge in crimination; for although we might adduce many singular facts, yet we forbear, for it cannot be attended with any practical good, and might produce a state of feeling, repugnant to the occasion and the object we have in view. We hope they will be able to review the course they have pursued, with a thorough conviction that they have violated no rule of Christian charity, nor pressed their opponents in a case of the deepest interest, any further than the mild precepts of the Gospel would justify. There are, indeed, honorable exceptions in the Church, among the oldest and most venerated members, who, had they known the state of feeling, and the ground of opposition, would have ensured a more conciliatory course than was adopted. Of such we would remark, that our observations on this subject are not intended to implicate them in the remotest degree.

"Mr. W. has chosen to accept a pastoral relation in view of all the circumstances connected with the case, and assumes the responsibility which, in our opinion, many men of high and liberal minds would have chosen to decline; more especially, if they had previous and unanimous invitations, as he had, and for one of which his particular friends declared, he had on some accounts expressed a decided predilection! He enters however upon his ministerial functions, with a full knowledge of all the facts and grounds of opposition, which have been faithfully, frankly and respectfully communicated by the minority. It would have been gratifying, if he had condescended to have conferred *with them*, in the acknowledgment, at least, of their two last communications, as well as have *written of the minority to others* who have given his letters a *marvellous degree of publicity!* . . .

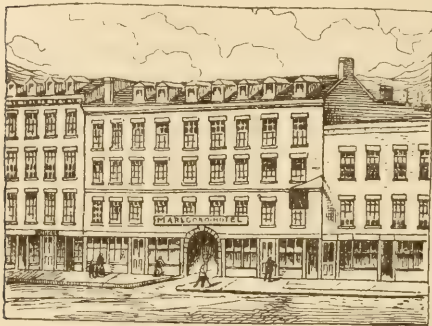
"The right of the minority to appear before the ordaining council, is willingly

relinquished. For if the members of the Church who voted for Mr. W. could not meet to select them, and make arrangements for his induction into office, with Christian fellowship and unanimity, it surely becomes others of *more* imperfect natures to stop, and reflect that theirs is the ground of opposition—that their feelings too may get the better of discreet and sober judgment, and that in advocating and enforcing their own views, they may degrade the subject they would wish to exalt; and carry to the occasion feelings and tempers unsuited to its dignity and unbecoming its solemnity. It is however proper that those who are to advise and act in reference to such a high trust, as setting apart a spiritual watchman on the 'walls of Zion,' should know the reasons and arguments that govern a part of the Society in opposing so endearing a relation to be consummated in the person elect.

"It reflects great credit on the Society that they have already unanimously made provision for relieving Mr. W. in the labours of his vocation, when he may wish, by which arrangement he will have more time to devote to his profession so *peculiarly* needful and important for one established in the Christian ministry, and this expression of liberality has been generously adopted by all our churches, at least in the settlement of all recent pastors and is justly commendable.—The distinguished courtesy and Christian liberality, manifested by the Church at the approaching festival, in their invitation to the Reverend President and Professors of Harvard University, the ministers and officers of all the churches in town, without distinction, to *attend the services and dine with the Council*, is truly gratifying, and so unlike that spirit of bigotry and intolerance which we have witnessed in some of her communion, that we hail it as a harbinger of a better temper, and we hope a precursor of the adoption of a more catholic spirit



The Revd. Mr. Fay was chosen scribe, and the Council being thus organized, the Society's Committee of Arrangements were then called upon to exhibit the Votes and doings of the Old South Church and Congregation, touching the choice and election of Mr. B. B. Wisner.



Whereupon the Chairman, Deacon William Phillips informed the Moderator that Benjamin Whitman, Esqr, one of the Committee, would read the Votes and doings of said Church and Congregation, which (not being objected to) was accordingly read, as also the aforementioned minutes of the Committee of the Church to whom the

subject was referred by the Church, and unanimously approved of by the Church and Congregation at a subsequent meeting, respecting the Rev'd Gentlemen who they wished should officiate in the induction of Mr. Wisner into the sacred office of Pastor and Minister.

Mr. Wisner was then introduced to the Moderator and Council for further examination. Mr. Wisner then at the request of the Council,

and exercise of Christian charity: we hope that such feelings will continue to be cherished, and not suffered to decline and die away with the occasion that gave them birth. They will revive what every benevolent mind may wish to see return among us, 'the days of old, the years of ancient time,' when our spiritual fathers and guides took sweet counsel together, and went to the house of God in company. To those who are the special friends of Mr. W. and are happy in their choice, we wish the occasion may minister to their satisfaction and complacency, and that their highest expectations under his ministry may be more than realized.

"To those who this day are 'helpers of others joys,' we wish the pleasure and Christian fellowship, inspired by the occasion, may long remain — be often renewed, and more firmly cemented.

"And, while from a sense of propriety, and a weightier sense of duty, we decline to 'take part and lot in the services,' we trust we are neither insensible to its interesting character, nor cherish feelings

unfavorable to the best sentiments they inspire. We have only to hope that the Pastor elect will learn wisdom by all his experience; and that those who have been opposed to his settlement, *may hereafter have just occasion to accord to him their confidence*, forasmuch as his ministrations, so long as they continue, may be in the exercise of the true spirit of the Gospel — that he may possess much of its amiable tenderness, its needed humility, meekness and candour — that he may exercise a zeal always 'according to knowledge,' and tempered with kindness, and exert himself, not with the narrow feelings of party, nor with sectarian views; and that while the 'Priest's lips keep knowledge,' he may impart it to others, in the enlarged, benevolent, affectionate and independent spirit of one who 'calls no man master,' and yet embraces all his fellow-Christians in the fellowship of Christian philanthropy, who bear its image and live its precepts.

ONE OF THE MINORITY."]

read his confession of faith which appeared to be universally acceptable. It was then requested that he should express his experience, views &c. which he did in a concise and satisfactory manner; after which the Council wished to be by themselves, and the Committee, Candidate, and all who did not belong to the Council withdrew.

The discussions in the Council after the Doors were closed was not communicated, but the result was, That owing to the absence of the Revd. Doctor Nott, who was to have preached the Ordination Sermon, the Revd. Professor Woods was chosen in his stead.<sup>1</sup> The Revd. Doctor Holmes was selected to make the Ordaining Prayer, which was expected to have been done by the Revd. Professor Stuart, who was providentially absent. And the Committee learnt that the Council were so averse to the fellowship of the Churches being given by the Revd. C. Lowell of this Town, who was present and prepared, that that Gentleman was induced to decline taking any part in the services of the day, and the Revd. Mr. Huntington was appointed by the Council to give the right hand of fellowship. The address to the Church and Congregation, assigned for the Rev. William Jenks, owing to the late hour in the day, was dispensed with.

The Council and invited guests then proceeded to the Meeting House, where the solemn services of ordaining Mr. Wisner were performed, and the Rev'd B. B. Wisner pronounced the benediction.

Attest D. W. CHILD,  
Sec'y to the Committee.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [As Dr. Woods had not expected to preach, he delivered a sermon which he had preached before, — at the ordination of the Rev. Alonzo Phillips, at Princeton, June 7, and of the Rev. Samuel Green, at Reading, September 20. The subject was: Jesus Christ and Him Crucified, the Grand Theme of the Christian Preacher. He added the following paragraph for the occasion: —

“This church rests on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone. The Christians to whom you are called to minister, love the doctrine of the cross. It is their refuge and joy. They have built their hopes for eternity on Christ's atoning blood, and received of his fulness. We trust they love him so sincerely and ardently, that they are willing to endure all things for his sake. Both in prosperity, and in adversity, they have been near our hearts. And in the happiness they this day experience, thousands participate. God grant that you

may ever come to them in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ. God grant, you may have the joy of seeing parents and children pressing to the cross. And may he, who stooped down from his throne to die for men, and who has all power in heaven and earth, graciously dwell in this place. Here may the doctrine of Christ crucified never be forgotten. Here may his grace abound, his church flourish, and his infinite glory shine forth, while the sun and the moon endure. Amen.”]

<sup>2</sup> [The following statements are copied from the *Columbian Centinel*: —

“We have been requested to correct a statement made in the papers, of proceedings in the late ordination of the Rev. Mr. Wisner; and to say, that the ordaining Council did not, by any act, refuse to confirm the assignment by the Society of the Rev. Mr. Lowell, to give the right hand of fellowship; and further, that had any vote been taken, the assignment would have been confirmed.

With all the precautions taken by the brethren of the Old South, in their arrangements for the ordination, in the interest of harmony among themselves and of peace and good-will in

We are instructed further to state, that in the discussion of the arrangements for the services in the Council, when they came to that part which provided for the proffer of the Fellowship of the Churches, the arrangements respecting the Rev. Mr. Lowell did excite some remarks; but the Rev'd gentleman immediately arose, expressed his regret that any topic should delay the proceeding of the Council, and declined being considered a candidate for the duty assigned to him by the Society; and soon after left the Council. The Council then appointed the Rev. Mr. Huntington." — *Centinel*, February 28, 1821.

"... Everything went on harmoniously, till they came to the choice of a gentleman to give the Right Hand of Fellowship. At this moment one of the Council, it is believed the Rev. Mr. Walker of Danvers, nominated the Rev. Mr. Huntington; the motion was seconded by another gentleman, the Rev. Mr. Cornelius. The Moderator informed those gentlemen, that the name mentioned by the Church and Society, in the papers he held in his hand, was the Rev. Mr. C. Lowell, and requested gentlemen to look at the paper to see whether he was correct or not. One of the above gentlemen, Mr. Walker or Mr. Cornelius, observed that the part to be assigned belonged to the Council, and to them only, and that in fact the Church and Society had nothing to do with it. The Moderator and some other gentlemen observed, that in their opinion it would be highly indecorous to put the question, knowing the wishes of the Old South Church and Society, as expressed in the vote before them; — and for some time refused to put it. The mover of the question insisted most strenuously, that it was proper and right that it should be put. At this moment, the Rev. Mr. Lowell came into the room, and finding the turn the business had taken, he observed to the Moderator, that although he had received an invitation from the Church

and Society, and had given an answer in the affirmative, and was prepared accordingly, yet it would have been as well to have mentioned in his answer, 'if agreeable to the Council,' knowing that they had the right of assigning the part; — but from what he had *now* seen and heard, he could not consent to be a candidate, as it appeared to be the wish of some of the Council that he should not; and that he was ready to vote for the other gentleman named, the Rev. Mr. Huntington. Mr. Lowell having declined, his friends were prevented from urging the vote to be put relating to him, and the other candidate was chosen. The feelings of the friends of Mr. Lowell can be better conceived than described. They are free to confess that they were deeply wounded, being fully satisfied that a plan was agreed on by several of the Council, to prevent that gentleman having any part in the performances of the day. How far the proceedings above stated comport with the Christian principle of love to all who profess to be the followers of our blessed Saviour, is left for the decision of others. The writer has no hesitation in saying, that his opinion fully coincides with that of the Reverend Moderator, and that the proceedings in this particular were highly indecorous. He would be happy to hear a discourse from some of the gentlemen above referred to, from a passage in Isaiah — 'Stand by thyself, come not near to me, for I am holier than thou.'"  
— *Ibid.*, March 3, 1821.

"... It is already known that the Rev. Mr. Lowell was unanimously invited by the Old South Church and Society, through their Committee, to deliver the Fellowship of the churches on that day; — that he signified his acceptance; — that his name was printed in the order of performances, and that he went to the Council prepared for the service. We now premise, that the disposition and feelings manifested there, were not accidental, but previously concerted and



the denomination, there was one contingency for which they did not provide, — the appearance and ascendancy of partisan-

agreed upon in secret conclave by the principal actors in the drama; and that a party went prepared to act in unbroken phalanx, determined to execute their purpose (not christian), not only of wounding the sensibility of one, who in our opinion is second to none for the full possession and exercise of all the christian virtues and graces, but to offer contumely to, and violate the rights of hospitality of, those who had invited them to be helpers of their joys! It is a fact, now generally known, that many of the members of the Council, who came in town prior to the day of ordination, stated to their friends that Mr. Lowell was not to deliver the Fellowship of the Churches, and spoke of it as a matter perfectly understood, that the Council would overrule the appointment made by the Church and Society! It is a fact that a Reverend Gentleman hard by, did state in company more than a week previous the same thing, and added that Mr. Wisner would not exchange pulpits with Mr. Lowell! It is a fact, that as soon as the Council came to assign the parts, (as some who were expected did not appear) an unprecedented motion was made and carried, to clear the place of meeting of all the invited guests, and also of the officers and members of the church; and immediately after a motion (unprecedented also, we believe) was made for a return of all the churches and delegates; on which a debate was had, in which certain gentlemen urged that it might be necessary to know the numbers present, and how they would vote! It is a fact, when they came to the service of presenting the Fellowship of the Churches, a motion was instantly made that Mr. Huntington be requested to perform it, and notwithstanding the affected modesty of the Reverend Gentleman, and his assurances of his being unexpectedly called to the duty, it is a fact that he was previously prepared for that service!! It is a fact, that considerable time was employed in debate prior to the appointment of Mr.

Huntington, and authorities were cited to show the right of the Council to make the appointments &c. &c. And from the vote to appoint Mr. Huntington, and other expressions given, there could be no doubt of a decided majority to refuse confirming the wishes of the Church and Society as expressed. — The Rev. Mr. Lowell did what we conceive to be the duty of every Christian Minister, circumstanced as he was, when he found himself the object of contention and dispute among professed christian teachers, and on a public occasion; and suffering, as he must, the most painful emotions, rose and with christian dignity and sensibility, declined the service which he had been invited to perform. It is not a fact, we believe, that he retired from the Council, but it is true that he went with them to the Meeting House, attended the service there, and returned and participated with them at table, and by his whole deportment set an example of Christian conduct, which for ought we know made his persecutors blush! Is it, therefore, candid, Mr. Editor, for your correspondent to say, in view of the facts above suggested, and they only a part that can be supported by irrefragable proof, that 'the ordaining council did not, by an act, refuse to confirm the assignment by the Society of the Rev. Mr. Lowell to give the right hand of fellowship; and further, had any vote been taken, the assignment would have been confirmed'? No man, we think, who attended the occasion, or has examined its history, but must draw conclusions totally the reverse. Add to which the remarks of a Reverend member the same evening, 'had not Mr. Lowell declined, the Council would have voted against concurring with the Church, and that they would have cause of gratitude for this timely interference in their behalf!' Alas! poor Church, that needs such guardians and puts itself under such protectors!!

"We have more to say, Mr. Editor, on



ship in the council which they had convened for the solemn occasion. In a letter sent out by the First Church of Salem in 1718, inviting the neighboring churches to assist at the ordination of Mr. Fisk, the hope was expressed that "this office of communion may tend to our mutual edification and the strengthening our holy fellowship." We do not know the form of the letter issued by the Old South in 1821; there can be no doubt, however, that such a hope as this was implied in it, if not expressed in terms. But instead of being an "office of communion" on the part of and among sister churches, the ordination of Mr. Wisner was seized upon for the purposes of party dictation and domination, and, naturally, the result was not "mutual edification and the strengthening" of "holy fellowship," but mutual distrust and ill-will and the promotion of strife and division.

The members of the Old South knew perfectly well what difficulties lay in the path of the young man whom they were about to settle as their minister. He was not a New England man, either by birth or education; and he was coming to Boston, not only as a stranger, but with pronounced theological opinions at variance with those then prevailing in the town and in the neighboring university. He was coming to a church which, while not in sympathy doctrinally with the churches by which it was surrounded, had very much in common with them. He was coming also, in response to a call which had not been unanimous, and there was to be a minority in his congregation, in no sense hostile to him, but, at the first certainly, without enthusiasm for him. All the details of the approaching services had been planned with the definite purpose, on the part of the society, of making it as easy as possible for him, under such circumstances, both outside and within the limits of his parish. Not that there had been any desire to compromise in the slight-

this fertile subject, but not now;—and while we deplore that such a domineering, overbearing temper, contrary to the mild precepts of the Gospel, should have been cherished, and particularly on such an occasion, we rejoice there is a strong excitement throughout the society, as well as in the community at large, to condemn, decidedly, this sectarian zeal and spirit, which is calculated 'to wound religion in the house of her friends,' and foment and perpetuate those unhappy

divisions and discords which have long divided and distracted the Church of God. We ardently hope that conduct, which merited and received the decided animadversion of the venerable President of the Council, and others at the time, and the expression of public opinion, will be a security against its recurrence on any similar occasion—and that such 'spots in our feasts of charity' will be remembered only to excite our pity and regret."—*Ibid.*, March 10, 1821.]

est degree his theological position or that of the society. He had been called to the Old South as a Trinitarian ; and in calling him the church and congregation had publicly manifested their determination to maintain unqualifiedly their Trinitarian standing. Had there been any wavering in this respect on the part of the majority, why should they have gone to Princeton at this time in their search for a minister ? They did not try to conceal the fact that there was a very serious difference of opinion, in matters of Christian doctrine, between themselves and many of the neighboring churches ; indeed, they had declined to assist at the settlement of a minister over one of them, and in consequence had ceased to receive invitations from them. They did not, therefore, ask these churches to a full participation in the ordination of Mr. Wisner, but they requested the attendance of their pastors as an expression of Christian courtesy and sympathy, and they were prepared to give them a cordial welcome as Christian friends and brethren.

The selection of Mr. Lowell for the particular duty which had been assigned to him was calculated to conciliate still further the regard of the churches with which the Old South was not then in full ecclesiastical communion. His relations with these churches had not been disturbed by the passing controversy, while he had refused, as he continued to refuse to the close of his long life, to be numbered with either party. At the same time, the brethren of the Old South must have had a good reason for including his church in their invitation, while not asking any of the other historical churches in the town to send representatives to the council. Certainly during his ministry, the West Church had been more in sympathy with what was called the evangelical party than at any time since the departure of the Rev. Mr. Hooper, nearly eighty years before. But of all the carefully weighed considerations growing out of the peculiar state of things then existing in Boston, the ministers from a distance had no knowledge ; or, if they had, they cared nothing for them, but rudely brushed them aside, and went forward to the execution of their purpose, apparently without concern for the feelings of Mr. Lowell or the peace of the Old South Church. Of course they were correct technically, in saying that it belonged to the council to determine who should represent it in expressing to the new pastor the fellowship of the churches, for this was the one part which the council had a right to assign. But if the chief motive in overruling the arrange-

ment of the Old South was a sensitive desire to defend the rights of the council, why did not some of these gentlemen go privately beforehand, either to the brethren of the church or to Mr. Lowell, and state their objection to the proposed programme, which was in print and was generally known, and suggest a modification of it? Or, why did they not, in the council, assign some other part, even a minor one, to Mr. Lowell? Instead of this, the party which had planned the movement against him carried it to its completion in private session, on their own responsibility, to the surprise of those not in the secret, and in a manner which called forth a stern rebuke from the venerable moderator, Dr. Osgood. The movement was successful, and a victory was won. It is true that the susceptibilities of a Christian minister were wounded, an ordination service to which a church and congregation had been looking forward for months with earnest anticipation was spoiled, many laymen in the neighboring churches who were predisposed to evangelical principles were offended, and, quite possibly, two or three churches were lost to the Trinitarian faith: "But things like that," we "know, must be at every famous victory."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The late Mr. Uriel Crocker, who died in 1887, at the age of ninety-one, told us that a few days after the ordination Mr. Lowell met Mr. Wisner in the street, and going up to him, held out his hand and said: "Mr. Wisner, they cannot prevent my giving you the right hand of fellowship here."

It is difficult to believe that Mr. Wisner had intimated his purpose not to exchange pulpits with Mr. Lowell; for, as it seems to us, it would have been indefensible in him thus to antagonize the church whose call he was accepting, and whose unanimous choice for one of the most significant parts in his ordination Mr. Lowell was known to be.

We would not leave the impression upon our readers that in the Unitarian controversy the partisanship was all on one side. It is not our purpose to follow this controversy further than as it bears directly upon the history of the Old South, but it seems to us that a serious mistake was made by the liberal party in 1805, when it carried the election of Dr. Ware as professor of theology at Cambridge. It was urged at the time, "that wisdom,

and regard to our peace and safety, obviously dictated the selection of a man for professor, who, in respect to his religious principles, was on the middle ground, between the two existing extremes among us, whose sentiments were coincident with those of Dr. Doddridge, or the late amiable and excellent Professor Tappan." Dr. Ware was chosen by a vote of four to two in the corporation, and was confirmed by a vote of thirty-three to twenty-three in the board of overseers. This was too close a vote, if the harmony and well-being of the associated churches were to be properly taken into consideration. The foundation of Andover Theological Seminary followed, almost as a matter of course, and the two parties soon found themselves in positive and almost hopeless antagonism to each other.

Dr. Codman preached the Convention Sermon in 1831, and taking for his subject Ministerial Courtesy, in the presence of both parties and for the benefit of both, he said:—

"We do not say that religious controversy is not necessary, and, sometimes,

The brethren of the Old South were prompt to express to Mr. Lowell their regret and mortification at what had occurred. "Upwards of forty" of them, says the Centinel, united in a letter to him which appears in its columns, but the signatures were not printed, and we have failed in our endeavors to find the original document.

BOSTON Feb. 23, 1821.

*Reverend and dear Sir, —*

The subscribers, members of the Old South Society, beg leave to offer you the expression of their sincere regret, that the ultimate determination of the Council, convened for the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Wisner on Wednesday, should have overruled the arrangement, by which the unanimous vote of the church and society, who acted on the occasion, had assigned you an interesting part in the ceremonies of that day. While we regret the prevalence of sectarian views, and exclusive systems of theology, we most deeply deplore, that on an occasion which should be regarded as a holy jubilee, when past animosities should be forgotten and charitable feelings should universally prevail, an opportunity should be seized to tear asunder the bonds of Christian fellowship, and to draw a line of distinction between those who profess to teach the same gospel. For such a violation of christian charity, we will not attempt an apology. We know that your Christian philanthropy will throw over the transaction the most favorable construction; but your sensibility must have received a wound, which the consolations of religion only can heal. To these we can

even desirable; but we must be permitted to enter our solemn protest against the spirit with which it is too often conducted. Truth may be defended, and error exposed, and, at the same time, a Christian spirit maintained. In the agitating controversy that exists among us, it cannot be denied that a spirit of bitterness has manifested itself, that has given pain to good men of every communion. The personalities that have been suffered to obtrude themselves upon the notice of the public eye cannot but be regarded with disapprobation, by the truly liberal and catholic of every religious sect. The attempt to fasten upon the advocates of any system of religious belief opprobrious epithets, which they not only do not admit, but expressly deny, cannot be justified by candid, impartial men.

"Is there not a want of kindness and impartiality in representing each other's religious sentiments? Are not opinions imputed to opposite sects, which they expressly disclaim, and results from their principles charged upon them, which they unhesitatingly disavow? Are not the most extravagant caricatures offered to the public, as correct representations of religious peculiarities? I do not mean to charge any with intentional misrepresentation, but is it not the case, that those who would shrink from such an imputation, are in the habit of regarding the religious opinions of their brethren through the distorted medium of party prejudice?"

Dr. Codman thought that among those who differed so widely from each other, an interchange of ministerial labor was both inexpedient and injurious.



add nothing but our sympathy, and the assurance of the great regard with which

We remain, dear sir,  
Most truly, your friends.

TO THE REV. CHARLES LOWELL.

At a meeting of the Old South Church and Congregation held at the Vestry March 5. 1821, agreeable to notification from the Desk by the Revd. Mr. Wisner, the 4th inst. Deacon William Phillips was called upon to preside, and the following communication was read by the Clerk, and laid on the Table for the consideration of the Society, Viz.

BOSTON February 21. [? 23.] 1821

*Gentlemen*

The subscribers Proprietors of Pews in the Old South Church, respectfully request that an early meeting of the Church and Congregation, being Proprietors of Pews, may be called to consider and act on the following subjects,



*Bobinet*

1st. The expediency of requesting from the Revd. Leonard Woods D. D. a copy of the Sermon delivered by him on the 21st Inst for the Press.<sup>1</sup>

2. The expediency of confirming to the Rev'd Charles Lowell, the Letter addressed to him, by a number of the members of the Old South Society, on the refusal of the Council to confirm to him the part

in the Public Services on Ordination Day, assigned by the Church and Congregation.

And to act on such other Subjects as may then come before them.

We are Respectfully

Your Obt. Servants,

ELISHA TICKNOR

JOSEPH CALLENDER

JOHN ANDREWS

GEORGE LANE

J. BAKER

WILLIAM BRIGGS

ISAAC McLELLAN

ANDREW G. WINSLOW

LOTT WHEELWRIGHT

I. P. SIMPSON

To the Standing Committee of the Old South Society.

<sup>1</sup> [The sermon was printed subsequently, but not by the Old South Society. We have been told by Mrs. John Charles Phillips, a daughter of Mr. Francis Welch, that the leading men in

the society were so much displeased with Professor Woods, who was believed to have been the leader in the movement against Mr. Lowell, that he was not asked to preach in their pulpit for some time.]

Whereupon Deacon Salisbury moved that the Brethren of the Church not being Proprietors of Pews, be invited to attend this meeting, and to Vote in any question not relative to the money concerns of the Church and Congregation. A desultory debate took place, but the question was not put.

Major Dean made a motion which was seconded, that this meeting be dissolved, and after some few remarks from the Chairman and other members, was put and passed in the affirmative, 25/13, and the meeting was dissolved accordingly.

Attest      DAVID W. CHILD Clk.

A general discussion now, among the members of the church and congregation, could do no good, and might extend the mischief indefinitely. The brethren had had a bitter experience of what may happen to a church, from the encroachment upon its liberties of an ecclesiastical council; and there was nothing for them to do, but to lay the lesson to heart and to profit by it in time to come.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sprague wrote to the Rev. Dr. Bartol, the successor of Dr. Lowell, under date of February 12, 1861:—

“I will with pleasure state to you my present impressions on the subject; though, as they relate to an event that occurred forty years ago, I cannot vouch for their entire accuracy. The case, as it lies in my memory, was substantially as follows:—

“The Council, consisting of a larger number of ministers and delegates than any other I ever saw convened, met in an immense hall, between nine and ten o’clock in the morning, to arrange for the preliminaries for the ordination services, which had been appointed to commence at eleven, with Dr. Osgood in the moderator’s chair; who, you know, was not famous for letting other people have their way, when he thought his own was better. The first work we came upon was the examination of the candidate; the doctor maintaining that the written creed which he had presented was enough, while some other members of the Council wanted the privilege of testing his Orthodoxy more thoroughly by asking questions. I am not quite sure how this matter was disposed of: but I remember there were some rather ungracious words in connection with it;

and I felt at one time as if we might possibly find ourselves in the midst of a storm before we were aware of it. But, even when this was passed, we were not at the end of our troubles. If my memory serves me, all the ministers composing the Council were Orthodox, except Dr. Lowell; and I understood that the secret of his being sent to was, that there were a considerable number of the members of the Old South who were not then prepared to dissolve all connection with the Unitarian churches, while Dr. Lowell was regarded as having departed less from Orthodoxy than any other Unitarian minister then in the city. Either the church or the parish, or, for aught I know, some committee, had anticipated what the Council considered their appropriate work; namely, the assignment of the parts in the ordination-services; and the right hand of fellowship they had given to Dr. Lowell. I remember to have heard it said (I think, by Dr. Wisner himself), that, if it had been the first or last prayer, it would not have been objected to; but the giving of the right hand of fellowship was the strongest pledge of ministerial intercourse, which the greater portion of the Council, at least, were unwilling to sanction. Dr. Osgood, however, was

Referring to these events, in one of his historical discourses in 1830, Mr. Wisner in a review of his ministry to that time said:—

The years that have succeeded have, through the great mercy of the Head of the Church, been years of peace, and of prosperity to this church and congregation, and to the cause of evangelical religion in this city and region. Since the agitations connected with my ordination, in which all parties were agreed in preventing the pastor from being in any way implicated and which quickly subsided, there has been, in the congregation, no contention, no unpleasant difference of opinion; and in the church, which has been called to transact much business, there has not, so far as I recollect, been a single vote taken that did not pass with perfect unanimity.

Sabbath Day, March 11th 1821.

The Brethren of the Church having been requested to tarry after Divine service in the afternoon, the Pastor read a letter from the First Church in Dedham requesting this Church by their Pastor and Delegates to assist in the ordination on Wednesday the fourteenth inst. of Mr. Ebenezer Burgess, whom the said First Church and Society in Dedham have invited to discharge the duties of the Pastoral office among them. Voted, that this Church comply with said request, and that one of the Deacons (which of them is left to them to determine) with the Pastor, represent this Church on the occasion.

The meeting was then dissolved.

B. B. WISNER, Pastor & Scribe.

Mr. Burgess graduated at Brown University in 1809, and served as tutor there, and (after studying at Andover), as a professor in the University of Vermont until 1817. In this year he went to Africa with Samuel J. Mills, on an agency for the American Colonization Society. He preached at Dedham for several months before his ordination. The decision in the Ded-

strongly on the other side; and he showed, at least, that he knew how to wield a battle-axe as well as any other man. I saw Dr. Lowell then for the first time; and I felt deeply for him, in view of the extreme delicacy of the circumstances in which he was placed. He sat with perfect apparent composure, listening to the agitating discussion for some time; but at length rose, and said that he was not willing to be the occasion of interrupting the harmony of the Council, and begged that some other person might be appointed to perform the ser-

vice assigned to him by the church. He said but a few words; but there was a calm dignity, a perfect self-possession, and a deferential regard to the members of the Council, in what he said, that could not but leave a most favorable impression upon every mind. It was many years before my acquaintance with him became intimate; but his appearance on that occasion I greatly admired, and it is vividly in my mind to this hour." *Proceedings in the West Church on occasion of the Decease of Charles Lowell, D. D., its Senior Pastor, 1861, pp. 47, 48.*

ham case had not been announced, and at this time the church and its pastor did not know what a painful experience lay immediately before them.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Burgess's ministry was a long and successful one.

The church accepted an invitation to assist by its pastor and delegate, or delegates, at the ordination on the 11th of July, of Mr. Jonathan Bigelow, as pastor of the First Church in Lubec, Maine. Mr. Wisner, with three other ministers, embarked on board a packet schooner for Eastport, and, having been detained by fog, the party did not arrive at its destination until two or three days after the ordination had taken place.

Sabbath-day Oct. 14th 1821.

The Brethren of the Church having been requested to tarry at the close of the afternoon service, the Pastor communicated a Letter from the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, requesting the assistance of this Church by its Pastor and one Delegate at the ordination of Mr. Daniel Temple and Mr. Isaac Bird (with a view to their being sent to the Heathen as Missionaries and Evangelists) at North Bridgewater on Wednesday the 31st inst. Voted, to comply with the request, and that Deacon Josiah Salisbury attend with the Pastor on the occasion.

B. B. WISNER Pastor & Scribe.

The sermon on this occasion was preached by the Rev. Mr. Storrs, of Braintree. Mr. Wisner took part in the service, and Mr. Dwight, of Park Street, gave an address to the Palestine Missionary Society. Mr. Temple preached at the Old South on Sunday evening, December 16, and Mr. Jeremiah Evarts, corresponding secretary of the American Board, read his instructions, after which a collection was taken.

Sabbath-day June 9th 1822.

The brethren of the church having been requested to tarry at the close of the afternoon service, the Pastor communicated a Letter from Nathan Parker and James Melledge, requesting (in the name of themselves and several other individuals lately dismissed from Essex Street Church), the assistance of this Church by their Pastor and delegate, at an Ecclesiastical Council to be convened at the Vestry in the Essex Street Meeting House on the 11th inst. to organize, if they shall think proper, the said persons into a new church. Voted, to comply with the request, and that Deacon Josiah Salisbury attend with the Pastor on the occasion.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Burgess married, May 22, 1823, William Phillips. She joined the Old Abigail Bromfield, daughter of Deacon South December 6, 1807.



The Pastor stated that a number of the brethren of this and of other churches in this city of different denominations having some time since formed a Union prayer meeting, requested this Church to appoint a Committee who, with similar committees from the other churches whose members have associated for the above named purpose, shall constitute a board of superintendence of the said prayer meeting. Voted, to comply with the request, and that the Deacons with brethren Cutler and A. P. Cleveland be said Committee.

The meeting was then dismissed with the benediction.

B. B. WISNER, Pastor & Scribe.

We have already referred to the dissensions in the newly formed Essex Street Church. At a church meeting, January 31, 1822, the Rev. Messrs. Jenks, Dwight, and Wisner, Deacon Salisbury and Mr. Cutler, were present by invitation, and after hearing statements from Mr. Sabine, the pastor, and those opposed to him, they advised both parties to submit their difficulties to an ecclesiastical council. This advice was accepted, and Mr. Jenks, who was in the chair, was asked to draw up the letters missive. The council, thus called, met on the 19th of February; Professor Woods was moderator, the Rev. Mr. Fay, scribe, and the Rev. Mr. Storrs, assistant scribe. The Old South and Park Street churches were not invited, nor was Mr. Jenks, for the reason, as we suppose, that they had participated in the preliminary proceedings, and had already heard and perhaps judged the case. The council was in session two days, and evidently found it a difficult matter to come to an unanimous conclusion. Deacon Parker's course could not be defended; and yet, in view of the hold which he had upon the property, and the possibility that he might sell it to persons outside the denomination, it seemed best not to antagonize him. The result at length agreed upon expressed the opinion, with much amplitude of expression, that "some obvious irregularities" had been committed on the one hand, and, on the other, that the reverend pastor had remarked on the motives and conduct of the deacons and those standing with them, with "acrimony and severity"; and it closed with the suggestion to the pastor, amidst many words of commendation, that, in the interest of peace, he had better resign his office and seek a field of labor elsewhere. This advice was not acceptable to Mr. Sabine and the majority of the church, and they formally withdrew from the society and reopened services in Boylston Hall.

A plan was now arranged by the sister churches to preserve

the Essex Street meeting-house to the denomination, by subscriptions for the payment of the debt due to Deacon Parker, or for — what practically was the same thing — the purchase of his interest in the building, and by the reënförment of the minority with others who would unite with it in forming a new church. As a step towards the new organization, the following letter was written, March 28, 1822 :—

The deacons and other members of Essex Street Church remaining still in Essex Street, being a minority in said church, and wishing to be formed into a regular church state, that they may continue to enjoy the advantages of Christian worship and ordinances, as heretofore, request a regular dismission from the majority of the church now removed to Boylston Hall.

This request was so far complied with that a dismission was granted, but the majority declined to say that the members of the minority were in good standing. The pastor and the majority also addressed letters to the Old South and Park Street, insisting that they had rights in the meeting-house, and protesting against the proposed purchase of Deacon Parker's interest, and the formation of a new church. The plan for a reorganization, however, was carried out, for what were undoubtedly regarded at the time as weighty reasons ; but it appears to us that the sister churches, by their recognition of the minority of the Essex Street Church, acting with the men who controlled the property, accepted, in part at least, the principle laid down by Chief Justice Parker in his decision in the Dedham case, namely, that the only circumstance which gives a church any legal character is its connection with some regularly constituted society.<sup>1</sup>

The council which met in June recognized the new church as the Union Church. At first it consisted of twelve members only, but it soon attracted to itself a number of active business men

<sup>1</sup> See *An Ecclesiastical Memoir of Essex Street Religious Society, Boston*, printed by Ezra Lincoln, 1823. In this pamphlet it is said (p. 77) : " Was it ever heard of before in New England, that an ecclesiastical council, in the face of their own result, and in direct opposition to their own testimony, assisted in putting down a church of Christ, and in the stead thereof, took up six or seven disorderly members, treating and patronizing them as if they were a church of Christ. We have heard that something

like this was attempted at Dedham, a few years ago, but then it was said to be the work of an Unitarian council ; but this strange work, abundantly more strange than the Dedham affair, is performed in Essex Street, Boston, by an orthodox council."

Some extreme party men were plotting to divide the convention at this time, and if the matter had come to an open debate, it was proposed to bring into the discussion all the facts relating to Essex Street Church.

who gave it strength and standing,<sup>1</sup> and, on the 26th of March, 1823, it installed as its minister the Rev. Samuel Green, who had been preaching very acceptably at Reading. The church worshipping in Boylston Hall was received into the London-derry Presbytery, November 26, 1823, and was known as the First Presbyterian Church in Boston.

We have much interesting material at hand for a history of Mr. Wisner's pastorate, but from this point in our work we shall not be able to go so fully into details as thus far we have gone. There was an unusual degree of religious interest in the congregation in 1823, and between June, 1823, and May, 1824, one hundred and one persons united with the church. At this time some Bible classes were formed, of which we have the following account :—

In the Old South congregation there are two classes ; one of young ladies of fifteen years of age and upwards, consisting of about ninety members ; the other of young men of sixteen years of age and upwards, consisting of about forty five members. They were established about three months since, and meet at present, once in four weeks, on the same day ; the female class in the afternoon, and the young men's in the evening. The method of instruction is the following — The Pastor first delivers a course of lectures, six or seven in number, on the authenticity, credibility and inspiration of the Scriptures, and the manner in which they should be read and studied by private Christians. Of each of these lectures, after delivering it, he gives them an abstract, of which they take notes with a pencil, which are written out as soon as convenient, in a book prepared for the purpose, with such enlargements from the lecture as they may have retained in their memories ; and carefully studied previous to the next meeting. After the lecture has been delivered, and the abstract given, the classes are examined by the pastor on the preceding lecture, and the exercise concluded with a practical application of the subject recited, to the conscience and the heart.<sup>2</sup>

A large and elegant organ, imported from London in the ship London Packet, by the Old South Society, is now erecting in their Church ; it is said to be much superior to any ever imported into this country.<sup>3</sup>

This organ was ordered through Mr. Henry Bromfield, then living in London. It was built by Thomas Elliott, who sent

<sup>1</sup> Among the new members of the reconstructed church were John Gulliver from the Old South, and Daniel Noyes and David Hale, Jr., from Park Street. George Rogers, Charles Scud-

der, and Nathaniel S. Prentiss became members in 1823, and John Tappan and William Ropes in 1824.

<sup>2</sup> [*Boston Recorder*, October 22, 1823.]

<sup>3</sup> [*Com. Gazette*, October 7, 1822.]

over a representative to put it up. It cost about seven thousand dollars, including freight and duty.<sup>1</sup> One of the first occasions on which it was used was a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, November 7, 1822, when a sermon was preached by Dr. Holmes, of Cambridge.

At a meeting of the society on Fast Day, April 3, 1823, Mr. Wisner was authorized, with the approbation of the senior deacon, to cause the meeting-house to be opened for religious services in the evening, whenever he might think the cause of religion would be promoted thereby, it being understood, however, that no additional expense for assistance in ministerial labor was to be incurred for such purpose by the society.

The wife of the senior deacon of the church, and daughter of a late senior deacon, Mrs. Miriam (Mason) Phillips, died on the 7th of May. It was said of her: "The unobtrusive poor, who often felt without seeing the hand which blessed them, lament in 'secret chambers' the departure of their sympathizing and liberal benefactress; and the Church of Christ, of which she was long a consistent and faithful member, weeps that this beloved sister is no more to come up to her 'solemn feasts.' . . . 'Jesus is my Rock' was the language of our departed sister, and on this sure foundation she built all her hopes of glory."<sup>2</sup> She joined the Old South in 1774, at the age of twenty, a few months before her marriage. In her funeral sermon, which was printed, Mr. Wisner said: "Her life was truly a life of prayer. She delighted in retirement, and in the social devotions of that band of holy women with whom she was associated, many of whom had gone before, and others are following her to glory."

Sabbath afternoon, September 21st. 1823.

The brethren of the Church having been requested to tarry after the benediction, the Pastor read a Letter from the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, requesting the assistance of this Church by their Pastor and a delegate, at Salem, on Thursday the twenty-fifth inst. in the ordination of Mr.

<sup>1</sup> The organ had been set up in London, it is said in Westminster Abbey, for some great occasion, and a certificate commending it very highly was signed by Charles Wesley, "organ performer to His Majesty;" B. Jacob, organist of Surrey Chapel; Thomas Adams, organist of St. Paul's, Deptford; S. Wesley, "a celebrated musician, brother to Charles Wesley;" Matthew Cooke, or-

ganist of St. George's, Bloomsbury; Thomas Greatorex, organist of Westminster Abbey; and John Purkis, organist of St. Clement Danes.

<sup>2</sup> *Boston Recorder*, May 24, 1823.

Mrs. Phillips was buried in the Bromfield tomb in the Chapel burying ground. The pall-bearers were, Thomas Dennie, Gardner Greene, Peter C. Brooks, John Parker, Thomas Dawes, Josiah Salisbury.



Frost, (destined to join the American mission at Bombay) as an Evangelist. Voted to comply with the request, and that brother David W. Child attend as delegate on the occasion.

The Pastor also read a letter from the Calvinistic Church in Worcester, requesting the assistance of this Church, by their Pastor and a delegate or delegates, in the ordination and installation as their Pastor, on Wednesday the 15th of October next, of Mr. Loammi I. Hoadly. Voted to comply with the request, and that the Deacons, or either of them, attend as delegates or delegate, on the occasion.

The meeting was then dissolved with the usual blessing.

B. B. WISNER Pastor & Scribe.

Sabbath afternoon, December 31st [? 28th] 1823.

The brethren of the Church having tarried, in compliance with a request from the pulpit, after the Congregation was dismissed, the Pastor read a letter, addressed to this Church, from Rev. William Jenks, Elisha Hunt, Nathaniel Pettee Junr, Israel Decker, Nathaniel Trumbull, George Carpenter and John H. Whitney, requesting the assistance of this Church, by their Pastor and a Delegate, at an Ecclesiastical Council to be convened at the house of the Rev. William Jenks on Tuesday the 30th inst. at 2 o'clock P. M. for the purpose of organizing (if the Council shall think proper) the said professing brethren, with others their associates, into a regular Christian Church. Voted to comply with the request, and that Brother Benjamin Whitman attend as delegate on the occasion. . . .

B. B. WISNER Pastor & Scribe.

The new church was organized as the Church in Green Street, and the Rev. William Jenks was its minister until 1844, when it ceased to have an independent existence.

The next Congregational church organized in Boston was the Hanover, afterward the Bowdoin Street Church, the founders of which were members of the Old South, Park Street, and the Union Church. The following went from the Old South: Elias and Joanna Maynard; Eliphalet and Lydia Kimball; Josiah B. Lovejoy, Robert O. Dwight, and Alvah Kittredge. They received a dismission, Sunday afternoon, July 17, 1825.

A Letter was then read by the Pastor from a committee of the persons expecting to be formed into a church, to occupy the Meeting House erecting in Hanover Street, requesting the attendance of this Church by its Pastor and a delegate at an Ecclesiastical Council to be convened in the Vestry of Park Street Church on the 18th inst. at 5 o'clock P. M. for the purpose of organizing, if it shall be deemed proper, said church.

Voted, to comply with the request, and that Deacon Edward Phillips attend as delegate on the occasion.<sup>1</sup>

Sabbath afternoon, Aug. 14th. 1825.

The brethren, by request from the pulpit, staid after divine service. A letter was read from the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, requesting the attendance of this church by their pastor and delegates, at an ecclesiastical council to be held in this City on the 25th inst. for the purpose of ordaining Messrs. Samuel A. Worcester and Elnathan Gridley to the high and sacred office of missionaries to the Heathen.

Voted to comply with the request, and that the Deacons, with brethren Coverly, Child and Whitman attend as delegates on the occasion.  
B. B. WISNER Pastor & Scribe.

Sabbath afternoon, September 11th. 1825. . . .

The Pastor then read a Letter missive from the Executive Committee of the United Domestic Missionary Society of New York, requesting the attendance of this Church, by its Pastor and Delegates, at an Ecclesiastical Council to be held in this City on the 29th inst. for the purpose of examining, and [if] it shall be found expedient and proper, ordaining as Evangelists, several young gentlemen, candidates for the ministry and members of the present Senior Class in the Theological Institution at Andover, who are to be sent forth by the Society in New York as Missionaries, with the intention of permanently locating them in our western states and territories.

Voted to comply with the request, and that the Deacons attend as delegates.<sup>2</sup> . . .

B. B. WISNER Pastor & Scribe.

<sup>1</sup> [The Rev. Lyman Beecher, D. D., was installed pastor of the Hanover Church, Tuesday, March 19, 1826. Deacon William Phillips was the delegate from the Old South. Dr. Beecher's ministry in Boston closed in 1832.]

<sup>2</sup> [The officials of these missionary societies, domestic and foreign, seem to have had a proper sense of what did, and what did not, appertain to them in the positions which they occupied. They knew that they had not been placed in them as theological experts, but as persons supposed to possess a knowledge of affairs and a good measure of administrative ability. (See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 413, note.) It had been devolved upon them to select and commission competent men who, not as their representatives but as the representatives of

the churches, should enter the missionary service at home or abroad. They were to satisfy themselves as to the general qualifications and special adaptations of candidates; and then it was their duty to convene a council, in the case of Congregationalists, or apply to a presbytery, in the case of Presbyterians, for the theological examination and the ordination of candidates whom they were prepared to recommend. As it is the prerogative of the local church to pass upon the theological standing of the man who is to be settled as its minister, so it is the right of the churches, in council or presbytery, to determine the theological fitness of those who are to engage in missionary labors which the churches, in an associated capacity, have undertaken to support.]

The young men who were ordained on the 29th of September were Augustus Pomroy, Luther G. Bingham, Lucius Alden, and John M. Ellis, and they were commissioned to service respectively in the States of Missouri, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The council met in the vestry of the Old South, and the public exercises were held in the meeting-house. The Rev. Mr. Bruen, of New York, preached the sermon; the Rev. Mr. Emerson, of Salem, offered the consecrating prayer; the Rev. Samuel H. Cox,<sup>1</sup> of New York, gave the charge, and the Rev. Justin Edwards, of Andover, the right hand of fellowship.

Sabbath afternoon, December 25th. 1825.

The brethren, in compliance with a request from the pulpit, remained after service. The Pastor read a letter from the Church in Holliston, requesting the attendance of this Church by its Pastor and a delegate, at an Ecclesiastical Council to be held in that town on Wednesday the 4th of January next, for the purpose of installing, if it shall be deemed proper by the Council to do so, the Rev. Charles Fitch, as pastor of said church.

Voted to comply with the request, and that brother Abner Phelps attend as delegate.

The Pastor then read a letter from Mr. Horace Sessions, an agent of the American Colonization Society now in this City, written in behalf of "several persons of colour who, being professors of religion and about to embark for the colony at Liberia in Africa, wish to be embodied into a distinct Church of Christ;" requesting this church "to attend, by its pastor and a delegate, an Ecclesiastical Council at the Vestry of the Park Street Church on Wednesday next, at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 o'clock P. M., to consider and act on the subject.

Voted to comply with the request, and that one of the deacons, whichever shall be most convenient to them, attend as delegate on the occasion.

The meeting was then dismissed with the usual benediction.

B. B. WISNER Pastor & Scribe.

Newport Gardner and twelve others were organized as a church of Christ in Park Street meeting-house, on Wednesday evening, December 28. Deacon Phillips was the delegate from the Old South. Mr. Dwight preached from Psalm lxxviii. 31: "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." Mr. Green offered the prayer of ordination for the two deacons, Mr. Wisner and Mr. Jenks joining in the laying on of hands.

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. S. H. Cox married Abiah Porter Cleveland. She joined the Old Cleveland, a sister of Charles and Aaron South, May 15, 1814.

At a meeting of the brethren of the Church, Sabbath afternoon, February 12. [1826] the following resolution offered by Deacon William Phillips and seconded by Brother Benjamin Whitman, was unanimously adopted :

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to remove by death on the 10th inst. our beloved brother Josiah Salisbury, a deacon of this church, from this world of sin and suffering, and, as we trust, to take him to himself ;

Voted that in testimony of their respect and affection for the deceased, the brethren of this church will attend the funeral, on the 14th inst. at 4 o'clock P. M. and walk, in a body, in the procession.

Nearly eighteen hundred years before this, "devout men," we are told, carried the first deacon in the Christian church "to his burial." On the 26th of February, Mr. Wisner preached a funeral sermon, in which he said of Mr. Salisbury :—

His was a consistent character — always the Christian, at home and abroad, in the social circle and in the busy throng. As a deacon in a Christian church . . . his retiring disposition prevented his being as publicly active as some who sustain that important office. He never, however, shrunk from any obvious duty. In the various business transactions of the church, important services were frequently required of him, and always judiciously and promptly performed. To the poor of the church he was kind, attentive and liberal. He generously and systematically contributed to the various benevolent institutions of the age, of several of which he was an active and useful officer. He loved to hear of the triumphs of the gospel, and fervently prayed for the extension of its blessed influences throughout the world.

The annual meeting of the pew proprietors was held as usual on Fast Day, April 6, and the following special report was presented :—

The Standing Committee of the Old South Society, to whom was referred the subject of further compensation to our much respected and beloved Pastor and Minister, the Revd. Mr. Wisner, either by adding to his permanent salary, or by occasional grants, as heretofore, have attended to the duty assigned them, and ask leave to Report —

That they have seriously and they trust devoutly and with Christian like spirit, examined the subject referred to them, keeping in full view that peace and harmony which now so happily prevails in the Society as such, and that admirable love and confidence existing and cherished between the Pastor, Church and Congregation, which promises a long and happy continuance. Under these impressions, and with an ardent desire that this happy spirit and good fellowship may be as lasting as time, your Committee hesitate to recommend any addi-



tion to the permanent salary of our beloved Pastor and Minister, believing that unless it could be effected by a unanimous vote and wish of the Society, or nearly so, (which they have reason to think would not be the case) it might mar and much injure those good feelings and Brotherly Love, which the benign Religion we profess is so eminently adapted to foster and promote. Under these circumstances, and with a single eye to the peace, happiness, and furtherance in the ways of well doing of this Society,

Your Committee recommend that from time to time, as Mr. Wisner's wants and the Society's knowledge thereof may occur, grants of money may be made him of such sums as shall comport with his happiness and the ability of the Society to grant.

This report was accepted by the brethren ; a grant of \$300 was voted to the pastor, and the standing committee was requested to take into consideration the expediency of building a new vestry.

The church met on Saturday afternoon, April 29, and chose two deacons, Thomas Vose and Pliny Cutler ; the pastor was requested to inform them of their election. " Immediately after the adjournment of the meeting, the pastor gave brethren Vose and Cutler official information of their election, and requested their acceptance of the office, agreeable to the provisions of the last recorded vote, and received from them a declaration of their acceptance of the office ; whereupon the senior deacon cordially welcomed them to their new relation. The fact of these brethren being thus elected, and of their acceptance of the office to which they had been chosen, was announced to the whole church, in the presence of the congregation, at the close of divine service in the afternoon of Sabbath, April 30th 1826."

Thomas Vose was born in Dorchester, August 26, 1788, and united with the First Church there in his twenty-second year. His business as a merchant called him to Baltimore, where he lived for a time, but he returned to Boston in 1815, and soon after became a member of the Old South. It was said, when he died, in 1840, that since his election as deacon the members of this church, in common with the whole community of Christians in the city, could with united voice bear witness to the consistency of his character. The poor of the church and congregation knew that in him they had a friend and helper ; the afflicted, a sympathizing comforter ; the pastor and officers of the church one who was ever ready to coöperate with them to

the utmost of his ability, in council and in action. He seemed evidently to act upon the principle of regulating his secular affairs with a constant reference to the best interests of the church of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

Pliny Cutler was the youngest son of John, and grandson of John Cutler, who moved from Lexington to Brookfield in 1752. He was born in Brookfield, May 17, 1783, came to Boston at the beginning of the present century, and was a prosperous merchant and manufacturer.<sup>2</sup>

Deacon Edward Phillips died on Saturday, November 4, in his forty-fifth year. Among his last words to his pastor were these, "God has given me the victory." The church met at the close of public worship, Sunday afternoon, and adopted the following vote: "Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to remove, by death, on the 4th inst. our beloved brother, Edward Phillips, a deacon of this church, from this world of sin and suffering, and, as we trust, to take him to himself, Voted, that, as a testimony of their respect and affection for the deceased, the brethren of this church will attend the funeral, on the 8th inst. at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 o'clock, P. M., and walk in a body, in the procession."<sup>3</sup> On the following Sunday, Mr. Wisner preached from the text, "The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice." "At the close he applied the subject to brother Edward Phillips, and sketched his character very justly, introducing a number of his remarks in his sickness, upon the subject of religion."<sup>4</sup> Mr. Phillips's sister, Mrs. Walley, and his father died a few months later.

The Hon. William Phillips died on Saturday evening, May 25, 1827, on the eve of the annual meetings in the interest of religion and philanthropy which then made "anniversary week" the great festival of the Christian year, and in which he had been accustomed to take a distinguished part. For fifty-three years he had been a member of the Old South Church, and for thirty-three years one of its deacons; and during this long period, we are told, he adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things, "by a holy life and conversa-

<sup>1</sup> See an obituary on Thomas Vose in the *Boston Recorder*, December 25, 1840, written probably by Dr. Blagden.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Cutler married Phebe, widow of his brother Joseph, and daughter of the Rev. Ephraim Ward, of Brookfield. Her daughter Mary married the Rev. Hubbard Winslow.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Phillips was buried in the Bromfield tomb. His first wife Mary was a daughter of Deacon Samuel Salisbury; his second, who survived him, was Theresa Henshaw.

<sup>4</sup> Diary of Samuel Hall Walley, brother-in-law of Edward Phillips, and son-in-law of William Phillips.

tion, by exemplary piety, and by active Christian benevolence." "His charities," it was said, "have smoothed the furrowed cheek of some who were descending to the grave penniless and friendless. They have comforted and supported others, who know not and never will know, till the secrets of all hearts are disclosed, to what source they are indebted for those blessings. They have largely contributed to the spread of the gospel in heathen lands. They have aided in building churches, in circulating Bibles, in educating pious youth for the gospel ministry." On this point Mr. Wisner said, in his funeral sermon preached Sunday afternoon, June 3 :—

There has, I believe, no man of wealth lived and died in this country, who has, in proportion to his ability, done so much for the cause of charity. It is to be remembered also, that he was educated, and his habits formed, when, in this country, liberal benefactions were unknown. With him, it may almost be said, began that spirit of liberality which has sprung up and spread so rapidly in our community. . . . Scarcely a measure has been adopted or an association formed, in this city and vicinity, for the improvement of the physical, the intellectual, the moral or the spiritual condition of men, which has not received his coöperation and his liberal support.<sup>1</sup>

In the summer of 1827 two Trinitarian Congregational churches were established in Boston, one at the north end of the town in Salem Street, the other at the south end, first called the Pine Street, and now the Berkeley Street, Church. A council met in the vestry of Park Street Church, Saturday afternoon, September 1, at which Mr. Wisner and Deacon Vose were present as representatives of the Old South :<sup>2</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> [He had been giving away annually about \$10,000, and his bequests were more than \$60,000. At the time of his death he was president of the Massachusetts Bible Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the American Education Society, the Foreign Mission Society of Boston and Vicinity, the Congregational Charitable Society, the Massachusetts General Hospital, the Boston Dispensary, and the Board of Trustees at Andover, and vice-president of many other benevolent associations both in Boston and in other parts of the country.]

At the head of Chapter VIII. in this volume (p. 390), we show a cut of Mr. Phillips's stately mansion in Tremont

Street, nearly opposite the Stone Chapel. It had been owned and occupied previously by Andrew Faneuil and Peter Faneuil ; and it now came into the possession of Mr. Jonathan Phillips.

<sup>2</sup> The following were dismissed from the Old South membership, to assist in founding the new churches :—

To Salem Street : Ward Litchfield, Jr., Rebecca Weeks, Leah Lillie, Rebecca Lincoln, Sarah Parkman.

To Pine Street : Charles Cleveland, James Clap, Willard Williams, Mehetabel Cleveland, Eliza Clap, Mary Green, Betsey O. Williams, Charles Messenger, Robert L. Bird, Lucy Bird, Charles C. Barry, Joseph H. Eayres, Mary C. Eayres.

The council met at the time and place named in the letter missive ; and after examining the testimonials of the brethren and sisters desiring to be formed into the proposed new churches and approving the Articles of Faith and Covenant they had adopted, voted unanimously to constitute these churches of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was done on the afternoon of next day, Sabbath, Sept. 2nd. 1827, in the Park Street Church at 5 o'clock P. M., after which the new churches and the six Orthodox Congregational Churches previously existing in the City, united in celebrating the Lord's Supper.

The Rev. Justin Edwards was the first minister of Salem Street Church, and the Rev. Thomas H. Skinner of Pine Street Church.

On Friday evening, October 28, the church voted, "after considerable conversation on the subject" at this and a previous meeting, "that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper be, hereafter, celebrated by this Church at the close of the morning service on the first Sabbath in each calendar month, instead of, as heretofore, on every fourth Sabbath ; and that the next communion be, accordingly, celebrated on the first Sabbath in December."

The First Church, under Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson, celebrated the Lord's Supper on every fourth Sabbath. After Mr. Davenport's settlement, a change was made, at his request, to the first Sabbath in each month, which was the day observed for the ordinance by the New Haven church. The Third Church celebrated the Lord's Supper for the first time, February 27, 1669-70, and thereafter every fourth Sabbath ; there seems to have been no deviation from this custom until the adoption of the vote, as above, in 1827.<sup>1</sup>

The meeting-house was closed for repairs during the months of June, July, and August, 1828. On the 15th of May, 1829, Mr. Samuel Turell Armstrong was elected deacon.<sup>2</sup> He had been elected previously, February 8, 1828, but had then declined. The question of his ordination came up for consideration ; the pastor said that "though not essential to the office, it was sanctioned, if not required, by Scripture, and was the an-

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 329, 330, 372.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel T. Armstrong was born in Dorchester, April 29, 1784. His grandparents, John and Christian Armstrong, and his great-grandparents, Samuel and Christian Bass, were members of the Old South. He was brought up as a

printer, and became a prosperous publisher and bookseller. He was representative, senator, lieutenant-governor, acting-governor, and, for a single year, mayor of Boston, after which he retired from public life. He died March 29, 1848.



cient practice of the Congregational churches of New England, and of this church." A committee was appointed to consider the subject, but no ordination took place. At the beginning of the communion service, June 7, the pastor announced "the election of brother Samuel T. Armstrong to the office of deacon, and that he would then enter on the duties of that office, and was to be received and treated as became the relation henceforth to subsist between him and the church."

On Friday evening, September 18, "a letter missive was read, by the pastor, from the Presbytery of Newburyport, inviting this church to attend, by its pastor and a delegate, a meeting of that body to be held in this city on the 24th inst. for the ordination of missionaries, and sit with Presbytery on that occasion as corresponding members." The invitation was accepted, and Deacon Armstrong was chosen to attend as delegate with the pastor.<sup>1</sup>

On the 9th and 16th of May, 1830, Dr. Wisner (he received the Doctor's degree from Union College in 1828) observed the centenary of the meeting-house by preaching four historical discourses, which were immediately printed, and which will always be read, as they were listened to at the first, with the deepest interest. They carefully trace the history of the church from 1669, under the successive pastors from Thacher to Huntington; and, in their printed form, they are illustrated by more than fifty pages of notes which testify abundantly to the learning, the painstaking industry, and the historical fidelity and accuracy of the preacher.<sup>2</sup>

Soon after this, Dr. Wisner's health became impaired, and, in February, 1832, he went to the South for a change. He returned to Boston in June, but not being well enough to resume pastoral labor, he rested during the summer months. In the autumn he was chosen a secretary of the American Board; he had become deeply interested in the missionary work as a member of the Prudential Committee, and as, during his absence at the South, some things had occurred in the congregation which disturbed his somewhat sensitive nature, he decided to accept the appointment, and, on the 29th of October, sent in his resignation to the Old South. We can quote only a portion of his letter:—

<sup>1</sup> The missionaries to be ordained were to be supported by the Congregational as well as the Presbyterian churches.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Wisner was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society May 5, 1831.

What, then, are the indications of Providence ?

In reference to my present station. I have been almost entirely laid aside, by want of health, from the discharge of its appropriate duties, for a whole year. In the mean time, — without my designedly giving any just occasion, and I trust without any one intending anything wrong or injurious, — circumstances have arisen in the congregation which would most likely interfere with my future usefulness as its minister. And the state of my health is such, that I cannot preach and perform other pastoral duties, with safety, for a considerable time to come.

On the other hand, without any seeking of mine, I have been made familiarly acquainted with the operations and business of the American Board. An important office in its executive department is vacant, and there is urgent necessity that it be immediately filled. I have been regularly invited to fill it, and may, as far as health will permit, enter at once upon the discharge of its duties. There is, in the present officers of the Board, and I have reason to believe among the friends of missions generally thro' the country, a strong desire that I should accept the appointment. My health is such that, in this station, by abstaining from preaching and kindred labors thro' the winter and spring, I shall probably be enabled to perform most of the duties immediately required, and may hope to continue improving in health and advancing toward the restoration of my wonted ability for every kind of service.

At Dr. Wisner's request a council was called, which met on the 12th of November, and completed the severance of the pastoral relation. Dr. Codman was moderator. For the duties of his new position Dr. Wisner was admirably adapted ; he was secretary for the home department, in the work of the board, and in his correspondence and personal addresses he won the full confidence and regard of the churches. But he was arrested by disease in the midst of his labors, and, after an illness of three or four days, he died February 9, 1835. His funeral was attended in the Old South meeting-house by a large concourse of people, and a sermon was preached by Dr. Fay, of Charlestown, in which his character and career were set forth with much appreciation and affection.

We come now to the shortest pastorate in the history of the Old South, that of the Rev. Samuel H. Stearns. The pastorate of the Rev. Alexander Cumming had been brief, — only two years and six months ; but it represented active labor for this period. The active ministry of Mr. Stearns lasted less than three weeks. He was, indeed, a confirmed invalid when he was

called, and both he and the church were hoping against hope, at the time of his ordination ; but he seemed to be so pre-eminently fitted for the vacant pastorate by birth, training, and intellectual and spiritual endowments, and the church in its history and in the opportunities for usefulness which it offered, had such attractions for him, that both parties were ready to take the risk of his being able to endure the strain and bear the burden. His biographer says :—

The infirmities with which the subject of this notice had been long encompassed, were made known without disguise, and the fullest and kindest assurances of all needed aid were received in return. There were also peculiarities in this church and society which seemed to urge, with much decision, a favorable answer to the call. They had been long without a pastor, and been subject to many disheartening providences. They were now united ; and many individuals pressed hard the invitation.

Samuel Horatio Stearns was born September 12, 1801, in Bedford, where his father, the Rev. Samuel Stearns, was the minister for nearly forty years. His grandfathers were the Rev. Josiah Stearns, of Epping, New Hampshire, and the Rev. Jonathan French, of Andover. He graduated at Harvard College in 1823, taking the second honors in the class. He taught for two years in Phillips Academy, Andover, and then entered the theological seminary there, graduating in 1828. He began to preach at once ; but his health soon failed him, and although he returned to ministerial labors once and again, he was engaged in a constant struggle with the insidious disease which was wearing away his life. In the winter of 1833-34 he preached for a single Sabbath at the Old South, and then went to Salem, where he supplied the pulpit of the Tabernacle Church for several weeks. Returning to Boston, he was induced to spend two Sabbaths and the intervening week with the Old South congregation ; the result was, unanimous calls to both places. He gave the preference to Boston, and was ordained April 16, 1834. The Rev. Dr. Skinner, then Bartlet professor at Andover, preached the sermon ; Dr. Wisner offered the ordaining prayer ; Mr. Stearns's father, the venerable minister of Bedford, gave the charge, and his brother, the Rev. William Augustus Stearns, of Cambridge,<sup>1</sup> the right hand of fellowship.

On the Sunday succeeding his ordination, Mr. Stearns preached from Eph. iii. 8 : "Unto me, who am less than the

<sup>1</sup> Afterward president of Amherst College.

least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ;" and from Phil. ii. 17, 18: "Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all. For the same cause also do ye joy, and rejoice with me." In the afternoon discourse he said:—

What may be the design of Providence in leading you now to the united choice of one encompassed with infirmities, we know not. It is yet to be disclosed. God grant it may not be for a mutual chastisement, but for a blessing to me and to you. I come to you in weakness and in fear and in much trembling. It is only some humble trust in him, the joy of whom may be made my strength, and a full confidence in your candor and kindness, that now sustains me. With this I give myself, mind and heart, to the work. It only remains that I ask your constant prayers. . . . Let there be one petition for him who has been consecrated to serve your faith. Pray for him, that his own faith may not fail. Pray that he may have heart and mind and strength to serve you effectually. Pray that he may not falter and languish and faint, and turn from the work, as it would seem that he must; but rather than this, that life and usefulness might terminate together; that if he must fall, he may fall at once in the midst of the service, with the robes of the temple still wrapped about him, like a good soldier of the cross, still fighting the good fight, firm and faithful to the last, and go up all armored and nerved from the combat.

On the second Sunday Mr. Stearns preached twice, and on the third, once; and he never preached again. He rested, he travelled from place to place; and while any probability remained that he might be able to resume his labors, his people would not listen to any proposals looking to his resignation. In the autumn of 1835 he spent one or two Sabbaths with them, he administered to them the sacrament of the Supper, and he took some part in the other public exercises. "Hope now shone full upon his path. He was, however, advised to delay a few weeks,—and a few weeks more! At length, the first Sabbath in January was appointed as the day on which he might go up to the house of the Lord, and feed his flock like a shepherd again. But as the season drew on, after further investigation, it was discovered that his health was by no means matured, and that to preach at present would be a rash experiment, and might be attended with fatal consequences. He must live on hope certainly till spring, possibly till another winter, and indeed no one knew how long. On receiving this information, his heart sank



in despondency. He had, however, acquired vigor of body and mind to act with decision, and to sustain in some measure his disappointment. He returned to Boston, and, after suitable consultation, asked a dismissal." In his letter, dated January 8, 1836, he said :—

It is now just two years since you were induced, in the Providence of God, to invite me to become your Pastor and Minister. The circumstances of that event are fresh in my remembrance. They were peculiar and impressive. Although my health, which was always delicate, had for many years been impaired, and was still feeble, yet upon mature and prayerful deliberation, taking the advice of my nearest relatives, and of my brethren and fathers in the ministry, I was made to feel that it was clearly my duty to accept your invitation. I accepted it in the fulness of my heart ; and from that hour, my mind, and strength, and heart have been sacredly yours. And when our connection was confirmed, on the 16 day of April following, by the holy rites of ordination ; when he who had before been your pastor had offered the solemn prayer, in which, with the "laying on of the hands of the presbytery," I was consecrated to serve you in his stead ; when he who had been the guide of my youth had charged me, before you all, to be faithful to the trust ; when I found myself invested with the authority, and bearing the responsibilities of a regularly constituted minister of the Gospel, and charged especially with the care of your souls, new emotions sprung up in my breast, peculiar to a pastor's heart, and which have since grown deeper, and broader, and more full, as the storms of affliction have passed over us.

But a few weeks only had elapsed, when my most trembling apprehensions were fully realized. Our hopes were blighted. The prospect which had seemed opening upon us, in the dawning of a mild bright day, suddenly closed in with clouds and gloom. My health failed. I fell before you, as it were, on the threshold of the temple which I was entering to minister at its altar. Still we hoped, and strove to comfort ourselves with the hope that the fall was temporary. We hoped, we believed, that the fallen pastor would soon rise again, and return to his work with renewed energy and spirit. But month after month of hope deferred, and the months of a year passed sadly away, and left me still under the grasp of an oppressive and almost fatal disease. It is only within the last six or eight months that my health has been decidedly and surely reviving. There is now, it is thought, a reasonable prospect that, with favorable circumstances, I may ultimately enjoy as much health as is consistent with a delicate constitution. But the progress is slow. In the opinion of my physician and those best qualified to judge, I shall not be able to preach, or to perform any considerable amount of pastoral duty for five or six

months to come. A competent degree of health may indeed be gained sooner ; it may not so soon ; it may *never*. Meantime, I perceive that your interests as a religious society, are suffering for the want of pastoral care and labour, of which, through my own sickness, and the indisposition of your former pastor, you have been deprived for nearly four years. I cannot think of remaining with you as a mere incumbance, or of retaining my office to your serious and permanent injury. Having advised with the pastors of other churches in this city and vicinity, and with judicious friends who are acquainted with your situation, I feel constrained from a sense of duty to God, and from the love I bear to you, to resign my charge. Beloved Brethren, I ask that the sacred tie that binds us in the relation of Pastor and Church, of Minister and People, may be dissolved. Let "the tie that binds our hearts in christian love" remain, and bind us to one another and to our common Father, Redeemer, Comforter forever.

"One desire with regard to his people was still strong in his breast. It was to thank them for their patience, to console them for their disappointment, persuade them anew to press forward to heaven, and take his leave of them, in a farewell discourse. But his constitution was really so infirm, his sensitive spirit had suffered so much, in view of the contemplated separation, that he was now unequal to the task. He began to write, but crippled under the effort. The last sermon which he had preached to his people was from the words of Jesus, 'In the world ye shall have tribulation.' For this he had chosen the remaining clause of the same verse, 'Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.' He had written nearly one half of his discourse, when returning disease forbade him to proceed. The unfinished manuscript survives. It is a broken shaft, and stands among the select discourses, as a monument to his memory." These are its opening sentences :—

Little did we anticipate, when last I was permitted to address you in this sacred place, and was discoursing to you from the words which immediately precede the text, that we should so soon, and to such an extent, be made to realize their import, in our own personal experience. As I look back to that hour, it seems as if a prophetic inspiration had prompted me then to repeat to you the declaration of our Saviour in his farewell address to his disciples, — and to dwell upon the sentiment : "In the world ye shall have tribulation." And now that, after so long a time of separation and painful suspense, I come to address you once more, and for the last time as your pastor, my mind involuntarily fastens upon the words that follow : "But be of good cheer ; I have overcome the world."

The pastoral relation was formally dissolved by a council, March 8, 1836, of which the Rev. Dr. Jenks was moderator. In June Mr. Stearns sailed from New York for Southampton, in company with Professor Stowe, a classmate at Andover, and with him travelled through England, Scotland, and Germany. He was in Paris in October, making his arrangements to return to the United States, when he received and accepted an invitation from Mr. and Mrs. Edward Elbridge Salisbury, members of the Old South Church, to accompany them in their carriage to the South of Italy, and to spend the winter there. "In their society, who, to the last, were to him as a brother and sister, his spirits were kept cheerful, and his health seemed rapidly to improve." In the spring he travelled northward with these excellent friends, parting with them at Geneva, and proceeding in the company of other friends to Paris. "Never," said Mr. Salisbury, in a letter written a few weeks later, "never shall we forget his parting words, as we shook hands repeatedly, and his face bespoke a strife of feelings not expressed, 'Farewell, farewell, God bless you, the God of your fathers bless you!'"<sup>1</sup> After his arrival in Paris, Mr. Stearns failed rapidly. When told that he could not long survive, he addressed a most affecting letter to his relatives and friends in America, full of messages of thoughtfulness and affection. This was his message to the beloved church of which he was still a member:—

I love the Old South, and have never ceased to remember them in my prayers, once and again, since the morning I became their pastor. A pastor's feelings are peculiar. I wish I could address them, and say to them, farewell! I rejoice that they are in the care of so good a pastor [Mr. Blagden]. The Lord bless them and him. I would also say a grateful farewell to my special benefactors, Mr. S., and Mr. F., and Mrs. G. My beloved, affectionate, generous friend—, I bid you a full hearted farewell!

This letter, which cost him many an effort, was dated June 28, 1837. He died July 15, and was buried temporarily in Père la Chaise, the Rev. Edward N. Kirk, who, a few years later, was to enter upon a long and honored pastorate in Boston, conduct-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. and Mrs. Salisbury had been baptized at the Old South, and, in the Hull-Sewall line, represented the seventh generation in the Old South membership. In the Bromfield-Phillips line Mrs. Salisbury (Abigail Salisbury Phillips) also

represented the sixth generation. Her great grandfather, grandfather, and father had been deacons. This ancestry, no doubt, was in the thought of Mr. Stearns when he said to these friends: "The God of your fathers bless you!"

ing the funeral services. In accordance with Mr. Stearns's expressed wish, his remains were brought home, and, after services in his brother's church in Cambridge, were laid to their final rest in Mount Auburn cemetery. In a memoir by this brother, it is said of him :—

As a theologian, he cannot be classed with any of the schools. His philosophy differed in some respects from them all. It was his intention, if life should be spared, to present to the public a system of ethics which, for several years, he had been studying and maturing in his own mind. He hoped, by long and discriminating reflection, to establish some principles in moral philosophy, in which all intelligent, experimental Christians would agree. Nor did he, while cherishing opinions of his own, break recklessly away from Calvin, Edwards and Locke, but rather looked up to these venerable names with reverence approaching awe. At the same time, he examined their doctrines and modes of explanation with severe and patient scrutiny, and made it a rule never to adopt their symbols in expressing truth, till satisfied that these were as exact and comprehensive and transparent as any he could obtain. This, together with the maxim never to color truth, or express more than he believed, is among the reasons that his discourses are so free from the technical language of theologians.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after leaving Andover, Mr. Stearns preached for a time in Beverly, in the First Church, of which the Rev. Dr. Abiel Abbot had been the minister. The Rev. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody, who was brought up in this church, thus writes of Mr. Stearns and his brief ministry there :—

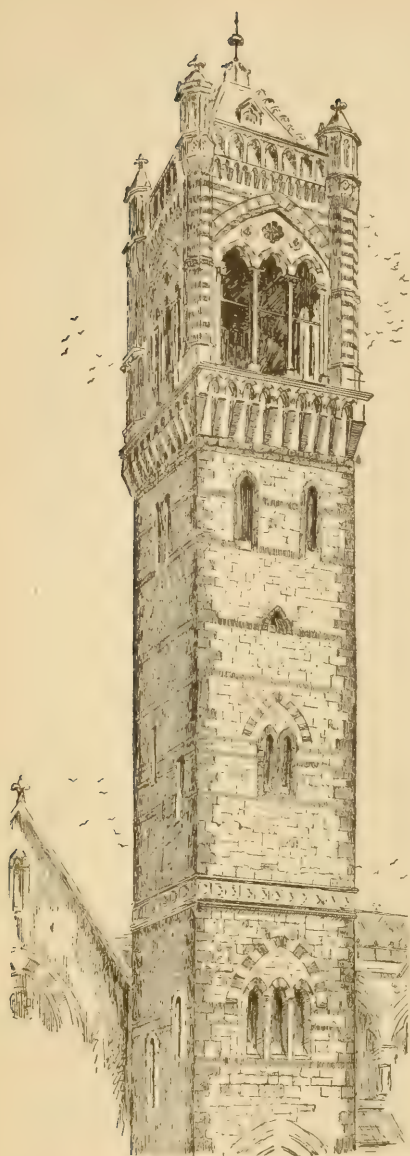
At the time of the division of the Congregational body in Massachusetts, Dr. Abbot took the Unitarian side. His parish and church were divided in opinion. The small majority of both were Unitarians ; but the minority were as strongly attached to Dr. Abbot as those who were in harmony with his theology, and, moreover, were more strongly opposed to the extreme Hopkinsianism of the (so-called) orthodox church hard by than they were to Unitarianism, — indeed, so much so, that when the disruption finally took place, they formed a new church of a more liberal type of orthodoxy. Dr. Abbot died in 1828 ; his successor was ordained in 1830. Meanwhile the two parties hoped and endeavored to remain together. Several candidates preached,

<sup>1</sup> [In a note dated April 24, 1889, Professor Salisbury writes of Mr. Stearns : " He was a large-minded man — inclined rather to find some common ground with those from whom he differed, than to emphasize differences. He had an in-

satiable thirst, which even the dying of his physical frame could not quench, for all that is ' true, beautiful and good ' — indeed, by the daily weakening of his body, he seemed to be etherealized, and to grow in spiritual vigor." ]



some Unitarian, some mildly orthodox. Among those who were thus employed was Rev. Samuel H. Stearns. It must have been in the spring or summer, or both, of 1829. I was at home in both spring and summer of that year, so as to have seen and heard what I remember of him. His sermons were, as it seemed to me, perfect in thought and style, delivered with simplicity, with the fervor of deep conviction, and impressive, chief of all, because they were addressed from heart to heart. They were, as was natural and fitting under such circumstances, not dogmatic, while there was no attempt to conceal his position. My belief is that they fully satisfied the serious and devout worshippers of both creeds as to their spiritual worth, and all hearers of every sect, as to their literary character. I called on him repeatedly, and have the most delightful memory of my talks with him. I was then about to commence my professional study, and our conversation was on subjects connected with the clerical profession, with some free and kind discussion of the questions then at issue. My impression is that he more nearly approached the type of orthodoxy now identified with the Andover school than any other orthodox minister with whom I was conversant for the following twenty or thirty years. But what has left its strongest hold on my memory, is the loveliness of his spirit and the sweetness of his intercourse. Fully aware of what there might be that was not in common, I felt that it would be one of the great happinesses of my life, could I have him as the pastor of my mother and sister, as the successor of my very dearly beloved pastor, and as my own intimate friend. I think that I cannot be mistaken in remembering that he declined, on the score of health, to be considered as a candidate for settlement, and that, had he been a candidate, he would have had the vote of a very large majority of the parish, perhaps a unanimous vote. My kindred and near friends were all Unitarians; but it was among them chiefly that I heard the praises of Mr. Stearns.



## CHAPTER X.

1836-1884.

THE CIVIL WAR. — REMOVAL  
TO THE BACK BAY.

MR. STEARNS, in his letter of resignation, expressed the earnest hope that the church and congregation would soon unite in the choice of another pastor in his place, "equally desirous and more able" to do them good. He said: "I pray that you may be thus united. Nothing would so embitter my remaining life, nothing would so soon bring down my head with sorrow to the grave, as the knowledge that I had been the occasion, however indirectly, however innocently, of dividing and scattering this flock." It was, indeed, most desirable that the pulpit

which had been without an active pastor for so long a time should be filled without delay; and, two months after the formal dismissal of Mr. Stearns, twelve of the pew proprietors addressed a letter to the deacons, asking them to call a meeting of the church to consider the subject of choosing a minister, and proposing the name of the Rev. George W. Blagden, who

from 1827 to 1830 had been pastor of the Evangelical Congregational Church, Brighton, and who from 1830 had been, and then was, pastor of Salem Street Church, Boston. Mr. Blagden was very attractive in his personal appearance and address, scholarly in his attainments, and highly acceptable as a writer and speaker; and he had made a reputation as a faithful minister of Christ during the nine years of his service near and in the city. It was natural, therefore, that he should be thought of among the first for the Old South; but one very serious difficulty lay in the way of giving him a call, — he was a settled pastor, and he was settled over a church whose interests would suffer greatly if he were taken away from it. The Old South had never called a settled minister to its pulpit. Mr. Thacher and Mr. Willard had long ceased to be pastors when they came to the Third Church; and of the eleven who followed them in the pastorate, all were installed as young men. Nor was this a matter of tradition merely, it was one of principle also; and the difficulty was not readily removed. At the first meeting at which the proposed call to Mr. Blagden was considered, the church was divided, ten being in favor of it, and thirteen against it.<sup>1</sup> A second meeting was held two months later, July 12, when a letter was read, signed by James C. White, Samuel Tenney, Samuel W. Hall, and sixteen others, members of Salem Street Church, asking for a suspension of proceedings until they should be able to confer further with their "beloved pastor." It transpired, however, at the meeting, that Mr. Blagden had made up his mind to leave Salem Street in any event; whereupon, on motion of Deacon Armstrong, it was voted, twenty yeas to no nays,<sup>2</sup> as follows: —

Whereas this Church has received such information as leads them to believe that the Rev. G. W. Blagden, "after due deliberation has concluded it to be duty to ask dismission from his people,"

Therefore, Voted, That the Old South Church do hereby call the Rev. G. W. Blagden to become their Pastor, *Provided*, his connection with his present charge be in a regular and christian manner dissolved.

<sup>1</sup> Among those in favor of the call were Deacon Armstrong, Samuel Hall Walley, James Means, Jonathan French, Charles Stoddard, Samuel Davis, and Charles Blake. Deacon Cutler and Deacon Vose were on the other side. Among the pew proprietors, not church members,

who recommended the call were Osmyn Brewster, Francis Welch, James Blake, and Montgomery Newell.

<sup>2</sup> Deacon Vose, who was moderator of the meeting, now voted in favor of the call. Deacon Cutler and four other brethren were excused from voting.



*W. W. Clayton Pastor*





A meeting of the brethren was held September 19 to make arrangements for the installation, when the following vote was unanimously adopted :—

Voted, That the church have received such evidence as fully satisfies them that the Rev. G. W. Blagden has been dismissed from his late charge in a "regular and christian manner," according to the vote passed in Church meeting July 11, 1836. Therefore, the church do hereby approve the same and will now proceed to appoint the committees to make arrangements for, and assist in his installation.

Mr. Blagden was installed on Wednesday, September 28, having previously been received into the membership of the church. Dr. Codman preached the sermon, Dr. Jenks offered the prayer of installation, the Rev. William M. Rogers gave the right hand of fellowship, and the Rev. William A. Stearns offered the concluding prayer.

Mr. Blagden was born in Washington, District of Columbia, October 3, 1802. His father, George Blagden, was a native of Attercliffe, Yorkshire, England, and was one of the first settlers in Washington ; he was a practical mechanic and engineer, and built most of the early public and private buildings in the capital. The son graduated from Yale College in 1823, and from Andover Theological Seminary in 1826. In 1827 he was called to the pastorate of a new church organized in Brighton by a secession from the First Parish there. Of his ministry, in its earlier years, the Rev. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody has said :—

Dr. Blagden must have been settled in Brighton about the time of my graduation. When, three years later, I returned to Cambridge as a professional student, he had great reputation as a preacher. When he exchanged in Cambridgeport I went to hear him, and probably elsewhere. His sermons were remarkable for clearness and precision of statement, purity of style, and wealth of scriptural illustration. They were the utterances of a man, not specially heated for the occasion, but in so familiar conversance with sacred things that their language was his vernacular. Always reverent, always fervent, never impassioned, he made a profound impression upon his hearers by his entire sermon and service, without their being able to select this or that portion of a sermon as specially impressive. His delivery was calm, yet animated, with no bursts of eloquence, but with no letting down. He kept his audience always in close attention, and was always edifying and instructive. His sermons were much better adapted to men's spiritual needs than such sermons as are specially popular now. It was as second to no minister of his denomination

that he was chosen to the Salem Street Church, which needed a strong man to build it up, and that he was translated thence to the Old South.<sup>1</sup>

We have the following estimate of his character from the same facile pen :—

As regards his character, he was one of the most truly lovable men I ever knew. I cannot conceive of his ever having said or thought anything that was not true, and pure, and kind. I had frequent conversations with him on religious subjects ; indeed, when there was no third person in the conversation, we hardly talked of anything else, and we talked not of things as to which we differed, but of those in which we were of one mind. He, however, made no concealment of his opinions, and professed to the last, orthodoxy of the old school, with no essential change from his early ministry. But he held what he deemed the truth in love. He expressed not tolerance for, but sympathy with Christians of every type. Nor was this with him anything new. He referred frequently to early feelings in that respect out of line with his brethren at that time, and once gave me an anecdote of his boyhood as to circumstances that led him to believe in goodness outside his own pale. His social intimacies in his later years, have been, I think, largely with persons not of his own denomination, who have held him in reverence and in the dearest love, and for whom he has given every token of fond and high regard. No man has had warmer friends, or has been more honored in life, or has left a more precious memory.<sup>2</sup>

In 1842 there was a general revival of religious interest in the churches in Boston, and the Old South received forty-three persons to its membership. The following references to this interest appear upon the records :—

Friday, March 11. At the regular church meeting, after deliberation, it was Voted, at the suggestion of the pastor, with the consent of the officers of the church, to set apart four evenings next week, besides the ordinary Tuesday and Friday evenings, for special religious services, with reference to the present state of the church and congregation. The young men of the church coöperated in this measure, with commendable zeal.

Friday eve'g. March 18. It was concluded by silent and general assent, to continue the same special religious services, during the coming week.

<sup>1</sup> [See *Commemorative Discourse* by the Rev. Charles A. Stoddard, D. D., p. 17.]      <sup>2</sup> [*Ibid.*, pp. 24, 25. This discourse was preached Feb. 22, 1885.]

In 1844 the Second Church—the church of the Mathers—determined to rebuild its meeting-house, and while this work was in progress, it availed itself of an invitation to worship under the roof of the Old South. In courteous recognition of the hospitality extended to it at this time, it gave a silver cup to the Old South which appears upon its table every Communion Sabbath in testimony of the friendly relations which have subsisted between these historic churches for more than two centuries.<sup>1</sup>



The meeting house taken down in 1844 was built in 1721; it had been known as the New Brick, and had been the scene of the ministerial labors of Waldron, Welsteed, Gray, and Pemberton. Cotton Mather preached its dedication sermon; and, with the exception of the Old South, its pulpit had been occupied by Whitefield more frequently perhaps than any other in Boston. After the Revolution it became the home of the Second Church, by the union of the Old North and the New Brick congregations under Mr. Lathrop.<sup>2</sup> On the 11th of March, 1844, farewell services were held within its walls, and the Rev. Chandler Robbins preached a sermon, from which we quote a few sentences:—

We meet to-day for the last time in this venerable house. It has stood a hundred and twenty-three years. It is the oldest temple in the city. Christ Church, its ancient neighbor, is its junior by more than two years, and the Old South by nearly nine. It has been an object of sacred interest to many generations. Its image has been connected with the idea of God, in the minds of myriads who have been born and lived and died within sight of its spire. Hallowed associations gather thickly around it. Its walls are hung with the memorials of ancient days. Shadowy processions of the sainted dead seem to move along its aisles; and a solemn chant, as of many voices, known and unknown, mingling in psalms and prayers, to swell beneath its roof.

<sup>1</sup> At or about the same time, the Old South Chapel was placed at the disposal of the Church of Our Saviour, the Rev. Robert C. Waterston, pastor, which was

building its new meeting-house in Bedford Street. This church was merged in the Second Church in 1854.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 187.



It is a serious thing to demolish a house like this. It is a solemn act to destroy these time-hallowed walls. It is more, far more, than merely to take down the material pile, which hands, long since mouldered to dust, assisted to raise. These stones and bricks are inwrought with holy sentiments; they are inscribed with honored names; they are written all over with religious reminiscences; they enshrine venerated images; they are the memorials of the piety and faith of our fathers; they are largely and intimately connected with the spiritual life of past and present generations. . . . A sacred, a spiritual fabric of hallowed memories and associations will be shattered together with these crumbling walls, — and fall never to rise again.

But everything must yield to the immediate wants and will of the living. The command of present use is in our day incontrovertible and supreme. The marks of its empire are all around us. It takes down and builds up, and knows no veneration. The sacred and the beautiful are continually bowing before it. It has often pointed ominously at this old edifice. It has touched it now, and to-morrow it falls.

In 1805 "the proprietors of the Old South Church and congregation" voted to apply to the legislature for an act of incorporation, and appointed a committee for the purpose. It does not appear, however, that any application was then made, and, certainly, no act was granted.<sup>1</sup> Probably the measure was disapproved by some of the brethren who were not proprietors of pews. But, in 1844, it had become apparent to all that the time was come for incorporating the society. The property had greatly increased in value; and the uncertainties of the law, together with the fluctuation of population, made it imperative that, without further delay, its tenure should be defined and secured by something more recent than the original deeds of gift. On the 26th of March, 1845, Governor Briggs approved a bill, which had been signed by Samuel Hurd Walley, speaker of the House of Representatives, and Levi Lincoln, president of the Senate, incorporating Samuel Turell Armstrong, Pliny Cutler, Charles Stoddard (deacons), and others, proprietors of pews in the Old South meeting-house, by the name of the Old South Church in Boston.<sup>2</sup> "Said corporation," it was enacted, "shall be deemed and taken to be the successors of said proprietors, and are hereby authorized to take and hold to the use of said corporation and its successors and assigns, in fee simple, all and singular that parcel of real estate situate on Milk, Washington

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter 229 of the Statutes of 1845. The corporate name was afterward

changed to "The Old South Society in Boston;" Chapter 88 of the Statutes of 1859.

and Spring Streets in said Boston, and now known as the estate belonging to the Old South Church and Society, whereon the meeting-house and other buildings stand, for the support of public worship, for parochial and charitable purposes in this Commonwealth, and for paying the debts of said corporation."

The act of incorporation was accepted at a meeting held April 7, 1845, Francis Welch, moderator. Henry Davenport was chosen clerk, and a standing committee was constituted, with the following members: James Means,<sup>1</sup> Bela Hunting, Peter Thatcher, Increase Sumner Withington, Charles Blake, Samuel Johnson, Benjamin Atkins, Jonathan French, Uriel Crocker.

The pew proprietors had already had under consideration the desirableness of taking down the parsonage houses in Milk Street, erected in 1807, and utilizing the site for business purposes. Families were deserting Milk and Pearl Streets, and solid blocks of warehouses were taking the place of the dignified and comfortable mansion houses in which three generations of prosperous citizens had lived and died. A fine building, known as Bowdoin Block, had been erected on the land directly opposite the parsonage houses, formerly owned by Governor Bowdoin; and the society had received eligible offers for the use of its property from some of the most responsible firms in the city. A small minority, however, protested against the proposed changes, and prevented action for the time. A doubt was raised as to whether the society had a right to improve this land by building warehouses upon it, although it had been allowed to lie vacant for twenty-six or seven years after the death of Mrs. Norton. Nearly half a century before Theophilus Parsons had given an opinion, on the strength of which the society built its stores in Washington Street, in part on the site of the original parsonage, the home of John Winthrop and of John Norton. Another eminent lawyer was now consulted, Jeremiah Mason,<sup>2</sup> who gave an opinion, January 14, 1845, in which, having stated the case and the questions raised by it, he said:—

<sup>1</sup> James Howard Means, son of James Means, joined the Old South Church June 26, 1842. He graduated at Harvard College in 1843, and at Andover in 1847; and, July 13, 1848, he was ordained colleague pastor with Dr. Codman over the Second Church, Dorchester. He married Charlotte Abigail, daughter of Sam-

uel Johnson; she became a member of the Old South Church January 30, 1842.

<sup>2</sup> On his removal from Portsmouth to Boston, Mr. Mason became a member of the Old South Church (September 25, 1831). He became afterward a communicant at St. Paul's (Episcopal) Church.

A copy of an opinion of the late Chief-Justice Parsons has been shown me, given in 1800, in which he says, that the terms used in the aforesaid deed do not constitute a condition, on which a forfeiture may be incurred, but only a direction, a deviation from which will not defeat the title of the society. I fully concur with that opinion. None can carry with it greater authority. Indeed, were it doubtful whether the provisions of that deed might not be construed to amount to a condition, little danger to the title of the parish need be apprehended from such construction. None but the heirs of the grantor can take advantage of the breach of condition. In her will she mentions no descendants, which she would have been likely to do had she left any ; and it is in the highest degree improbable that any person now living can be able to establish his heirship to Mary Norton, by any line of collateral kindred, after the lapse of so long a period. I am of opinion, therefore, that there is no ground for any reasonable apprehension of danger from forfeiture by breach of condition.

As to the question whether the deed creates a trust, I think it apparent from the language of the deed that the grantor intended that the granted premises should be forever applied to the use of a meeting-house thereon, to be erected by the parish then about to be established, and for a parsonage-house for the use of the ministers of such parish. This, in my opinion, created a valid trust, and I think the parish now hold the land subject to that trust. At the time when Chief-Justice Parsons gave his opinion on the case, no court in this State had power to enforce the execution of trusts. The Superior Court of Judicature now has jurisdiction competent for that purpose. A Court of Chancery, in dealing with trusts for charitable uses, will never vacate or set aside a trust because it has been abused or misused, and restore the property to the heirs of the donor ; but will, in a proper case, compel the specific execution of the trust, for the benefit of the *cestui que trust*. The only person interested in the specific execution of this trust (that is, in having always a parsonage house on the land granted in trust,) is the minister of the parish for the time being. The great change of circumstances since the time of the conveyance has rendered that land an inconvenient and ineligible site for a dwelling-house. The present minister is desirous of a residence in a more retired situation. Under these circumstances, I am of opinion that the parish may, without any abuse of the trust, apply this land to the use of warehouses, and provide for their minister a suitable dwelling-house in a more convenient situation. So long as the income derived from the warehouses shall be faithfully applied to the support of the minister, and other necessary expenses of the parish, no Court of Chancery will, I think, ever hold this to be an abuse or mismanagement of the trust. More especially will this be deemed not an abuse or breach of the trust, when it is done with the consent of the *cestui*

*que trust*, the minister of the parish, — the only party in interest. Such consent the present incumbent, it is said, is ready to give in authentic form.

In the act of incorporation granted by the legislature a few weeks after Mr. Mason gave the opinion from which we have quoted, it was provided as follows :—

Said corporation is hereby authorised and empowered to demise and lease all or any of said real estate excepting the meeting-house and land under the same, in such manner and upon such terms and conditions as may seem needful or expedient.

The clause excepting the meeting-house and the land under it from the general provision of the section was inserted on the request of the members of the society, who, notwithstanding the great changes which had taken place to the north and east of their land, could not anticipate that their meeting-house would not be as available for the uses of public worship as it then was for two generations to come. The standing committee reported at the annual meeting in 1846 :—

A block of three granite stores, with three smaller ones in the rear, have been erected and finished in modern style, which for beauty, durability, perfection of workmanship, and adaptation to the uses for which they were intended, has no superior in the city of Boston.<sup>1</sup>

As the income of the society was increasing, the members determined to occupy some field of usefulness outside the confines of the parish, and, in 1856, a Sunday-school was opened in Lowell Street, where a church had been sustained from 1849 to 1853. This was the beginning of the work which, in 1861,

<sup>1</sup> [Gridley J. F. Bryant was the architect, and J. E. & N. Brown were the builders.

In 1851 the steeple of the meeting-house was repaired at an expense of ten thousand dollars. It was said in the report of the committee: "Arrangements were made to paint the outside of the steeple, and the staging was erected for that purpose, when it was ascertained that the whole of the wood-work above the bell-deck was in a very decayed and dangerous condition, so much so, that it was matter of surprise that the whole fabric had not long since been prostrated. Thorough repair of this was found necessary, and stick after stick of the frame

of the steeple was condemned and removed, and new ones substituted, until hardly a stick of the old steeple remained. In the course of the repairs it was found practicable to restore the steeple to its perpendicular, and it was at last finished at an expense but little if any short of what it would have been, if the old steeple had been first removed and a new one regularly constructed. It is now much stronger than ever before, being double boarded laterally and sheathed with substantial copper and most of the timbers braced with iron; the inside has been repaired, so that it is convenient of access, and is well ventilated to preserve the wood from decay."]



was transferred to Chambers Street, and was carried on there for many years. The plan contemplated the maintenance of regular services at the branch chapel, and, perhaps, the establishment of a church, and, in furtherance of these objects, it seemed necessary to settle a colleague pastor with Dr. Blagden. Some time before, in the winter of 1851-52, several of the brethren addressed a letter to the pastor, proposing the settlement of a colleague, in view of "the present necessities of our growing city," and of "the ability of our society to meet these wants," and "in conformity with the ancient usages of the society." In his reply Dr. Blagden said: "I am ready, therefore, after a mature and I hope prayerful deliberation, and consultation with those whom I believe to be friends of Christ, to coöperate with the church and society if they shall desire it, in the settlement of a colleague pastor, with the expectation that there shall be included in such an arrangement an extension of plan and effort, which shall effectually meet the wants we desire to supply, and wisely and faithfully use the means with which we are intrusted." "With no strong predilections for any particular form" which the arrangement should take, the pastor suggested the collegiate plan. This reply was read, and the whole subject was considered at a meeting February 4, 1852, and a committee was appointed for its further consideration, consisting of the deacons, Pliny Cutler, Charles Stoddard, and Loring Lothrop, with Uriel Crocker and George R. Sampson. This committee reported a vote, March 17, which was adopted, "that it is expedient to settle a colleague pastor in Old South Church," and, April 5, a larger committee was appointed,<sup>1</sup> charged with the duty, in conference with a committee of the society, "of inviting candidates for the office of colleague pastor." The plan included "the opening of a chapel for worship on the Sabbath, and the establishment of a Sabbath evening lecture at Old South." The society did not coöperate, and no further action was taken at this time. The committee of the church satisfied itself, however, by correspondence with those who were qualified to give an intelligent opinion, that it was inexpedient to introduce the collegiate system into the Old South organization. More than four years passed before final action was taken; and, at length, the choice of the church was fixed upon the Rev. J. M. Manning, of Medford, and its call to settle as associate pastor was accepted by him.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny Cutler, Charles Stoddard, Loring Lothrop, Joshua B. Kimball, Henry H. Jones, Zachariah Jellison, George F. Bigelow.



*J. M. Manning*



Jacob Merrill Manning was born, December 31, 1824, at Greenwood, Steuben County, New York, "a district in which the Alleghany Mountains throw out their spurs into western New York, and where the people who had come in to occupy the little farms along the valleys retained the primitive habits of much earlier times. His father, Jacob Manning, was one of the five pioneers that settled in the township which at that time was a complete wilderness. Originally from New Hampshire, he is described as having been an intelligent man and an earnest Christian, always foremost in any good enterprise, and warmly identified with the cause of evangelical religion." The son worked hard for several years on his father's farm, and in his eighteenth year went to Franklin Academy, Prattsburgh. Here he became a decided Christian and a member of the church, and after much deliberation and prayer formed the purpose of studying for the gospel-ministry. In 1846 he entered Amherst College and graduated four years later. The present president, Dr. Seelye, who was a fellow-student with him, says: "He took high rank as a scholar, showing the same diligence in study, the same carefulness of judgment, the same penetration and breadth and accuracy, which afterwards distinguished him. In the classics and the mathematics, he showed equal aptitude. He was gifted in speech; he was fond of debate and excellent as a writer; but he never seemed to suffer his likes or dislikes to control him in his studies, or indeed in any of his pursuits. A way of duty, wherever it might lead, always opened up to him a well of delight. Indeed, a sense of duty, an unqualified faithfulness to his trusts, was always, when in college, his ardent inspiration. He did his work with a genuine moral earnestness." Another fellow-student says of his Christian life in college, that it was "hopeful and believing. He never had dark days, but always seemed to live in the sunshine, never doubting his Lord and never wavering in his devotion. Free from all cant and bigotry, full of love and trust, his Christian experience lent to his Christian endeavor a powerful and constant attraction. He will be remembered by all who knew him in college as a man among the foremost in character and scholarship, and power of thought and speech, who took his high position among his fellows without jealousy on his part or envy on theirs, and who left a record of moral earnestness and Christian devotion not only without reproach, but radiant still with the light of his undoubting faith and his unquenchable hope and love."



From Amherst Mr. Manning passed with high honor in his class to Andover Theological Seminary, where "he attracted the attention of his instructors, not only by his marked individuality of character and originality of thought, but also by that touch of genius in him which made him quick in detecting analogies for himself, and responsive to the poetic utterances of others." Nor did his intellectual activity and development stop short at the time of graduation. This was simply his point of departure for more severe study and for more thorough investigation. "Very early he had taken his ground on evangelical truth, and he kept it to the last; but he kept it with a hospitable outlook to that which claimed to be new, though he was careful to receive nothing that could not stand the test of being weighed in the balance of the word of God. He read much, and what he read he carefully and independently judged. From his port of departure he was quite willing to circumnavigate the whole globe of truth, and he was not afraid of anything which he might discover, for his first meridian always passed through Calvary, and everything was rated by its relation to that."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Manning was ordained to the pastorate of the Mystic Congregational Church, Medford, Massachusetts, January 3, 1854. Here "he spent three years of quiet, unobtrusive usefulness and great happiness, drawing to himself the confidence and affection of the people of his charge." Here, too, he was preparing for his life-work in the neighboring capital, which was to include active participation in the great struggle whose portentous shadow was already beginning to darken the political sky, and the leadership of this ancient church through one of the most momentous crises of its history.

A council of twenty-three churches was convened, Wednesday morning, March 11, 1857, for the installation of Mr. Manning

<sup>1</sup> See the memorial sermon preached by request of the Old South Church, February 18, 1883, by the Rev. W. M. Taylor, D. D., of New York. At Dr. Manning's funeral, Dr. Duryea said: "While he held the truths he thought to be essential, nevertheless he well knew that no truth can be so revealed to the mind that it will not take new shape as it is wrought into thought, and fixed among the motive forces of character and life. He knew that spiritual penetration and discernment come from experience, and

that the true interpretation of every word of God comes from simple living with God; that this enables the soul, both in thought and feeling, to divine in God's revelations God's own meaning. He was willing, therefore, to hold the forms of truth flexible and yielding, so that the perfect expression might come forth by studious contemplation of the word, and most of all by communion with God and the following of Christ, under the influence and in the atmosphere of the Holy Spirit."

as associate pastor of the Old South. In conformity with the more recent custom of the Massachusetts churches, the qualifications of the pastor-elect and the expediency of his settlement had been referred to the council by the letter-missive. There was no positive manifestation of partisanship in the examination, but the proceedings occupied a much longer time than had been anticipated, and the congregation assembled for the public exercises was obliged to wait for an hour or longer, while the council was deliberating on some question of procedure. Professor Park preached the sermon; his subject was, *The Revelation of God in His Works*, and his text, Psalm xix. 1-4: "The heavens declare the glory of God," etc. The installing prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. Albro, of Cambridge; the charge was given by President Stearns, of Amherst College; the right hand of fellowship by the Rev. Dr. Blagden,<sup>1</sup> and the address to the people by the Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams.

In the application of his subject Dr. Park said:—

The material heavens are but auxiliaries to the humble preacher who speaks in the name of this Psalmist's Lord and Son. The very stars are but asterisks, referring to some note on the atoning love which is the minister's great theme. The preacher's body, fearfully and wonderfully made; his mind, which will declare the glory of God when the material heavens shall have been folded up as a vesture; his manner of life, which, if he have an unction from the Holy One, is an epistle from Jehovah to men; his discourses, which, so far as they are true, are but a paraphrase of the inspired word;—all that he does and all that he is in fidelity to his Maker, make him a representative of the Law and of the Gospel, and an exponent both of nature and of grace.

And when he takes the oversight of a church like this, consecrated with rich and ancient memories, he gathers together all the voices of the past, and echoes them as the present voice of God to his people. Standing in this pulpit, he recalls the prayers which have been offered

<sup>1</sup> Although Dr. Blagden gave the right hand of fellowship in behalf and by vote of the council, it had been arranged beforehand by the church that he should do so, precisely as it had been arranged that Mr. Lowell should perform this duty at the ordination of Mr. Wisner. Dr. Blagden had prepared himself and had put his address upon paper before the council came together. This illustrates more clearly, what we have already intimated, that the objection to Mr.

Lowell's taking the part which had been assigned to him by the church on the ground that it was the prerogative of the council to designate the minister who should express in its behalf the fellowship of the churches, was only a pretext put forward as a cover for partisan purposes. There were no party reasons in 1857, as there had been in 1821, why the plainly expressed wishes of the church should be thwarted. See *ante*, vol. ii. pp. 467-475.

here, one of them celebrated throughout the Christian world as an illustration of prevailing entreaty. He recounts the influences which have flowed from members of this church over men who have affected the destiny of empires. He reiterates the counsels of those godly pastors, whose natural voice is not heard now, and there is no speech nor language coming audibly from their tombs; but their real words are still going out to the ends of the world. He recites the records of this church, as it began its alms-deeds more than a hundred years before our republic had a place among the independent nations of the earth. He describes the future progress of this church, if it remain true to its ancient promise; for so it will continue its beneficence hundreds of years after the present dynasties of the world shall have died away; for, in the history of a church like this, century uttereth speech to century, and generation showeth knowledge to generation; and though it be a small republic, it may remain unharmed and intact, though all the civil institutions around it sink into oblivion. All these, and more than these hallowed remembrances, will the minister of this people utter forth until the stones of this ancient edifice "shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer" them; the pews, as well as the pulpit, declaring the glory of Him who has promised to guide the children, as he guarded the fathers in Israel.<sup>1</sup>

The associate pastors entered immediately upon the enlarged work which had been planned in anticipation of Mr. Manning's settlement, amid many circumstances to encourage them in it. On the 25th of January, 1858, the church appointed a committee consisting of the pastors, the Lowell Street committee of

<sup>1</sup> [Professor Park has been so thoroughly identified with the reactionary party in the recent controversies, and with the Andover prosecutions, that we find it difficult to think of him as being, a third of a century ago, a representative of all that was progressive in Massachusetts Congregationalism, and of his being distrusted and disliked by the conservatives of that day as the leader of "a semi-Arminian party." Dr. Parsons. Cooke, in a Protest addressed to the Congregational Board of Publication in 1859, said of this party and its leader: "For its propagation his industry is unsleeping, and his power in its sphere, and somewhat beyond its sphere is irresistible. His eye is on every vacant parish, to put his own instruments in the most commanding positions, and exclude those not subscribing to his creed." It was alleged that Dr. Park had prevented the settlement of a minister, because he was a decided Calvinist, over "a church not twenty miles from Boston;" and, added Dr. Cooke, "still nearer home might we illustrate his policy of pressing a minister of his stripe upon a church against a strong opposition." This last sentence was supposed to have reference to Mr. Manning and the Old South. Without doubt, Dr. Park strongly favored Mr. Manning's settlement here, and the brethren of the church gave due weight to his opinion. They paid little attention to the heresy-hunters and panic-manufacturers of the period; and while the more conservative pulpits were closed against the Andover professor, they had not hesitated to invite him to preach for them for a considerable length of time, during Dr. Blagden's absence in Europe.]

the society, and the Lowell Street city missionary, "to consider the expediency of taking immediate measures for the organization of a church in connection with the congregation now worshipping in the Lowell Street Chapel." Such a church was formed, but not until December 4, 1861, and, in the mean time, the mission had been removed to more eligible quarters in Chambers Street.

In the spring of 1858 there was a very general revival of religion in New England and other parts of the country, in which the churches in Boston shared, and a large number was added to the membership of the Old South. Two or three years of quiet, faithful, and effective church work followed, and then came the war of the rebellion, under the stress of which all other efforts and aspirations were held subordinate to the struggle and the agony for the nation's life.

It was natural that at the uprising of the people in 1861, and in the years when the spirit of patriotism was actively dominant, a fresh interest should be awakened in the Old South meeting-house as an historical building, especially in the recollection of what it had witnessed and what it had suffered before and during the war of the Revolution, and that, in the new emergency, it should be recognized as a fitting centre, and become a favorite rallying point, both for prayer and supplication to Almighty God, in remembrance of his gracious and glorious interventions and deliverances in the past, and for mutual counsel, earnest appeal, and personal consecration, in emulation of the spirit of self-surrender which had found noble and significant expression within its walls in other times which tried men's souls. After the attack upon Fort Sumter, the proclamation of President Lincoln, and the departure of the first militia regiments for the defence of the national capital, the American flag was displayed on every hand in manifestation of the loyalty and determination of the people. On the 1st of May there was a flag-raising at the Old South, in the presence of a large assemblage, with prayer and speeches and martial music. In a printed report of the proceedings it is said :—

In this day of disaster and disruption, when national harmony is disturbed, when the beautiful order of the republic is broken up, and the dearest interests of ourselves and our posterity are in peril, the standing committee of the Old South Society, with the pastors and officers of the church, have deemed it eminently proper for them to unite with their fellow-citizens, in expressions of loyalty to the gov-



ernment, in its efforts to restore order, peace and justice throughout the land. . . .

Thus true to the memories of the past, and devoted to the country, whose glory must not pass away, the Old South to-day gives our national flag to the breeze, — bearing upon it the motto, True to our Revolutionary principles, — and declares to the world that good men will cheerfully put themselves forward to protect it.

Mr. George Homer presided, Dr. Blagden offered prayer, and Mr. Homer, Mr. Manning, and Dr. Blagden made addresses, speaking from a platform which had been erected by the side of the tower. The addresses of the associate pastors fairly represented the two classes in the society and in the community, which, with equal sincerity and earnestness, united for the support of the government at this crisis: those who looked forward to the restoration of “order, peace and justice throughout the land” without disturbing, necessarily, existing institutions, and those who, believing that the peace of the nation had been disturbed and its disruption threatened by the assumptions and encroachments of the slave power, looked forward to the emancipation of the slaves as a measure not only demanded by every consideration of right and justice, but as indispensable to the restoration and perpetuity of the national prosperity. In his prayer, Dr. Blagden said: —

Bless thy servant, the president of our Union, and those immediately connected with him in the administration of our government. Be with them in those solemn moments, when the lives and the happiness of multitudes may hang on their decisions. Render them firm and energetic in action. We pray that the spirit of the gospel of Christ may prevail in all the acts of the government; and that thy grace may preserve us a united people, under the constitution through which we have acquired and enjoyed so much.

O Lord, if this question must be settled by the shedding of blood, go with our hosts in action. Yet, if it be thy will, so guide the minds of our erring countrymen, that this issue may be avoided. But, if thou hast otherwise determined, grant that we, who sustain the government and the laws of the country, may be united, and be blessed, and be made successful by thee.

To the same effect, Dr. Blagden said in his address: —

We are united in eternal truth: For we meet to sustain just government. The powers that be are ordained of God. The magistrate beareth not the sword in vain. This truth is mighty and will prevail. The flag we have raised is an emblem of it, and of a free government,

from which men cannot secede but by rebellion. . . . They who have left us did not appreciate the blessings and the protection they, with their property, enjoyed under our constitution. We may say of them, that they went out from us, but they were not of us ; for, if they had been of us, they would, no doubt, have continued with us ; but they went out that they might be made manifest, that they were not all of us. They have made a great mistake.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Manning's anticipation of the prevalence of actual freedom throughout the land as the grand result of the war showed itself in every sentence of his glowing speech. He said : —

God's temple welcomes the star-spangled banner to-day, — for that banner has ceased to be the sign of corrupt fellowship, or of suberviency to wrong, and has become the symbol of justice and loyalty to human rights. There floats the ensign of the free. We hail it with patriotic shouts, for it signals to us divine order and the brotherhood of men. Those stripes of crimson and pearl, and that constellation on its field of blue, are thrilling twenty millions of hearts while I speak. . . . All that beautifies and blesses American society, asks to sit in the shadow of the dear old flag ; only that which is hateful and destructive would drag it from the sky, and rend and trample it. The African, out of his ages of bondage, is peering, with a strange thrill of joy, at these stars and stripes ; to him they are an auroral vision, — the early twilight, with its streak of flame, telling him that the day of redemption draweth nigh. Into this shadow flock those who would honor the mighty past, and secure a mightier future. Hither come loyalty, order, goodness, civilization, the arts, philanthropy. And now, Christianity, divine mistress of the earth, bids her temples bear up this glorious ensign, as if to consecrate it to its new and holy mission, and thus signify what banner it is, which she will entwine with her own, when the kingdoms of the world shall become the kingdoms of the Lord.

The first mention of the war in the church records is as follows : —

Sabbath Day, August 18, 1861. After the morning service a letter was read from the Harvard Congregational Church, Brookline, inviting an Ecclesiastical Council this evening, and the attendance of this church thereon by pastors and delegate, to examine and ordain Mr. Edward L. Clark, as a minister of the Gospel, he having been appointed as chaplain of a regiment of the United States.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Two of Dr. Blagden's sons served in the army of the Union.]

<sup>2</sup> [Mr. Edward Lord Clark graduated at Brown University in 1858. After serving as chaplain of the 12th Regiment

Mass. Vol. Militia, he completed his theological studies at Andover. He has been for many years pastor of the Church of the Puritans (Presbyterian), New York.]

Voted to comply, and James G. Blake was chosen delegate.

Attest,      GEO. F. BIGELOW, Clerk.

Memorandum. The examination and ordination services were held in the Old South Church in the evening, — sermon by Dr. Blagden.

Late in the summer of 1862 the government ordered the immediate draft of three hundred thousand men to serve for nine months ; this was in addition to a call issued not long before for three hundred thousand men to serve for three years or during the war. It was an anxious time. General McClellan's campaign in the peninsula had not been successful, and there had just been some desperate fighting at Culpeper or Cedar Mountain. Enlistments in the Commonwealth had been averaging a thousand a day under the first call, and it was necessary to make a vigorous effort in order to raise the additional quota by voluntary offers of service, and, if it might be, to avoid an enforced draft. More than five hundred firms in Boston agreed to close their places of business at two o'clock in the afternoon through the week beginning on Monday, August 11, and a series of public meetings was arranged for the purpose of promoting enlistments. One of the first and most enthusiastic of these popular gatherings was held in the yard of the Old South, the use of which the standing committee had given to the authorities for recruiting purposes. The bell was tolled, a band of music was in attendance, and the concourse of people in the street was so great that traffic at that point was suspended for the time. The Hon. Samuel Hurd Walley presided, and the mayor of the city, Mr. Joseph M. Wightman, and others, made patriotic speeches. In eight weeks one thousand and nineteen men volunteered and were examined in the porch of the Old South, and it was said in one of the newspapers : " It is very proper at this time to inform the public that the opening of these grounds has given an impetus to patriotic feelings and actions to a greater extent than any other one movement that has been made in Boston."

One of the regiments raised at this time, the forty-third, Colonel Charles L. Holbrook, many of whose men had been recruited under the shadow of the Old South, was very anxious that Mr. Manning should accompany it as chaplain to the seat of war. A special meeting of the brethren was held in the chapel October 6, at which the following letter was read : —

To the members of the Old South Church,

*Dear Brethren,*

Having been designated as chaplain of the 43rd Regiment M. V. M. raised for nine months, and not feeling that it would be right for me to decline the service except for very urgent reasons, I now beg leave to submit the matter for your action, hoping that you may see fit to grant me the necessary absence, and assured that you will look to the Great Head of the Church for guidance to a right decision.

Very truly and affectionately,

Your brother and pastor,

J. M. MANNING.

At the same meeting, a letter from Dr. Blagden was read, in which he said: —

I shall with pleasure accord with the brethren and members of the Church and Society, should they see fit to comply with Rev. Mr. Manning's request, and in thus acting with them I beg leave particularly to ask that they will provide such a minister as they shall approve to perform in connection with me the same pastoral and pulpit duties which have been expected of the Rev. Mr. Manning. My deep convictions of what is for the highest good of the Old South Church and Society, and of the Church and Congregation in Chambers Street, as well as my own greater usefulness, prompt me to make this special request.

The church, and afterward the society, granted the desired leave of absence to Mr. Manning, continuing his salary, and paying for a supply. The Rev. Swift Byington was engaged to fill the temporary vacancy.<sup>1</sup>

On Wednesday, November 5, the 43d Regiment came in to Boston from Readville, and marched to the Common, where a set of colors was presented to it by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, in behalf of the officers and members of the Boston Light Infantry, under whose auspices it had been raised. It then embarked, in company with the 45th and 46th,<sup>2</sup> on board the steamers Merrimac and Mississippi. The ships remained at anchor in President Roads for several tedious days, during which there was a very severe snow-storm, and, at length, on the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Byington graduated at Yale College in 1847, and at Andover Theological Seminary in 1850. He had been pastor at West Brookfield, and acting pastor in Woburn, before coming to the Old South. He has for several years

been pastor of the First Church, Exeter, N. H.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Edward C. Johnson, a son of Mr. Samuel Johnson, was an officer in the 44th Regiment, which also went to North Carolina.



following Monday afternoon, proceeded on their voyage to the coast of North Carolina.

Of Mr. Manning's devotion to his country at this time, and of its consequences to himself personally, Dr. Taylor thus speaks, in the memorial sermon from which we have already quoted:—

When the war broke out men knew where to find him; and on numerous occasions, at flag raisings and on national holidays, his eloquent words of earnest devotion to the nation and to freedom kindled enthusiasm in all who listened. But in the climax and crisis of his country's agony he was not content to give his voice alone; he gave also himself, for when he was appointed, in 1862, to the chaplaincy of the Forty-third Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, and his people consented to his acceptance of that offer, he went with an ardor which still burns through the printed words of his sermon on "The Soldier of Freedom,"<sup>1</sup> and shared the privations and the hazards of the men to whom he ministered. With his experiences among the soldiers many of you must be familiar through the letters which he regularly sent to one of the Boston newspapers at the time;<sup>2</sup> but, as helping to show the sort of man he was, I must be allowed to quote the following sentences from one who was a daily eye-witness of the manner in which he performed his duties. After describing the tent which, by the liberality of friends, had been furnished for the religious services of the regiment, the writer proceeds: "By the efforts of the chaplain a choir was gathered of men of the regiment, which included many excellent voices. The attendance of the men at the Sunday services was not compulsory; the officers and privates were simply requested to assemble in the tent at a fixed hour, when the drums gave the proper signal.

"A more sedate or orderly audience could seldom be found in any New England congregation than the one gathered in that tent, which was generally well filled Sunday after Sunday. The services were short, simple, and interesting. Oftentimes the chaplain became very earnest and eloquent in his remarks as was proved by the sympathetic looks or moistened eyes of his hearers. . . . Dr. Manning was post-master of the regiment as well as chaplain, and the duties of that office were often quite onerous, but were always discharged to the satisfaction of every one interested. He also gathered from his friends at home a large amount of instructive and entertaining reading matter, in the form of the magazines of the day, and other cheap but good

<sup>1</sup> [On Sunday morning October 5, 1862, Mr. Manning preached a sermon in the Old South, before the officers of the regiment, from Eph. iv. 1: "I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called."]

<sup>2</sup> These letters appeared in the *Boston Daily Journal*, and were signed "Old South."

books, and thus the chaplain's tent became, as it were, a circulating library room, which was eagerly visited by all of the officers and men. These things gave him many opportunities for private, moral, and religious work, whose influence will never in this world be fully known. . . . As might have been expected, he carried his temperance principles into army life. This was particularly manifested by two incidents : first, by his agreement with two other staff officers before they reached Newbern, that they would not, on their arrival in North Carolina, mess with the other officers, field and staff, unless a rule should be adopted that no intoxicating drinks should ever be placed upon their common table. To the credit of the mess it should be stated that this was the rule, and it was never violated. The other incident was this : The surgeon of the regiment believing that the daily use of whiskey by the men under his care would be positively hurtful, at the first and always refused to sign the requisition for whiskey, which the army regulation allowed to the men, because that regulation required him to 'certify upon honour that such whiskey is absolutely necessary.' In this way he incurred the hostility of most of the officers of the regiment, and the sympathy of very few ; but the chaplain generously and heartily supported and encouraged the surgeon in this stand, and so the 'Tiger' regiment demonstrated the fact that soldiers could do as much marching and hard work without whiskey rations as those did who received them." . . .

But all this activity and exposure were at a fearful ultimate cost. His health, indeed, was good for months, but, in June, 1863, he was seized with malarial fever, and after being for a short time in the hospital, near Hampton, he was brought home on the 5th of July, in a state of great weakness. For two months his life trembled in the balance, and the report even went out that he had died, but at length recovery was granted to him, and on the 13th of December, standing once again in the Old South pulpit, he preached that wonderful sermon on "Sickness and its Lessons," which no one can read without the deepest interest, not only for the earnest piety by which it is pervaded, but also for the philosophical acumen shown in the analysis which it gives of the delirium of disease. We have heard of medical men chronicling the symptoms of maladies under which they were suffering, but nowhere else have we met with an argument like that which he draws from his own experience of delirium for the immortality of the soul. I speak of it now because it indicates character. In itself it is valuable, as a contribution to psychology, but that he should have been thinking of such a subject in the days of his convalescence shows the philosophic habit of his mind.

He rose from his sick-bed with a heart full of gratitude to God ; but he was never the same man again. The surgeon of the regiment gives it as his deliberate opinion that he never recovered fully from the

effects of his long illness, and that it was, without doubt, the cause of his last and fatal sickness. In any case, his constitution was seriously undermined, and many believe that he gave his life for his country as really as if he had fallen on the field of battle.

In the closing days of the war, as at the beginning, the people flocked to the Old South, to give utterance to the feelings with which their hearts were charged. Intelligence of the surrender at Appomattox reached Boston in the evening and following night of Sunday, April 9. The joy of the people knew no bounds. Men sang doxologies in front of the bulletin boards on the Merchants' Exchange, as the dispatches came in giving the full particulars of the great event. A strong desire was expressed for a service of praise to be held at the Old South, and on Monday at noon the standing committee opened the meeting-house for the purpose, — the old meeting-house in which Thomas Prince preached his memorable sermon, "The Salvations of God in 1746." Mr. George Homer presided, Dr. Blagden offered a prayer of thanksgiving, Mr. Manning read from the Scriptures and spoke, and other addresses were made by the Rev. A. A. Miner, the Rev. William S. Studley, and the Hon. Richard H. Dana, United States district attorney. The large congregation was most responsive and enthusiastic.

On the following Sunday the meeting-house presented a very different spectacle. President Lincoln had been murdered, and the North had experienced a more terrible revulsion of feeling, perhaps, than any nation had ever known before. From a pulpit draped in black, and before a heart-stricken audience, Mr. Manning preached a sermon appropriate to the hour. His text was from Deut. xxxiv. 4, 5: "And the Lord said unto him, This is the land which I swore unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither. So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The sermon was printed in a volume with the sermons of other prominent ministers of Boston on the same day. On Wednesday, the 19th of April, the day of the funeral services at Washington, all the churches in Boston, as elsewhere, were open, and were crowded by earnest listeners. At the Old South "there was not even an inch of available standing

room within hearing of the voices of those who actively participated in the services." Mr. Manning made an address of great power, in which he sketched the life and character of Abraham Lincoln, and spoke of "the providential results which might be expected in favor of union and liberty, from the fact and circumstances of his death."

In 1865 a national council or synod was assembled in Boston, and its first session, on Wednesday afternoon, June 14, was held in the Old South meeting-house. "The circumstances of the country, emerging as it was from the war by whose success the existence and safety of the nation were to be assured, had led to a wide-spread feeling that the Congregational churches of the United States ought to consult together upon their duties and opportunities." A preliminary meeting had been held in New York a few months before, and a committee of arrangements appointed. To this committee, Dr. Stone, Dr. Kirk, Dr. Blagden and others, in behalf of the Congregational churches of Boston, addressed a communication asking that the council might meet in this city, and expressing the desire that the opening services might be held "in the Old South Church, on account of its association with the sacred memory of the elders who 'by faith obtained a good report.'" The meeting was called to order by the Rev. Dr. Stone, on whose motion Deacon Stoddard was chosen temporary moderator. A permanent organization was effected by the election of Governor Buckingham, of Connecticut, as moderator, the Hon. Charles G. Hammond, of Illinois, and the Rev. Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, of New York, as assistant moderators, and the Rev. Dr. H. M. Dexter, of Massachusetts, and others, as scribes. It had been arranged that the opening sermon by the Rev. Dr. Sturtevant should be preached from the Old South pulpit, but it became apparent almost as soon as the council had come to order that the noise of the traffic outside would compel an adjournment to a quieter place. Among those who complained most emphatically of the want of adaptation in the building for the purposes of the council was the Rev. Dr. Bacon, of Connecticut, who said: "Those who are in the gallery cannot hear those who are on the floor, and those who are near the pulpit cannot hear those near the door." When the motion to adjourn to the Mount Vernon Church was carried there was loud applause all over the house, which pained the regular attendants there, who thought such an expression of disapprobation with the building on the part of the delegates unnecessary and uncalled for. The remembrance of this temporary inconvenience must have passed from the thought of some members of the council, when, seven years later, they used all their influence against the brethren of the Old South, in their efforts to escape from the



perpetual experience of just such inconvenience by the aid of appropriate legislation.<sup>1</sup>

The objects of the council were thoroughly practical, and eight or ten days were profitably employed in the consideration of the great questions of church extension and home evangelization. In reference to polity, the prevailing sentiment seems to have been opposed to ecclesiastical centralization, and to any influence which would tend to weaken the responsibility or endanger the liberty of the local church. Dr. Sturtevant struck the keynote on this subject when he said:—

Consistently with the conditions which the Pilgrim Fathers brought with them to the shores of New England, consistently with the fundamental principles of our social life, they [persons living in each other's neighborhood] will organize those societies, independent of all dictation or control in discipline, worship, and doctrine, except that of the one divine Head of the Church of God. Had not our fathers accepted a home in this great and terrible wilderness, that they might enjoy the doctrine, the discipline, the worship, which they approved? And should they now construct any authority of bishop or council or presbytery, empowered to interfere with their enjoyment of this dear-bought privilege? And why should any society of Christian men and women, associated for these religious purposes, subject themselves to any such control of human power and invention? They want religious teaching; are they not competent to select their own religious teachers in the fear of the Lord? . . . They want a doctrine and a worship conformed to the divine word; must they not themselves prove all things, and hold fast that which is good? Can they delegate the judgment of these matters to other fallible men like themselves? Does not their individual allegiance to God imply their individual right to try the teaching they hear, and the worship in which they engage, by the standard of God's revealed will, and themselves to judge what is right? What bishop, council, presbytery, synod, can decide for them?

When the project for a Congregational House was under consideration, the sensitiveness of the council in reference to every suggestion of centralized power in the denomination, whether ecclesiastical or institutional,<sup>2</sup> manifested itself in the report of a committee, wherein it was said:—

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Manning's testimony at the hearing before Mr. Justice Colt, in 1876, p. 107. It is there said that the society had ordered a quantity of tan-bark, to be spread on the streets in front and on

the side of the meeting-house, and had engaged an extra police force to divert some of the heaviest traffic.

<sup>2</sup> Institutionalism may be defined as ecclesiasticism *plus* a treasury.

With the understanding that the money shall be raised chiefly from persons in New England, and particularly in Massachusetts, who are able to contribute large sums, and that the Congregational House shall not be a "House of Bishops," nor the source of a centralized power for the control of Congregational bishops or churches, but a home for all the brethren, to form or renew acquaintance, promote Christian fellowship, and the interests of the great denominational family to which we belong, we commend the American Congregational Association and its enterprises to the confidence and coöperation of our churches.

The interest of the proceedings culminated, we think, during the session held on Burial Hill, Plymouth, on the spot where the first meeting-house of the Pilgrims stood. Here the council adopted a Confession of Faith, admirably conceived and expressed, — in its spirit not divisive, but catholic; in its terms not dogmatic, but declaratory. It began with these impressive words : —

Standing by the rock where the Pilgrims set foot upon these shores, upon the spot where they worshipped God, and among the graves of the early generations, we, elders and messengers of the Congregational Churches of the United States in national council assembled — like them acknowledging no rule of faith but the word of God — do now declare our adherence to the faith and order of the apostolic and primitive churches held by our fathers, and substantially as embodied in the confessions and platforms which our synods of 1648 and 1680 set forth or reaffirmed.

The members of the Old South who were most constant at its services and active in the management of its affairs, and upon whom the sense of responsibility for its future rested most heavily, could not but foresee that problems would have to be solved by them at no distant day which would demand their most earnest and intelligent consideration. At a meeting, April 17, 1866, the Hon. Samuel Hurd Walley made "extended remarks in reference to the condition and duties of the Old South Church and Society," and proposed a vote, which was agreed to, "that the standing committee be requested to appoint two committees, members of the Old South Society, one of members residing south, and one of members residing north of West Street, with liberty to make any proposition which they may deem advisable for the consideration of this Society."

The first point at which the congregation was compelled to yield to the hard-pressing encroachments of trade was at its

chapel in Spring Lane, which it had occupied for nearly forty years. In reference to this there could be no difference of opinion. At a meeting of the brethren held on Monday evening, April 30, 1866, a communication was presented, signed by both pastors, and the three deacons, Charles Stoddard, Loring Lothrop, and Avery Plumer, in which it was said :—

This chapel was erected by the parish in the year 1827,<sup>1</sup> nearly forty years ago. On the same spot, before that period, a small wooden vestry was the place of meeting for this church. At the time of its erection this chapel was regarded as the best for the purposes of week-day worship and prayer in the city. Then, it was mostly surrounded by dwellings. Our people resided in and near Washington Street for the most part. We have lived to witness a great change in this respect. Our houses are far away. Business presses on all sides ; and the air around this locality is corrupted by cooking and eating houses, and other establishments about us. Washington Street has become so crowded and unpleasant that it is hardly a suitable place for females to walk in the evening. It has seemed to many of us desirable to obtain a more eligible place for our weekly meetings and for Sabbath-school purposes. The chapel in Freeman Place, nearly opposite the Athenæum in Beacon Street, is now vacant, and is offered to our society. Our society will probably be willing to hire it, if the church desires it. . . .

There are many sacred associations connected with this chapel where our church has so long assembled to pray and praise the Lord,—where our children have met their teachers on the Sabbath for religious instruction. We have reason to believe that when the Lord shall count — when he writeth up the people — that “ this and that man was born there.” Yet we know that the worship of God is confined to no locality. The movable tabernacle of witness in the wilderness, and the lodgment of the ark at Shiloh were equally acceptable to him, when devout worship was offered. Our Lord Jesus uttered a great truth to the woman of Samaria when he said, “ The time cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.”

The brethren voted unanimously,

That this church approve the plan brought to their view in the communication of the pastors and deacons, and that a copy of the same, and our doings thereon, be sent to the proprietors of pews for their action.

The Freeman Place Chapel was occupied until the completion

<sup>1</sup> [The stone portico was added several years later.]

of the Old South Chapel in Boylston Street. It seated five or six hundred people, and was about one third larger than the chapel in Spring Lane. It was opened freely for the week-day services of other religious organizations, as the old chapel had always been.

The conviction that the meeting-house as well as the chapel would have to be vacated was slowly forcing itself upon the minds of many of the leading men in the society, and they began also to see the character of the opposition which they would have to encounter when the time for removal and for disposing of the building should come. This opposition was to be based, for the most part, on historical rather than on religious grounds. On the first Sunday in May, 1869, Dr. Manning preached a sermon "on our condition and prospects as a church of Christ," from the text, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." After reviewing the progress of the church through the two centuries then closing, and the history of the meeting-house for more than half that period, he took pains to discriminate, as he and his people were obliged to do continually during the next few years, between that which was outward and secular and that which was inner and spiritual. The sermon was not printed, but we have transcribed one or two suggestive paragraphs from the MS. :—

The fact that Franklin was baptized here, that the great orators of the Revolution were born here, that the British soldiery was quartered here, — events like these, having no heavenly savor in them, are what we are tempted to memorialize, and let bring us into bondage. . . . The public at large is interested in us more on account of these political associations, than because we are a church of Christ. If any speakers or writers raise the charge of sacrilege against us, when we speak of changes here, they do not mean sacrilege toward God, but toward certain patriots who happened to make speeches here because no other building in town was large enough to hold their audiences.

Dr. Manning proceeded to speak of the great work which confronted the church, and then, in preparation for the Lord's Supper which was to be celebrated at the close of the sermon, he turned the thoughts of his hearers to the long succession of faithful men and women who upon that spot had worshipped and witnessed for their Lord.

Before we take up this important work, on which the fate of the church rests, so far as we are concerned, it is befitting that we should



bring our minds into a state of conscious sympathy with Christ. We must have his spirit, if we would administer the affairs of his kingdom wisely. The Lord's table! Oh what memories it should awaken, and what zeal for him it should kindle in us to-day! Think how many times it has been spread by hands that now strike immortal lyres; how many lips, of the long generations of the sanctified, which have here tasted the simple elements of the communion, are now drinking the new wine with Christ in the Father's kingdom. Away, ye memories of war and fighting, proud visions of the triumphs of men. Fall back, with all your earthly retinue, ye ministers to vanity, ye poor shadows of secular grandeur. Disappear from the eye of our faith, ye walls in which sleep the echoes of patriotic eloquence. And let the invisible temple, in which they that follow the Lamb worship, be revealed. Let us see the great cloud of witnesses who compass us about. Let us enter into the holy succession of those whom the world has forgotten, as it will soon forget us. Let us fall into line, as good soldiers of the cross, — take our place in the slender but far-reaching and victorious column of those who have served the spirit, and not the letter. Here, in such an hour of tender and holy communion as none of us may hope ever to enjoy again on earth, let us all be of one mind and heart in the Lord, — while we devoutly promise him, and our own souls, and give to one another our mutual pledge, that we will so meet the exigency to which God has brought us in his providence, as to honor the past, save the present, and bless the future.

A few weeks before this, April 13, 1869, the society had appointed a committee "to select a suitable lot for the erection of a place of worship for the Old South Society, and report to a future meeting of the pew proprietors." This committee reported, but not unanimously, August 17, recommending the purchase of a piece of land on the corner of Clarendon and Marlborough streets, which had been bonded until the wishes of the pew proprietors could be made known. No action was taken at this meeting; and, on the 19th of October, the committee made another report, recommending a lot on the corner of Boylston and Dartmouth streets, consisting of twenty-two thousand one hundred and seventy-six feet. The society authorized and directed the purchase of this land, by a vote of fourteen to six, and, at a later meeting, November 10, approved and confirmed the purchase which had been made by its direction.<sup>1</sup> On

<sup>1</sup> The society afterward purchased two lots on Boylston Street, adjoining the parsonage, about fifty feet front, and three lots on Newbury Street, adjoining the Boston Art Club, seventy-five feet front.

These have been sold with restrictions as to the buildings to be erected on them, so as to preserve light and air for the meeting-house and chapel, and buildings have been erected accordingly.

the 12th of October, 1870, a building committee was appointed, consisting of Samuel Hurd Walley, Charles Blake, William Hilton, George Homer Lane, and Avery Plumer,<sup>1</sup> and they were authorized to take possession of the land recently purchased and to cause a chapel to be built thereon for the use of the church and society. This action was reaffirmed April 11, 1871, at which time the committee, desiring to proceed with all possible caution, had not begun the work. At the annual meeting a year later, April, 1872, it was voted "that a parsonage be erected on the land owned by the society on Boylston Street, west of the chapel now erecting, and that the building committee have full power to carry this vote into effect." At the same meeting the standing committee was directed to apply to the legislature for a change in the third article of the act of incorporation, so that the restriction upon the meeting-house and the land on which it stood should be removed, and the society should have power to demise and lease all or any of its real estate, without exception; but the session was so far advanced that the petition failed to receive consideration.

In the autumn of 1872 Dr. Blagden resigned his pastorate in accordance with a decision made and stated to the church some time previously, that he would retire when he reached the age of seventy years. He preached his farewell sermon on Sunday, September 30, from Acts xx. 32: "And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified." "In this discourse he rehearsed the history of his pastorate, dwelling upon its beginnings; the religious interest of 1842, and the Chambers Street enterprise; alluded to his well-known views upon all questions of moral reform, and upon the place and functions of evangelists in the church — matters which had been of great practical importance during his ministry; and paid a loving tribute to those disciples who had aided him in his work." The discourse was not printed, but its main facts and sentiments are to be found in a sermon preached by him in 1861, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his settlement. "As a testimony of their love and honor to so good and tried a pastor, the society voted him a salary as pastor *emeritus* so long as he lived, and when, in May, 1883, he removed to New York,

<sup>1</sup> Jeremiah G. Newell, John Cowdin, chairman of the standing committee during all this trying period, and for several committee afterward. Mr. Johnson was years later.

the congregation gathered in the parlors of the church, in large numbers, to bid him an affectionate farewell."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Manning now became sole pastor, and he entered with all his heart upon the enlarged work and wider responsibility to which he was called.

In November, 1872, Boston was devastated by a fire, the loss by which was far beyond that experienced in all previous calamities of the same kind. The Old South meeting-house was seriously threatened, and was damaged so as to make it unfit for occupancy. The new chapel in Boylston Street was not finished, and a circular was sent to the members of the congregation as follows:—

OLD SOUTH SOCIETY.

The members and usual attendants at the Old South Church are hereby notified that there will be no service at the Church next Sabbath or until further notice.

Worship and service will be attended next Sabbath morning, at Freeman Place Chapel, Beacon Street, to begin at ten o'clock.

Nov. 15, 1872.

The meeting-house in its damaged state had been taken possession of by the municipal authorities for the temporary accommodation of the troops who had been called out to guard the burnt district. On Sunday afternoon Dr. Manning conducted a service for the soldiers, and this, we believe, was the last religious service ever held within these venerated walls.

The Merchants' Exchange, in the rear of which the post-office was situated, was badly injured by the fire, and permission was given to the postmaster to make use temporarily of Faneuil Hall. Circumstances having compelled the Old South Society to vacate its meeting-house, and all the probabilities being against a return to it, the proprietors were disposed to regard with favor a proposition from the United States government, to lease the building for a post-office for two years from the next January.<sup>2</sup> The legislature having been convened by the gov-

<sup>1</sup> [See Dr. Charles A. Stoddard's commemorative discourse, February 22, 1885.]

<sup>2</sup> Some time before the fire, the standing committee was approached informally by members of a large and representative committee of the Boston Board of Trade, with a proposition for the purchase of the land on which the meeting-house

stood, and adjacent land, and the erection upon it of an Union Merchants' Exchange, large enough to accommodate all the leading trade organizations of the city. In the Annual Report of the Board, 1871, it is said: "There is no single thing, perhaps, so much needed at this time to promote the convenience of the merchants of Boston, as a Merchants'

error, in extra session, to consider questions relating to the fire and its effects, a renewed application was made for the removal of the restriction in the act of incorporation which interfered with the acceptance of this proposition, and the restriction was so far modified as to permit the lease of the building for the special and public purposes for which it was then required. The removal of this disability, however, was vigorously resisted, as was every attempt made by the society for several years to come, before the legislature and in the courts, to secure for itself the same freedom in the management of its temporal affairs as was enjoyed by every other religious society in the Commonwealth.

On the 14th of December a vote was passed authorizing the building committee "to contract for building the foundation and driving the piles for the church structure on the corner of Dartmouth and Boylston Streets;" and on the 20th Samuel Hurd Walley, Samuel Johnson, and George Homer Lane were authorized to execute the lease of the meeting-house which had been submitted for the approval of the proprietors.

The long and sharp controversy relating to its meeting-house, upon which the society was now entering, involved two questions: Whether, in deference to outside opinion, it should return to its old home, and occupy it permanently, contrary to all its convictions of duty; and whether, if vacated by it, the building should be preserved as an historical monument. After years of anxious thought, and with all proper respect for outside opinion, the society, by a decided majority, answered the

Exchange and Reading Room, ample and commodious in its appointments, and in immediate proximity to the rooms of the various commercial organizations of the city, our own included. A committee of the Board has had this subject under consideration for some time past, and has made diligent inquiry, in the endeavor to find a location suitable for the erection of a building which should meet all these conditions. Thus far, however, it has failed to discover an available site; the quantity of land indispensable to the proper fulfilment of the plan having proved an insurmountable difficulty. . . . The general advantages which would result from bringing the Commercial Exchange, the Shoe and

Leather Association, the Stock Exchange, and other organizations, together with the Board of Trade, into a visible harmony under one roof, at the same time affording to them easy access to a spacious central hall, supplied with all the newspapers of the day, and with the latest and most complete telegraphic information, are too obvious to be pointed out in detail." (Pp. 10, 11.)

An act of incorporation had been obtained from the legislature in 1869, and the front elevation of such a building as was proposed was drawn with special reference to the Old South site, but the changes caused by the fire of 1872 diverted the thoughts of the committee to another location.



first of these questions in the negative ; and, for reasons which will appear presently, while deciding not to return to the old building, the majority decided also against the occupancy of the building for religious purposes by those who had placed themselves in the opposition. On the second proposition, as we have stated it, the majority were in full accord with the minority, and with all who desired the preservation of the building as an historical monument ; but, unfortunately, this question, as generally understood at the time, was weighted with the condition that the building should be preserved at the expense of the Old South Society. It was on this condition that the society and the outside public joined issue. The society was entirely willing that the public should preserve the building, if it wished to do so ; but it protested, with all its strength, against being compelled to bear the entire cost of preserving it for the benefit of the public. The following vote, passed at the meeting of the 20th of December, 1872, illustrates the attitude of the majority on this question :—

Voted, that the standing committee are hereby authorized publicly to announce in behalf of the society, and to enter into any agreement therefor, subject to the approval of the pew proprietors, that the society will sell the Old South meeting-house to the Massachusetts Historical Society, to be kept as a historical building, and be preserved in its present form and condition, subject only to the lease to the United States Government, — the price to be paid for the house to be the fair value to be determined by three disinterested persons ; the sale to be on the condition that the same shall be kept forever in substantially its present condition, to be used as a place for occasional divine worship and for other purposes, in accordance with the views of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

This vote was communicated to the Historical Society, which, on the recommendation of its standing committee, declared that it would cheerfully assume the responsibility of the custody of the meeting-house, upon the conditions annexed by the proprietors to their offer, if the public interest which had been so widely expressed should prove strong enough to induce contributions sufficient for the purpose. It is greatly to be regretted that this opportunity was allowed to pass unimproved.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, January 9, 1873, Mr. Edmund Quincy, Chairman of the Standing Committee, to which the communica-

tion had been submitted, made the following report, and it was accepted :—

“ At a regular meeting of the Standing Committee, the president laid before it

Further: individual members of the majority were willing to do what they believed the society, as a trustee, had no right to do, — they stood ready to contribute with others, and liberally, for the purchase of the building. They would have given thirty thousand dollars, if the public had availed itself of the offer made to and through the Historical Society; and this, for an object which was acknowledged to be of general interest, was certainly their full share. This subscription they declined to renew two or three years later, when an effort was made to preserve the building under other conditions, and after they had been subjected to much harsh criticism and to much vexatious litigation in the discharge of what they believed to be a solemn duty.

At the annual meeting in April, 1873, the society authorized the building committee to proceed with the erection of the new church, and voted:—

That the standing committee are hereby directed to prepare the new chapel on Boylston Street, to be used for the public worship of the Old South Church, and that the same be considered and shall be the place of public worship for the Old South Church and Society; and that for all purposes it shall be the meeting-house of the Old South Church and Society, on and after the last Sunday in April.<sup>1</sup>

the annexed communication from the proprietors of the Old South Meeting-house. The committee propose to the Society the passage of the following resolutions in relation to it:—

“Voted, That the Massachusetts Historical Society is profoundly sensible of the honor done to it by the Proprietors of the Old South Meeting-house in selecting it as the custodian of the venerable and historical edifice of which they have the charge, on the conditions named in the votes officially communicated to it.

“Voted, That while the Society most sincerely shares the just wish of the Proprietors that the Old South Meeting-house should be preserved as an historical monument, it deeply regrets to say that its funds, could they all be properly devoted to this object, would be entirely inadequate to meet even the most moderate valuation that could be put upon the estate.

“Voted, That should the interest in

the preservation of this Building, which has been so widely expressed throughout New England and the nation at large, be strong enough to induce the contribution for that purpose of the sum at which the value of the building may be fixed, the Historical Society will cheerfully assume the responsibility of its custody; and will, for itself and its successors, engage that the conditions annexed to their offer by the Proprietors shall be faithfully observed.

“Voted, That the Corresponding Secretary be instructed to communicate these votes of the Society to the Proprietors of the Old South Meeting-house.

“All which is respectfully submitted by the Standing Committee.

“EDMUND QUINCY, Chairman.”

<sup>1</sup> [The chapel was dedicated on Tuesday evening, April 22, 1873. Mr. Walley, chairman of the building committee, read an historical sketch of the church, closing with a beautiful tribute to the memory of Deacon Stoddard, who had

In anticipation of the legislative session of 1874, the society voted to petition for absolute relief from the restriction on its meeting-house and the land on which it stood, which had been modified by the act of December 12, 1872; — “to the end that this society may have the same control of its own property that other similar societies have in this Commonwealth.” The lease to the government would expire at the end of the year 1874; and, as a heavy expense had been incurred in the erection of the new buildings on the Back Bay, it was very important that all the property of the society should be available for the discharge of its pecuniary obligations as they should mature. The legislature, therefore, was again appealed to, and another contest before one of its committees followed, more severe, if possible, than the first had been. The society succeeded, however, in advancing its cause another step.<sup>1</sup> It was at this time that an endeavor was made to divide the property of the society,<sup>2</sup> and to reestablish divine worship in the old building under the auspices of some of the remonstrants. With whom this par-

died a day or two before. Addresses were made by Mr. Manning and the Rev. Mr. Means, of Dorchester, with affectionate allusions to the late senior deacon, and Dr. Blagden offered the prayer of dedication.]

<sup>1</sup> Chapter 270 of the Statutes of 1874 removed all legislative restrictions as to the sale or lease of the meeting-house, and provided that the Supreme Court should have jurisdiction over the matter:—

“In any suit in equity brought before the Supreme Judicial Court to obtain the sanction of the said court to a sale or lease or other transfer or disposition of the Old South Meeting-House and the land under and adjacent to the same, the said court shall possess and exercise the same powers and be governed by the same principles of equity law as if the said land had not been the subject of any special legislation concerning power to lease the same.”

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Walley published a long article in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, which concluded with these sentences:—

“There never was, and never can be, any change made in any religious or other corporation requiring legislative

sanction, where there will not be more or less dissenting votes, and if the present legislature is to establish the novel precedent that such non-contents can get a law passed giving the control to the minority, and thus contravening the will of the majority, the present and future legislatures will find their hands full of business. We had supposed that the fearful struggle we had recently passed through in this country, had taught the lesson that majorities should rule, and minorities submit, so forcibly and clearly as that, at least, the present generation would not expect that minorities should be allowed to secede and take a division of the property upon their own terms and against the will of the majority. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts objected with a good deal of blood and powder to such a doctrine, and the history of the rebellion and its causes are rather too fresh in memory, we apprehend, to warrant the present legislature in virtually enacting a law to allow minorities to rule, and, therefore, we are well satisfied that they will not look with any favor upon the bill offered in the senate as a substitute for the report of the committee.”

ticular plan originated does not appear;<sup>1</sup> but, if we may judge from the numerous instances in the religious history of Boston, in which churches have been established by seceding minorities, as minorities, no essential difference in doctrine or practice being involved, it could have ended only in disastrous failure.

The remonstrants against the removal of the Old South Church to the Back Bay may be grouped in three classes: the minority in the parish; ministers and others in the denomination; and persons outside the denomination, who represented or claimed to represent the public.

Looking back over the past twenty years, it must be apparent to everybody who examines the question, that the course pointed out and insisted upon by the majority was the only course that the church and society could wisely take. But at the time the case was not so clear, and there was abundant room for an honest difference of opinion. There was much to be said on the side of the minority, from its point of view; but the great mistake which was made by it, as we apprehend, was in not abandoning the contest when the decision by votes proved to be against it. When it was proposed to take down the first meeting-house in 1728, Judge Sewall was deeply grieved, and he protested earnestly and with dignity against the change, and then, finding that the general sentiment in the congregation was against him, he said no more. Some of the minority in the later controversy acted in the same spirit, and much ill feeling and strife would have been avoided, if all could have done so. At the meeting of the society held immediately after the fire, when it was determined by a majority vote to lease the meeting-house to the government, one of the brethren<sup>2</sup> who had argued and voted on the other side said, "The matter has been fairly decided by a majority of the pew proprietors;" and, at once, he moved that the building committee be instructed to proceed

<sup>1</sup> In arguing this point before the legislative committee, Mr. Linus M. Child said of the proposition to divide the Old South, "that no member of that church, no person who ever had any affection for that church, no person who ever took upon himself the covenant of that church, would ever desire or ask that it should be divided by an act of the legislature." He referred to the judgment of Solomon, and to the ready assent of the woman who was not the

mother, and who knew that she was not the mother, to the division of the child; and he continued: "The Third Church of Boston, the Old South Church, divided! No, sir. I believe that no man lives, who ever belonged to the Old South Church, or who was ever a member of that congregation, but would say *no* to that proposition, from the beginning to the end."

<sup>2</sup> The Hon. Alpheus Hardy. He died August 7, 1887.



with the erection of a new house of worship, which had been talked about, but in reference to which nothing had been decided down to that time. Another brother,<sup>1</sup> testifying at a hearing before the Supreme Court, at chambers, in 1876, spoke thus of the change, and of his attitude towards it: "I opposed it from my love of the old place, from my associations with it, and from, perhaps, some of my antiquarian tastes. I loved the old house; I was slow to see any good reason for leaving it; and it was only when I was slowly convinced, against my will, that we were not prospering there, and could not prosper there, that I gave way and felt that I must go with the majority."

It seems to us, also, that the minority should have given more credit than it did to the majority, for a proper appreciation of the historical associations of the old building. Dr. Manning, we believe, was thoroughly sincere when he testified to the court in 1876: "It was a great sorrow to me when I felt compelled in the providence of God, to turn my face away from that old building to another spot, in order that the living spirit of the church, the body of Christ, might be saved." At one of the hearings at the State House, in 1874, Mr. Frederick D. Allen, a deacon then, and the senior deacon now, said: "Do they [the minority] not suppose that these, too, [the majority,] have tender memories of the past? And have they not left the sanctuary of their fathers, many of them with deep feelings of regret? They have gone, not because they wished, but because the providence of God as plainly indicated to them their duty, as the pillar of cloud and fire taught Israel of old, that they must take up their sanctuary and remove to another place. Will it not be much better for these friends to come with us, and help us to rebuild the walls of our Zion in the new place?" It was not without an effort that Mr. Samuel H. Walley, who was a descendant of John Walley, the friend and associate in the church of Samuel Sewall and Wait Winthrop, and whose family name appears in the register in every generation from the beginning to the present day, could bring himself to favor a removal from the old site. Mr. Charles Stoddard, also, for more than twenty years the senior deacon, bore a name that was historic in the church, and his ancestor, the Rev. Solomon Stoddard, had often preached from its pulpit. A few months after his death Mr. Linus M. Child thus described, before a legislative committee, the working of his mind on the subject:—

<sup>1</sup> Dr. George F. Bigelow.

It was no easy matter, as every one knows, for the venerated Deacon Stoddard to make up his mind that it was his duty to remove the Old South Church from the old meeting-house. For years this matter was considered, for years it was talked about, in every social meeting, in every evening meeting, and at all times, when, not the property, but the purpose, position and condition of the Old South Church were considered, and what the reason was of the decrease, the want of energy, the want of growth in that church. It was considered over and over again, and it was through the course of years that men came to make up their minds that they must consent to this thing. Therefore, I say, it was that many a time I have heard Deacon Stoddard say that, while he admitted that some time or other the church must be moved, it should not be in his day, and that he should die, as he had lived, within the walls of the Old South Church. But, sir, before that time came, he saw more clearly that it was his duty ; and he then and there, when the question was finally settled, as he walked out of the chapel where the vote was taken, said to a friend, "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." For he did know and believe that his religious duty, and his love for the spiritual church of the Old South, required of him that great sacrifice, — for it was a great sacrifice to him, — that they should move from that old building, where for so many years, morning and afternoon, Deacon Stoddard was found in his seat.

It is not to be denied that in the progress of the controversy, as Dr. Manning and his people were met with a disposition, on the part of many, to imperil, if not to sacrifice, the spiritual for the sake of the material, — the Third Church for the sake of the meeting-house, — they were tempted to speak of the old building with less veneration than previously, and even to refer to it on one or two occasions as only so much "bricks and mortar." For this they were sharply criticised ; but was not this precisely the light in which the Puritans, and before them, the reformers, in England, came to regard the grand old cathedrals and abbeys with their wealth of ornamentation in wall and column and window? As they thought, the gospel in stone and glass was exalted above, if it did not altogether supersede the gospel in "the book ;" and, in order that the latter might be saved, they did not hesitate to destroy the former. And at a far distant period in the history of the church, we have another illustration of the same spirit : seven centuries before the Christian era, the reforming king Hezekiah brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made, which had served to symbolize to the Jewish people the greatest event in all the ages ; "for unto

those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it : and he called it Nehushtan," that is to say, a piece of brass.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Manning, in the first years of his ministry at the Old South, had done more perhaps than any other man to awaken an interest in the public mind in the meeting-house as an historical building ; and now he felt obliged to withstand the sentiment which he had done so much to evoke.<sup>2</sup>

We come now to the remonstrants who appeared in opposition to the church as members of the Congregational body. They were ministers, for the most part ; the absence of prominent laymen on that side at the hearings was significant. We recall only one layman as a witness, outside the Old South parish. It was very natural that many of the ministers of New England should express the hope that the Old South would be able to maintain itself on the old site, so intimately associated with the history of Congregationalism for two centuries ; the pastor and members of the Old South, as we have shown, could understand

<sup>1</sup> In a speech in the Massachusetts Senate, April 23, 1874, by the Hon. Henry S. Washburn, we find the following suggestive paragraph : —

"Our sympathies are largely with those who regret that these monuments of the virtue and piety of our fathers are doomed to pass away in the improvements rendered necessary by the growth of Boston, as the chief metropolis of New England. It is the love for the old building, for its antique architecture, for the hallowed memories its presence awakens, that moves the remonstrants to ask at our hands that it may be preserved a while longer, a little longer, till they, too, to whom it is so dear, have passed away from the cares and responsibilities of earth. Such sentiments are natural, and I am the last man to estimate them lightly. They do honor to any community ; but, nevertheless, plan as we may, we cannot avert the hand that sooner or later lays low every work of man's device. We may treasure these relics of the past, never so sacredly ; we may watch over them with all the solicitude of the mother for her babe ; but pass away they must, and take their place among the traditional memories of men. Such is life ; such are the inevita-

ble laws which govern and control all human affairs. We ourselves, and the works of our hands, and those of our fathers, will form no exception to the inexorable fiat of the hand of Time."

<sup>2</sup> Other houses besides those of brick and stone disappear under the remorseless touch of the hand of time. In the Oxford peerage case, which arose in 1626, on the death of the eighteenth earl, Lord Chief Justice Crewe gave a decision in which he said : —

"I have labored to make a covenant with myself, that affection may not press upon judgment ; for I suppose there is no man that hath any apprehension of gentry or nobleness, but his affection stands to the continuance of so noble a name and house ; and would take hold of a twig or a twine thread to uphold it. And yet Time hath his revolutions ; there must be a period and end to all things temporal, — *finis rerum*, — an end of names and dignities and whatsoever is terrene ; and why not of De Vere ? — for where is Bohun ? Where is Mowbray ? Where is Mortimer ? Nay, which is more and most of all, where is Plantagenet ? They are entombed in the urns and sepulchres of mortality." — *North Am. Review*, vol. xcvi. (1863), pp. 51, 52.

the feeling and appreciate it thoroughly. It was not natural, however, that a few ministers, representing, we believe, a meeting held for the discussion of religious and social questions, should appear in opposition to their Christian brethren at the very first public hearing which was held, just after the fire, and that without previous consultation with the pastor and officers of the church and society, and with, at the best, a superficial acquaintance with the circumstances of the case, they should endeavor to thwart these brethren in their plans, and to coerce them to the adoption of a policy which their judgment condemned. The meeting at which these ministers were named as a committee, and the committee itself, before taking a position of antagonism against one of the oldest churches in the denomination, and against brethren who had long been honored and trusted in it, might, at the least, as a preliminary to further action, have asked for information from those best qualified to give it. It might have been assumed that the pastor and deacons were as well informed upon and as much interested in everything relating to the prosperity of the church as any of their neighbors were likely to be; and the plainest dictates of Christian courtesy would seem to have required that some of these gentlemen should have endeavored to inform themselves in reference to the considerations, the motives, the purposes, under the controlling influence of which their reverend brother and his people had been moved to take the step which they were taking. When the hearing was given in 1872, the pastor and brethren of the Old South had had this step in contemplation as a possible necessity for more than six years. Was there one of the ministers who appeared so unexpectedly at the State House in opposition to them, and who led off in the movement which was to involve them in long and painful and costly litigation, who could say that he had given six hours to reflection upon the questions at issue? As it was, no one had a practical plan to suggest as an alternative for that which the Old South had worked out for itself. Some thought that there should be a "free church" on the corner of Milk Street; one gentleman proposed that "an abnormal church" be sustained there; some one else (not, we believe, a member of the denomination, but making common cause with those who claimed to speak for it), offered this recommendation, in substance, towards the close of the controversy: "That the floor of the house should be kept clear for town meetings, so that if there was any



radical who had anything so radical to say that he could not get into a church, he should say it there, or any Roman Catholic so Roman Catholic that he could not be permitted to go into a Roman Catholic cathedral, he might say it there, and so as to political questions."

We would not for a moment question the good faith or the honorable intentions of the ministers who opposed the Old South at this time. We cannot help thinking, however, that they were led to do as they did, by their own interpretation of the teachings of Congregationalism upon the mutual duties of the churches related to each other in denominational fellowship. For, if the local church cannot take care of itself, and if neighboring churches may intervene at their pleasure to recommend it what to do and what to refrain from doing, and if they may threaten the withdrawal of fellowship from it if it refuses to heed their admonitions, then those who believed that they knew better what was for the good of the Old South Church than did the church itself were justified in taking its concerns into their special keeping, and, perhaps, also, in undertaking to explain to the legislature and the courts precisely what Mrs. Norton's intentions were, at the foundation of the church, and in invoking the power of the secular arm in compelling compliance with her (and their) wishes. This is what some among us seem to understand by "the fellowship of the churches," — the right to intermeddle, to dictate, to overrule. When the Old South came to settle a pastor a few years later, a disposition was manifested by some of the same parties to take it again under their care and supervision, and to instruct it as to what it ought and ought not to do, and, again, Mrs. Norton's parchments were expounded for their benefit.

The remonstrants in the third class or group — persons outside the denomination — could not be expected to be thoroughly informed in reference to what was necessary to the best prosperity of the Third Church, or to feel a very deep interest in it. Their interest was in the meeting-house as an historical building, and in its history not as a house of worship, but as a building in which three or four memorable town meetings had been held, and which had been occupied by some of the British troops during the siege of Boston. This interest on their part was not only legitimate, but creditable; and they, as all others, had a right to their opinions, whatever these were, as to what the church might or ought to do. The only question is whether

they were justified in trying so persistently to compel the church, contrary to the will of the majority, through the legislature and the courts, to maintain worship in the old building, and, in any event, to bear the cost of its preservation. When it was proposed to buy and preserve the home of John Hancock, the Commonwealth was to meet the expense; it is to the City of Boston, as a municipality, that we are indebted for the preservation of the Old State House; the thought of preserving the Old South meeting-house, except by a general subscription, should never have been entertained for a moment. To have compelled the society, by act of legislature, to preserve the building for the benefit of the public would have been confiscation. It would also have been an unwarrantable perversion of Mrs. Norton's funds; she gave her land "for the public worship of God," and she was moved to the gift by "the love she bore to the Third Church in Boston." When the bill of 1874 was pending in the State senate, an honorable member of that body said: "If you would look for the subversion, for the annihilation, for the destruction of Madam Norton's trust, you will find it in the sentiment which opposes the passage of this bill; in the sentiment which would divert this property from its mission, — the salvation of souls, — in order to preserve and perpetuate a monument of the history of our Revolutionary days. This, clearly, was not the purpose of Madam Norton's bequest. She had never seen nor heard of Otis or Adams or Warren; she died a hundred years before, loyal to her king and sovereign."

There was an impression abroad in the community that because a former generation in the parish had been so public-spirited and patriotic as to open the doors of the meeting-house to the citizens of Boston in a great emergency, the public had thereby acquired a sort of ownership in the building, with the right to say what should be done with it. In the later stages of the controversy, after a sale of the building had been made, the legislature was asked to override the conditions on which the transaction was based, because the society had "acted without proper consideration of their relations to the public." In a paper prepared by the learned counsel of the society, the Hon. Benjamin F. Thomas and Mr. Linus M. Child, it was said on this point: —

That is to say, if the owner of property desires to sell it or to make a sale upon conditions, he must see to it that it meets the wishes of

"the public." It is not enough that the conditions are valid in law and equity, that the highest courts have and would uphold them ; but they must be agreeable to "the public." It may well be asked, Who are "the public," to whose will and pleasure the most sacred rights of property are to be subordinated, and which every owner of property must consult before he sells or devises his estate ? Nothing can be of more indefinite meaning or meaningless than this phrase, "the public," and nothing easier than for certain classes of very good men to satisfy themselves that they constitute "the public." If it were important to inquire, the society submit that there is no evidence before the committee or the legislature that the people have any especial interest in the matter of these conditions, one way or the other. The people have a profound interest in the question whether property is to be held under uniform and "standing laws" or not ; and whether, whenever men buy property upon perfectly well-understood and lawful conditions, they can turn round the next day or the next month and ask the legislature for help to annul or evade them. The proposition that these conditions, valid in law, are to be annulled and made of no effect because the society acted without proper consideration of their relations to what men choose to call "the public," is simply agrarian. Such a policy would unsettle the foundations of property, — would be, in fact, a denial of the right to be protected in its enjoyment by standing laws, secured to every citizen by the Constitution.

The society was subjected to a vexatious and expensive course of litigation, which, in one form and another, was protracted through five or six years, and to a serious loss in the sale of its property, because of a technicality in the tenure by which it held the land which had come down to it from the foundation of the church. If at the beginning the Third Church had received a grant of land from the town, as so many churches did during the first half of the seventeenth century, and as it might have done, its right to remove to another site at its pleasure would not probably have been called in question before the courts.<sup>1</sup> But instead of this, its land was given to it by one of

<sup>1</sup> In the matter of the proprietors of the New South Meeting-House in Boston, 13 Allen, pp. 497-520, land having been granted by the town of Boston for the erection thereon "of an edifice for a meeting-house for the public worship of God," to be held by the grantees and "their associates and successors for the use aforesaid forever," the court said: "Doubtless the original and primary intention of the founders of the parish

and of the town of Boston was that the land granted by the latter should be improved for this purpose ; but we fail to see anything to indicate a design to make the continuance of the trust dependent on the perpetual use of that particular site or locality for a house of worship ; nor can any such inference be reasonably made, from the facts disclosed, concerning the origin and history of the parish."

its first members, Mrs. Norton, "for the love she bore" to it ; and we are not to suppose that her generous intention was to be so construed as to work a hardship to the church, which it would not have suffered if it had received a grant of land from the town of Boston. Of course, as there was no corporate body to which the land could be conveyed, Mrs. Norton was obliged to convey it to certain individuals as trustees, and, in so doing, to declare the general purposes of the trust, one of which related to the site to be occupied and used by the church. It was the opinion of the Hon. Benjamin R. Curtis, and the Supreme Court so decided afterward, that the trust did not require "the devotion of this particular land to the special use indicated, forever and without change in the mode of investment of the gift. There goes along with such a trust," he said, "the power, and under some circumstances the duty, of so changing the mode of investment as to prevent the objects of the gift from being wholly defeated or greatly impaired."

In effect this land was paid for out of the church stock. The value of Mrs. Norton's gift was not expected, probably, to exceed that of the contributions of John Hull, Thomas Savage, and other founders, who gave £100 each ; as a matter of fact, it did not equal it. There was a charge of £100 upon the land, which was to be and was paid to the First Church, and there were various bequests under the will which were discharged by the Third Church. All this appears in the earlier pages of this History, in which, as we think, we have shown that the church paid to Mrs. Norton and her representatives a full equivalent, and, perhaps, considerably more, for her land and the dwelling-house upon it.<sup>1</sup> Surely it was a great hardship that because certain nominal restrictions were inserted in its deeds, the church could maintain its right, in the present generation, to manage its own property thus obtained, only by an enormous outlay of time and thought and money.

In conformity with the provisions of the legislative act of 1874, the Old South Society filed a bill in equity, to which the members of the minority were made respondents, and in which the court was asked to sustain the society in its rights under the deeds and will of Mrs. Norton, and to authorize the sale of the meeting-house in accordance with the vote of the society, and for the purposes contemplated by it. The minority, on its part, by the attorney-general, brought an information, alleging

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 132, 133, 223-226.



that the society held its property as trustee of a public charity, and praying that it might be restrained from making the proposed sale, that it might be removed from its trust, and that other and suitable trustees might be appointed. The two cases were argued together at the June term, 1875, and on the 23d of October in the same year, Mr. Justice Wells delivered the opinion of the court, dismissing the information by the attorney-general, and ordering the bill in equity to stand for hearing before a single justice. We quote from the head-note to this opinion :<sup>1</sup>—

A gift for the erection of a house for public worship, or for the use of the ministry, may constitute a public charity, if there is no definite body, for whose use the gift was intended, capable of receiving, holding and using it in the manner intended. But when there is a body, or a definite number of persons, ascertained or ascertainable, clearly pointed out by the terms of the gift to receive, control and enjoy its benefits, it is not a public charity, however carefully and exclusively the trust may be restricted to religious uses alone.

. . . *Held*, that neither the deeds nor the will created a public charity. *Held, also*, that the declaration of uses in the statute did not define a public charity, and that it was not the intention of the legislature to so merge the interests of the trustees and the *cestuis que trust* as to discharge the estate from the trusts. *Held, also*, that lands so held might be sold by authority of the legislature or of this court as a court of equity. *Held, also*, on a bill in equity praying for the sale of the property, and the application of the proceeds to the same trusts in another part of the city, that the vote of a majority of pew holders or members of the society was not of itself a sufficient authority to enable the corporation to make a sale, nor a sufficient reason to justify this court in authorizing it to be made ; and that it was incumbent upon those who sought to make the change to satisfy the court that it was reasonably required for the accommodation of the society as a whole, and that the proposed change would not subject the minority to an unreasonable sacrifice of interest or convenience, or in any way work injustice to them.

For the purpose of satisfying the court on these points, there was a hearing before Mr. Justice Colt at chambers, and the testimony was repeated, substantially, which had been given twice before committees of the legislature, and which, as now printed, fills a book of nearly three hundred pages octavo. As the result of this hearing, a decree was entered in the Supreme Court, sitting in equity, May 31, 1876, in the following terms :—

<sup>1</sup> *Mass. Reports*, vol. cxix.

This cause came on to be heard upon the bill and answer and proofs, and the parties having been fully heard thereon, and the respondents being present in court by their counsel and accepting notice of the amendments to the bill and waiving all objections thereto, as also all objections to this decree, and the court having fully considered the same, it is adjudged and decreed that the Old South Society in Boston, complainants, shall have full power and authority, and it is hereby expressly authorized and empowered to sell and convey by deed the whole or any part of its old meeting-house and land under and adjacent to the same, situated and being on the corner of Milk and Washington streets in said Boston, the whole lot bounded and described as follows, viz. : Beginning at the corner of the premises on the corner of Milk and Washington streets, thence running by said Washington Street northeasterly by the various courses to the corner of the brick building owned by the said Society ; thence easterly by the southerly wall of said brick building in a straight line, till it strikes the westerly wall of the granite store belonging to said Society, fronting on Milk Street ; thence southerly in a straight line by said last-mentioned wall to Milk Street ; thence westerly by Milk Street by various courses to the point begun at, in accordance with the lines and measures of a plan hereto annexed, marked "Old South Meeting-House and Land under and adjacent to the same." And it is further ordered that said estate, or any part thereof, may be sold at public or private sale, by the standing committee and treasurer of said Society, in pursuance of the votes of said Society in words following, viz. : "Voted, that the standing committee are hereby authorized and directed to sell the former meeting-house, and the land under and adjacent to the same, on the corner of Milk and Washington streets in Boston, and for that purpose to make all necessary contracts and agreements therefor, the terms and conditions to be such that the proceeds arising therefrom shall be available to pay the debt already contracted for the land and the building of the new meeting-house, chapel, and parsonage, and also to meet the payments and expenses as they may be incurred and become payable for the carrying on and completing such buildings."

"Voted, that the treasurer be authorized and directed to sign the corporate name, and affix the corporate seal to any conveyance of such real estate, provided such conveyance be approved in writing by the majority of the standing committee."

And that the Old South Society in Boston aforesaid shall have full power and authority, and it is hereby expressly authorized and empowered to mortgage any or all of its real estate situate on Milk or Washington streets, Boston, and held under said deeds of Mary Norton, or either of them, or under the will of said Mary, for the purpose of paying its debts, and any mortgage or mortgages given here-

under shall be to such person or persons, and upon such terms and conditions, and with or without power of sale, as said Society shall, by vote of a majority present at any legal meeting of its corporators, direct, and the lender shall not be bound to see to the application of the money loaned; and it is further ordered and decreed that the costs, expenses, and counsel fees of Uriel Crocker and others, respondents in this suit, taxed and allowed at 6450 dollars, shall be paid by the complainants out of the proceeds of the land sold, or the money borrowed on mortgage.<sup>1</sup>

As the final result of the legal proceedings, the society, in the summer of 1876, found itself in a position in which it might sell the meeting-house and the land under it; and, on the 11th of October in the same year, it conveyed the property by two instruments, an indenture and a deed, to Mr. Royal M. Pulsifer, as the representative of a committee of citizens who, with praiseworthy enthusiasm, had undertaken the task, in behalf of the public, of preserving the old building for historical and memorial purposes. The indenture contained the following provision:—

*Provided*, nevertheless, and this conveyance of said edifice is upon the express condition that said building shall not at any time during the period of thirty years from the date of this indenture be used for any business or commercial purpose, and shall be used during said period for historical and memorial purposes only, and that it shall not at any time during said period be used for any purpose whatever on Sunday, except so far as necessary for the care and preservation of said building and contents, and in case of breach of the foregoing conditions or any of them, said building shall be forfeited to said Old South Society in Boston, and said Old South Society in Boston reserves the right to enter for breach of condition and enforce said forfeiture, and take down and remove said building, but such entry shall not be made till after ninety days' notice in writing.

The object of the second condition was twofold: First, to prevent the confusion and damage which would follow from the establishment of Sunday services in the old meeting-house,

<sup>1</sup> [At a meeting of the standing committee held just after the fire in 1872, a sub-committee was appointed, consisting of the chairman, Mr. Johnson, and Deacon Plumer, to which was referred the whole management of the business which was to come before the legislature. From that time until the entry of the final decree in 1876, the members of this sub-committee were present at every

legislative hearing, and at every session of the court when the question of leasing or otherwise disposing of the old meeting-house was under consideration. To the watchfulness, patience, sagacity, and energy of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Plumer during all these years of legislation and litigation the final success was largely due. Deacon Plumer died April 27, 1887.]

as the Old South Church ; these services, if established, from the intimations which had been thrown out, were likely to be sensational, radical, and utterly at variance with all the religious associations of the building in the past. Secondly, if the building was to be maintained as an historical museum,—a very general and indefinite term,—the society was opposed to its being made use of on the Lord's day as a place of popular resort and recreation. These conditions made an important part of the consideration upon which the building was sold and conveyed by the society ; and “upon full consideration and with a perfect understanding of the nature and effect of these conditions by the parties interested in making the purchase, and with the full knowledge that no conveyance would be made by said society unless such conditions should make part of the contract and deed, the purchase was made and conveyance taken.” And yet, a few months later, the legislature was asked to pass a bill, in effect abrogating the covenant which had been entered into, and creating a corporation with power to take and appropriate the meeting-house and land for public, historical, memorial, educational, and religious uses, and none other. The society earnestly remonstrated against the proposed bill, as an infringement of its rights, and of the rights of property-holders generally ; in the remonstrance it was said, “that under the contract and deed of conveyance the Old South Society retained to itself an estate in said meeting-house, well known to the laws ; and that the effect of the passage of the bill under consideration by the committee, if enacted by the legislature and found to be within the provisions of the Constitution, would be to deprive the society by force of law and without its consent, of the estate retained by the Old South Society, thus enabling the purchasers of the property, by the use of the Commonwealth's right and power of eminent domain (the power to take private property for public uses), to annul and evade the contract into which they understandingly and deliberately entered, and that without any public reason therefor which did not exist when the contract was made.” The remonstrants did not impugn the motives of the persons interested in the movement, but they respectfully and confidently submitted that the passage of the bill, “following so immediately the contract and conveyance,” would be “a breach of the faith and understanding upon which the estate was sold and purchased.”

It was said in reply : “The question whether the promoters



of the bill do right is for them to determine according to the light they may happen to have, but the public interest in this meeting-house is not to suffer whether their decisions are right or wrong." To this it was answered:—

The reply admits that the parties to the agreement are under obligations to abide by the contract under which they hold their property. This concession covers the whole case, if that be true, which the society says is matter of public notoriety, that the parties making the contract and the parties seeking this legislation are one and the same, and that the terms of the contract were generally known and understood not less than two months before the bargain was consummated. . . .

The society never refused to sell the building to the Historical Society to be used for the purposes stated in their offer. It was a very different question whether it should pass into the possession and control of men who, by reason of successive defeats in the courts or other reasons, had become unfriendly to the interests of the society, or of men who, widely differing from the faith of the Old South Society and its views of duty, felt themselves bound, we may assume conscientiously, to take care of their neighbor's business. . . .

No nice distinctions of logic, no appeals to the sentiments of patriotism or to popular prejudice, can distort or disguise the true issue between the parties. It is one of simple justice, of right, and of fair dealing between man and man. The Old South meeting-house, preserved by such method, may illustrate the patriotism of the fathers, but it will not illustrate the love of justice in the sons.<sup>1</sup>

In this single instance the legislature disappointed the expectations of the members of the Old South, and, against their remonstrance, granted the request of the purchasers of the meeting-house, or their representatives, for the abrogation of the contract under which the sale and conveyance had been made. But the parties interested have not availed themselves of the law for whose enactment they asked twelve years ago, and the old building has never been opened upon the Lord's day for any purpose whatever. Should anything be attempted at any time in the future under the sanctions of this law, it will, of course, be competent to the Old South Society to take measures to test the question of its constitutionality.

Dr. Taylor, in his memorial sermon, says of Dr. Manning in connection with this long controversy: "Possessing his soul in patience, and cheered by the support of the admirable band of

<sup>1</sup> [Both remonstrances were drawn by Benjamin F. Thomas and Linus M. Child.]

men by whom in the society he was surrounded, he held on with unyielding perseverance, until at length success crowned the enterprise, and this building so excellently placed for present and prospective usefulness, and already filled by a large congregation, is his vindication and — his monument.”<sup>1</sup> The new house of worship was dedicated December 15, 1875. The Rev. James H. Means, D. D., and the Rev. William H. Fenn conducted the preliminary exercises, and Dr. Blagden offered the prayer of dedication. Dr. Manning preached from John iv. 24, “God is a Spirit : and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.” The subject of the discourse was, *Worship as a Means of Spiritual Culture*, and its closing sentences were as follows : —

That this great privilege of spiritual culture might come to you and your children, and to as many as choose to cast in their lot with you, you have undergone the sore trial of removal from your old to this new house of worship. How slowly, how unwillingly and how sadly you yielded to that trial is known to yourselves and to God. Some of you bear names which stand on the first records of our venerable church. You had associations with the former place, tender memories of it, and a loving attachment to it, which those who have criticised your actions before the public cannot understand. If they had known how faintly their love for the ancient sanctuary reflected yours, I believe they would have tried to strengthen rather than weaken your hands, seeing that your love made you to act, and that you acted only as you were urged forward by the compelling hand of God.

There you were surrounded by a crowd of secular and patriotic memories which obscured the spiritual history of our church, but here that spiritual history may come out into the light, and be made an incentive to soul culture upon you and your families. . . . There you were isolated from other Christian churches, lacking all opportunity to welcome them to your sanctuary for those general religious meetings, occurring for the most part on secular days, which enter so largely into the present methods of the church ; but here you can take your

<sup>1</sup> At Dr. Manning's funeral Dr. Duryea spoke as follows of his relations to his ministerial brethren : “If, in the interests of God and man, of truth and righteousness, for the weal of the present time, and the destinies of the time to come, he ever came across your path, and grazed or struck upon you in collision, sure I am that if you could have sat apart with him and talked it over fairly, you would have found in him a

generous spirit, a warm and faithful heart, the largest charity, and the power of immeasurable sacrifice, for you as well as others. I say this now, because, otherwise, it might not have been known save to those who have been closer to him than most of you could be. He was true to his brethren. Never did I hear from him an ungenerous word ; never did I witness in him an unfraternal temper.”

proper place in these evangelistic efforts which are common to the entire brotherhood, and so do your part toward fulfilling that blessed ministry by which each part supplies unto the other parts something which they lack.

Take this building, O Thou Great Head of the Church, to whom we now bring it. Make it Thy own temple, and make us Thy living temples. Use it for the glory of Thy holy kingdom, and keep us the loyal subjects of that kingdom. Spare it only so long as it shall serve Thy loving purpose, and spare and bless us only that we may declare thy name. When its noble walls must crumble, teach thy people to bow in the faith of something better to come ; and when our spirits must be unclothed of their earthly house, may they rise to be clothed upon with the house which is in heaven.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Manning's last years in the pastorate were his happiest and best. In the ripeness of his intellectual and spiritual powers, he was permitted to exercise his ministry under the most favorable external conditions. At length he was in a position in which he could do himself justice, and in which the community did justice to him. The church was now growing steadily in both numbers and strength, and it was the hope of his people that he would be permitted to enjoy for a long period the prosperity which he had done so much to promote. But this was not to be. After a few years his health gave way ; he struggled against disease with all the heroism of his nature, and at one time it seemed as though he must win in the unequal contest by the very force of his will. "At the last, how grandly came his courage out. Here [in this pulpit] was his post of duty, and here he loved to be, to teach the truth of the gospel, and urge it home to men's consciences and hearts. And here he willed to be, so long as he could stand erect and speak. With what feelings of mingled wonder and tenderest sympathy have we seen him struggling hither, and rising to declare his message with trembling limbs and quivering hands and broken voice, bent still on doing his Master's work, a good and faithful servant. Thanks be unto God, who giveth men such victory, through Jesus Christ our Lord !"<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Manning resigned his active pastorate, and accepted the position of pastor *emeritus*, to take effect on the 11th of March, 1882, the twenty-fifth anniversary of his installation. "A twen-

<sup>1</sup> [We have quoted, as above, from of Dr. Manning's sermons and addresses the *Boston Journal*, December 16, 1875. now in press.]

The discourse will appear in a volume <sup>2</sup> Dr. Duryea's address at the funeral.

ty-five years' pastorate over this honored, historic church! Let us thank God to-day for a record like that, for that permitted, finished, faithful quarter-century of service; for that ministry of consecrated power whose waves of hallowed influence shall not cease to bless men until they break in fulness of fruition upon the immortal shore."<sup>1</sup>

"Then came almost a year of silence, cheered by the kindness of his people to him in his hour of trial; brightened always by the happy home radiance with which he was surrounded, and occasionally by the hope that he might yet be able to do service for his Lord on earth."<sup>2</sup> On the first Sunday in March Dr. Manning put on his gown for the last time,<sup>3</sup> and took part in the services at the Lord's table. His solemn prayer on that affecting occasion, and particularly his invocation of blessing for all time to come upon the church which he loved so ardently, and from whose service he was to retire in a few days, will never be forgotten by those who heard it. The summer and autumn months brought no real improvement, and no valid ground for hope; and on the 29th of November he "entered into the unencumbered life of heaven." He died at the house of his brother-in-law, the Rev. W. H. Fenn, in Portland, Maine, where he and his family were making a visit. Among his latest words were these: "God is with me; my God is here." In another month he would have completed his fifty-eighth year. The funeral services were held at the Old South on Friday, December 1, in the presence of a large congregation. The Rev. Dr. Duryea presided, and made a most interesting address, as did also the Rev. Dr. Gould, a college classmate and life-long friend of Dr. Manning.<sup>4</sup> In accordance with the custom at the Old South Church, a memorial sermon, from which we have freely quoted, was preached, Sunday afternoon, February 18, 1883, by the Rev. William M. Taylor, D. D., of New York, from Phil. i. 21: "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."

The venerable clergyman who for fifteen years had been the senior associate in the pastorate, and who had retired from

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Gould's address at the funeral.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Taylor's memorial sermon.

<sup>3</sup> In accordance with an old custom, Dr. Manning was buried in his gown.

<sup>4</sup> The pall-bearers were the Rev. Rufus Ellis, D. D.; the Rev. William Burnet Wright; the Rev. Leighton Parks; the Rev. James M. Gray; the Rev.

James B. Dunn; the Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D.; the Rev. A. J. Gordon, D. D.; and the Rev. J. W. Hamilton. The burial was in Forest Hills Cemetery. The cost of the monument, and the expenses of Dr. Manning's last illness and funeral, as in the case of previous pastors, were assumed by the Old South Society.



active duty in 1872, survived until the 17th of December, 1884. He spent the last months of his life in the city of New York and died there. His body was brought to Boston, for burial at Mount Auburn, and funeral services were held at the Old South, conducted by the Rev. George A. Gordon. On Sunday morning, February 22, 1885, a memorial discourse was preached by the Rev. Charles A. Stoddard, D. D., of New York, — son of Deacon Stoddard, — who joined the Old South under Dr. Blagden's ministry in 1848. The text was Psalm xci. 16: "With long life will I satisfy him, and show him my salvation." The devotional exercises were conducted by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, assisted by the Rev. Francis H. Johnson, of Andover, who joined the church on the same day as Dr. Stoddard, and the Rev. Professor J. Henry Thayer, of Cambridge, who became a member in 1853.

At the weekly prayer-meeting of the Old South Church, two days after Dr. Blagden's death, resolutions were adopted, some of which we quote, in token of the affectionate regard in which his memory was and is cherished by his old parishioners: —

"That this church recalls with feelings of devout gratitude to God, the labors of Dr. Blagden, as a minister of the gospel, which covered a period of half a century in this city, and of thirty-six years in this church, which were marked by great fidelity and earnestness both in the pulpit and in every department of the pastoral work, and which were attested and emphasized by a consistent and exemplary walk and conversation.

"That the recognized standing and acknowledged influence of Dr. Blagden as a Christian man and minister, and as a scholar, and his demeanor and deportment as a Christian gentleman, were all calculated to commend the religion which he professed and preached to all who knew him in this community.

"That his long career of active service and usefulness was fittingly followed by a serene age whose conditions he accepted cheerfully and whose honors he wore gracefully, and was, in due time, beautifully crowned by a peaceful and painless departure from life, when, like a shock of corn in its season, he was gathered to the heavenly garner.

"An honored life, a peaceful end,  
And heaven to crown it all."

## CHAPTER XI.

1884.

### PARTISANSHIP DEFEATED.

A DISTINGUISHED Scotch divine, Dr. Marcus Dods, is reported as having said, not many months ago, that it would be difficult to "pick out any term of twenty-five years in this world's history which had seen so little outward change, and such enormous inward changes, as these last twenty-five years." So far as the churches of New England were concerned, no man was better qualified than Dr. Manning to understand the nature and extent of this movement below the surface.<sup>1</sup> Nor had he any fears in reference to what might be the result of it. He not only knew the age in which he lived, but he was in sympathy with it in all its aspirations; and he was willing to trust the churches, — the people. He was able to discriminate between what is vital in theology and what is incidental, between the word of God and the teachings of men; and he did not think that the foundations were giving way, because of the prevailing disposition to challenge the latter. He saw no occasion for the alarm with which some good people had been seized, for example, in connection with the doctrine of retribution, and he endeavored to counteract the influence of their gloomy forebodings. On the 29th of February, 1880, he preached from Jer. xxiii. 28: "The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully. What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord." A few sentences will show the aim of the sermon: —

If they [evangelical ministers] have changed in any of their views, that change has not carried them away from but nearer to the gospel. They have departed *to* the faith once delivered to the saints, not from it. They are thinking more of the divine word and less of the human

<sup>1</sup> What Augustus Hare has said of rustling of the wings of Time. Most statesmen, in one of his *Guesses at Truth*, is true no less of clergymen: They people only catch sight of it when it is flying away. When it is overhead it "should have ears to hear the distant darkens their view."

dream, more of the wheat and less of the chaff. It has been freely charged, for instance, that but few Christian ministers now hold the scriptural doctrine of retribution for sin. But I believe they were never more eager to accept just what the Bible says on this whole subject, and abide by it, than now. It is not the Bible which they refuse to accept, but human theories born of philosophy and metaphysics. Scholastic thinkers, in ages of fierce religious controversy, have formulated their own partial and distorted views of this subject into standards which the hard-pressed church has for the time being accepted. To refuse to abide by those extravagant human standards is a very different thing from refusing to abide by the Bible. I think you will all agree with me in the statement that such a doctrine of retribution should be preached to the wrong-doer as will most tend to make him stop his wrong-doing, that nothing should be said to him about his future either in this life or that to come which will encourage him in his evil courses. That statement you are all ready to accept ; and it certainly covers everything the Bible has to say on the subject, however it may disagree with what speculative thinkers have said.

Dr. Manning's preaching was fresh, fearless, reasonable, helpful, free from the trammels of the letter, instinct with spiritual power. It was not dogmatic, but it dealt with principles and with their practical application. It commended the truth as something not merely to be believed, but to be lived ; and as related primarily to character, and, in the issue, through character to destiny. It was reverent in its attitude to the past, loyal in its sense of obligation to the present, and altogether hopeful in its look towards the future. These being the characteristics of the preaching to which the Old South congregation had become accustomed, and which it thoroughly appreciated, it is evident that in filling the vacancy caused by Dr. Manning's resignation, the controlling tendency would be towards progress and not towards retrogression. In the meetings of the committee appointed to make a nomination, we doubt whether the words "old-school," "new-school," "conservative," "progressive," were once used, or even hinted at ;<sup>1</sup> — a pastorate in its duration is likely to outlive the parties of the day ; a pastor is or should be transcendently more than a party man ; — and yet it was almost inevitable that the choice should fall upon one whose thinking and preaching would be along the lines on which Dr. Manning had been so conspicuous and so successful.

At a special meeting of the church held on Monday evening,

<sup>1</sup> This committee consisted of Alpheus Joseph H. Gray, Hamilton A. Hill, John Hardy, Samuel Johnson, Moses Merrill, L. Barry, Linus M. Child.

December 13, 1882, nine months after Dr. Manning's resignation took effect and a week or two after his death, the nominating committee reported the name of the Rev. George A. Gordon, pastor of the Second Congregational Church, Greenwich, Connecticut, with the recommendation that he be called to the Old South pastorate. The church voted unanimously to extend a call to Mr. Gordon, and, on the 1st of January, the society concurred. A joint committee, duly instructed, transmitted the call, and on the 10th of the same month, Mr. Gordon sent a reply, declining the invitation, in view of what he regarded as the pressing claims of his work at Greenwich at the time. This answer was communicated to the church and society respectively, and, by both, the letter was recommitted to the committee, with instructions to confer further with Mr. Gordon, "with a view to bringing him to us as our pastor at the earliest practicable time."

Mr. Gordon was born at Oyne, Aberdeenshire, January 2, 1853. His father, George Gordon, died in 1881, his mother (Catherine), survives and lives in Aberdeen. He came to this country in his youth, and, a few years later, having determined to devote his life to the Christian ministry, he went to Bangor and took the prescribed course of theological study in the seminary there. He was ordained June 20, 1877, pastor of the Congregational Church, Temple, Maine, and remained there for a year. Wishing then to pursue a more thorough academic course, he went to Harvard College, and graduated there in the class of 1881. On leaving college he was installed pastor of the Second Congregational Church, Greenwich, Connecticut, and he had labored there nearly three years when he resigned to come to Boston.

It was a trial to the church, after having had to depend upon supplies for its pulpit Sabbath by Sabbath, not only since Dr. Manning's resignation but for some time before, to be obliged to accept the postponement of its hope for the settlement of a pastor; but the members were not disheartened, and being thoroughly united in Mr. Gordon, they determined not only to wait for him for an uncertain length of time, but also to do their utmost individually to maintain the activity and usefulness of the church in the interim. The deacons, whose duty it was to arrange for the supply of the pulpit, continued to be, as they had been, successful in their difficult task; and, in the summer of 1883, they were most fortunate in being able to secure the



services of the Rev. Professor Tucker, of Andover, for the coming autumn and winter. Dr. Tucker spent six months with the church, preaching on the Lord's day and on Friday evening, and his faithful and disinterested labors, both in the pulpit and on various occasions of sorrow and bereavement, won for him the respect and regard of all.

The call to Mr. Gordon was renewed in writing, January 4, 1884, and was accepted by him in a letter dated January 11, the pastorate to begin on the first Sunday in April next following. It was at this point, if at any, that the church and the pastorelect should have invited an expression of opinion from the neighboring churches upon the "expediency" of proceeding further under the call which had been extended and accepted; then, if ever, the neighbors should have been asked "to review the proceedings." To unsettle a pastor, to remove him from a field of activity in which he was happy and useful, to sunder the ties between him and an attached people, to bring him, and his family, perhaps, into a new and strange community, to open the doors of the parsonage to him and his effects, and then to summon a council (in the language of the Congregationalist newspaper) to "examine and express judgment upon the candidate, and only when satisfied that he has fitness for the place, to proceed to his installation," — all this, as it seems to us, is utterly preposterous. No church has a right to put a minister into such a position. It may be urged that in the large majority of cases, the proceedings of the modern installation council, although inquisitorial, are merely formal, and that the pastorelect is settled almost as a matter of course. Undoubtedly this is so in times of peace, and during the last fifty years the system has worked with more annoyance than positive mischief; but let the spirit of party appear in the denomination and in the councils, and the essential harmfulness of this tribunal which ecclesiasticism has imposed upon the churches at once becomes manifest. In the exceptional instances, what can compensate a pastor, who having been persuaded to vacate a pulpit and change his residence in order to accept an invitation elsewhere, finds the pulpit to which he has been called closed against him, because the settled ministers in the neighborhood to whom the "expediency" of his installation has been referred have voted against him? In such a case, the disappointed church, in due time, would find another minister; but how long might it be before the disappointed minister would find another church?

At the weekly meeting of the church, Friday evening, March 7, Mr. Gordon was formally received into the membership, in compliance with an ancient rule requiring that the pastor-elect shall become a member before his installation. A large congregation was present, and Dr. Tucker conducted the devotional exercises. Mr. Gordon presented a letter of dismission and recommendation from the Fourth Presbyterian Church, Boston, which he had joined soon after his arrival in this country, and made a statement of his belief and experience. Deacon Allen moved that he be received into the membership, and the brethren voted in the affirmative by show of hands. Deacon Plumer then read an adaptation of the covenant, the members of the church rising, and, at the close, joining audibly in the benediction: "The Lord bless thee, and keep thee; the Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace." Mr. Gordon was now a "brother beloved" in the church; he had entered the long succession of its membership; it was but a step to the long succession of its pastorate.

Dr. Wisner says in his History: "At least since the settlement of Mr. Cumming [1761], the following has been the uniform practice in this particular. The pastor-elect having signified his acceptance of the call, attends a meeting of the church, where his testimonials are exhibited, and he declares his consent to the Confession of Faith owned and consented unto by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches convened at Boston in 1680; after which he is received a member of the church." This custom seems to have been introduced when the Old South for the first time called a minister from the Presbyterian Church. When Dr. Manning was received into the membership previously to his installation, in 1857, he declared his consent to the Confession of 1680 in the sense in which the authors of that symbol would explain themselves, if they were then living. In arranging for the admission of Mr. Gordon, the church committee decided to make no reference to the Confession of 1680 in that service, but to leave the pastor-elect entirely free to make a statement of his belief in his own way, and this he did.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The question has been agitated of late, in more than one religious body, whether the confessions to which ministers are called upon to subscribe at ordination or institution should not be modified and modernized in order to make honest and intelligent subscription possible in all cases. Would it not be bet-

A few days later letters-missive were issued for the installation. The form which these should take, involving, of course, a definition of the powers delegated to the council, had been talked over by some of the committee before it was certain that Mr. Gordon would be the choice of the church. Members of the committee had been appealed to more than once, in anticipation of the event, to return in this particular to the ancient and approved usage of the Congregational churches of Massachusetts, not so much for the sake of the Old South, which, it was said, could take care of itself, as for the sake of churches less able, perhaps, to withstand pressure from without. In its letters for the last two, and perhaps three, installations, the church had conformed to the modern custom, but it was not bound by these precedents, if it saw fit to return substantially to the terms which the churches of its order in Massachusetts had employed for two hundred years. The issuance of letters-missive is a sovereign act upon the part of the local church, which may fix the form, and vary this from time to time, according to its pleasure. It has an unquestionable right, if it prefers to do so, but only with the full consent of its pastor-elect, to use such language as the following: We request your attendance "to examine the candidate, review our proceedings and advise with us in reference to the same, and, if judged expedient, to assist in the installation service." On the other hand, if a church considers itself competent to make choice of a pastor, and proposes to stand by its choice, it is also its unquestionable right to draw up its letters of invitation in conformity with this conviction and this purpose.

On a comparison of the Old South letter of 1884 with similar letters to be found in these volumes, it will be seen that so far as it varies from them in terms, it does so in the interest of Christian courtesy and church fellowship. It says expressly: "The action of the church and society, and the correspondence in connection with the call, will be laid before you, and the pastor-elect will make a statement of his religious belief." Full information was promised; but the council was not requested "to review the proceedings;" the time for that, in the judgment of the church, had passed several months before. The letter was as follows:—

|  |  |
|--|--|
| ter to allow these old confessions to stand in the form in which they have come down to us, as historical documents, and | to do away with the requirement of formal subscription in the churches and seminaries? |
|--|--|

The Old South Church, Boston,

To the ——— ——— ———

SENDETH GREETING.

*Dear Brethren :*

The Great Head of the Church having graciously united our hearts in the choice of the Rev. George A. Gordon, now pastor of the Second Congregational Church, Greenwich, Conn., as our pastor and teacher, and he having accepted our call to this office, an Ecclesiastical Council for installation and recognition will be held on the afternoon and evening of Wednesday, the second day of April next. You are hereby cordially invited to participate, by your pastor and a delegate, in the proceedings of this Council, which will be convened in our Meeting-House, Boylston Street, Boston, on the day aforesaid, at three o'clock P. M., when the action of the Church and Society, and the correspondence in connection with the call, will be laid before you, and the pastor-elect will make a statement of his religious belief, preliminary to the usual public services in the evening.

In behalf of the Old South Church and Society,

AVERY PLUMER,  
SAMUEL JOHNSON,  
RICHARD H. STEARNS,  
HAMILTON A. HILL,  
GEORGE R. CHAPMAN,

ALPHEUS HARDY,  
SAMUEL R. PAYSON,  
JOSEPH H. GRAY,  
LINUS M. CHILD,

*Committee of the Society.*

*Committee of the Church.*

BOSTON, March 10, 1884.

By a few of the neighboring pastors this letter was not received in the spirit in which it had been sent. From their comments upon it one would almost have thought that it threatened to interfere with what they had come to regard as their just prerogative, their vested right of visitation in the churches, and that the control in matters of faith and polity, which they had assumed and for a long time had been allowed to exercise without challenge, was now in imminent danger. The Creed Commission had recently reaffirmed the ancient article, that the churches, "under the guidance of the Holy Scriptures and in fellowship with one another," might, each for itself, "appoint and set apart their own ministers." The letter-missive had been prepared, as was believed, in accordance with this utterance. The only question that could possibly arise was in relation to the meaning of the word "fellowship." The Old South committee had assumed that it meant — fellowship; of course, if it could be explained as meaning something else, — dictation, for example, there might be ground for serious mis-



understanding between those who sent the letter and some of those to whom it was sent.

We have been told, what would seem hardly credible, that at first it was proposed by some of the pastors to make the form of the letter-missive the subject of comment and of protest immediately on the assembling of the council, and to rebuke the church which had issued it. We can understand that ministers who had come from other denominations into the Congregational body might be so ignorant of the polity which they had promised to maintain as to call in question in an ecclesiastical council the validity of the only document which gave them a standing there, or, indeed, by which the council had its existence; but it is difficult to see how any man who had had a Congregational training could fall into such a grave mistake. Fortunately for these critics, the weakness of their position in this regard was pointed out to them in time by some one wiser than themselves; and the Old South, although fully prepared, was not confronted with the necessity of defending its letter, that is to say, itself, in the performance of a sovereign act. We do not think that the form of the letter was objected to publicly by any pastor in the presence of his church; but if it had been, we venture the opinion that no church to which it was addressed would have voted to decline the invitation because of it. However it may be with some of the pastors, the laymen in the several churches, for the most part certainly, are entirely willing to concede to each other the right of choosing their ministers, without interference and without dictation. We shall have occasion to refer again to the attitude of the leaders of the opposition to the letter-missive when we come to speak of the proceedings of the council.

Partisanship was now active and aggressive in the Congregational House, and it became more and more certain, day by day, that it would be present as a disturbing element at the installation of Mr. Gordon. During the controversies through which the churches have been passing recently certain leaders have assembled in caucus from time to time, in anticipation of contests for which they have thought it necessary to make special preparation. It is true that these leaders have shown a good deal of sensitiveness about the word caucus, and would prefer that their private meetings, if spoken of at all, should be called conferences; but clergymen who make up their minds to resort to political methods for the accomplishment of their

plans should not, we submit, be too fastidious about the use of political terms. Of the ecclesiastical caucus the Old South Church had had some experience previously. When Mr. Wisner was ordained, in 1821, the men who broke up the harmony of the occasion had carefully matured their plans among themselves beforehand. But "councils of war," sitting "without commission," had been known in the Massachusetts churches long before this. With great considerateness of reserve as to names, but with much plainness of speech as to acts, John Wise, in his criticisms upon the "Proposals" of 1705, said: "A council of war (by adjournment met, without commission) consulting the most plausible way to blow up the walls of our Zion. But where the place was, or the persons who were present in this rendezvous, shall never be told by me, unless it be extorted by the rack. And tho' I have endeavoured with freedom of argument to subvert the error, I will never stain their personal glory by repeating or calling over the muster-roll."

A week or two before the meeting of the council of 1884, pains were taken by some of the committee of arrangements to ascertain, if possible, what it was that had stirred the displeasure of those who, as it was expected, were to lead off in the opposition. Certain personal feelings were hinted at, but these it is not worth our while to dwell upon. The letter-missive, also, was mentioned as a grievance; this we have considered already. But the most serious charge brought against the church was, that the Andover professors, and those who were supposed to be their friends, had been invited to preach; in other words, that in arranging to supply the pulpit under their care the deacons had not been under the influence of a partisan spirit. It was not denied that men of the most conservative opinions had preached at the Old South, some of them again and again, during the two years since Dr. Manning's resignation; but the complaint was, in effect, that the officers of the church had not recognized party lines in the performance of their duty, and that they had not been willing to put their strength behind the dividing wedge which it was proposed by some to drive through the denomination. A complete list of the ministers welcomed to the Old South at this time would include several who, on either side, have been the most prominent in the recent unhappy difficulties, and many more, perhaps, who have not in any way been publicly identified with them. Forty years ago, when party feeling ran high in the denomination, both Dr. Nehemiah

Adams and Professor Park, and those whom they represented respectively, were freely invited to the Old South pulpit. If we were disposed to classify, it might be shown that the same spirit of comprehensiveness and catholicity, and, at least, in equal degree, characterized those upon whom rested the responsibility of providing for the supply of the vacant pulpit in these later and much more trying times.

On the 25th of March an ecclesiastical council met at Greenwich, Connecticut, and confirmed the action of Mr. Gordon in resigning his charge there, and of the Second Congregational Church and Society in their acceptance of his resignation. The Rev. R. B. Thurston was moderator of this council, and the Rev. H. Martin Kellogg scribe; the action, unanimously taken, was in the following form:—

In view of the resignation of the pastor, Rev. George A. Gordon, and the unanimous acceptance of it by the church and society: in view also of the conviction of duty on his part, and the conviction on their part of the leadings of Providence, we cordially approve their action.

We cannot forbear to express our high esteem for Brother Gordon, and our profound regret at his departure from our vicinity, and commend him as a brother beloved, and an efficient and faithful servant of Christ, who has made it evident to us that he has not been enamored by the love of change, but has carefully listened for, and obeyed, the voice of God in this matter.

We express also our sincere sympathy for the Church at the loss of one so greatly beloved and useful, and our great satisfaction that they so unitedly acquiesce in the manifest leadings of Providence. Also, we congratulate them, in view of the prospect that the good work which Brother Gordon has begun, promises to be continued and carried forward without break or hindrance.

Mr. Gordon arrived in Boston on the 1st of April, and took possession of the Old South parsonage, which had been made ready for him. The council for installation and recognition assembled in the chapel of the Old South on the day following, Wednesday, April 2, at 3 P. M. A large congregation was present to witness the proceedings.<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Dr. Webb called the council to order, and was chosen moderator. The Rev. William Burnet Wright was chosen scribe. The roll of pastors and delegates, when made up, was as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> A snow-storm prevailed during the afternoon and evening, but it was not such a storm as that which blocked the roads when Mr. Thacher was settled, February 16, 1669-70. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 159.

Park Street Church, Boston : the Rev. J. L. Withrow, D. D., pastor ; Deacon Ezra Farnsworth, delegate.

Union Church, Boston : the Rev. R. R. Meredith, D. D., pastor ; Deacon O. S. Sanders, delegate.

Berkeley Street Church, Boston : the Rev. William Burnet Wright, pastor ; Deacon S. Brainard Pratt, delegate.

Central Church, Boston : the Rev. J. T. Duryea, D. D., pastor ; Deacon J. N. Denison, delegate.

Mt. Vernon Church, Boston : the Rev. S. E. Herrick, D. D., pastor ; Deacon Andrew Cushing, delegate.

Shawmut Church, Boston : the Rev. E. B. Webb, D. D., pastor ; Brother M. F. Dickinson, Jr., delegate.

Phillips Church, South Boston : the Rev. F. E. Clark, pastor ; Brother Calvin W. Angier, delegate.

Second Church, Dorchester : the Rev. E. N. Packard, pastor ; the Rev. Elijah Cutler, delegate.

Village Church, Dorchester : the Rev. S. P. Fay, pastor ; Brother Reuben Swan, delegate.

Pilgrim Church, Dorchester : the Rev. J. W. Ballantine, pastor ; Brother W. Cohoone Greene, delegate.

Evangelical Congregational Church, Brighton : the Rev. W. H. Leavell, pastor ; Brother Chas. S. Cook, delegate.

Eliot Church, Roxbury : the Rev. A. C. Thompson, D. D., and the Rev. B. F. Hamilton, pastors ; Deacon Charles W. Hill, delegate.

Immanuel Church, Roxbury : the Rev. M. Burnham, pastor ; Deacon Joseph S. Ropes, delegate.

Highland Church, Roxbury : the Rev. W. R. Campbell, pastor ; Deacon John C. Proctor, delegate.

Walnut Avenue Church, Roxbury : the Rev. A. H. Plumb, D. D., pastor ; Brother George H. Davenport, delegate.

South Evangelical Church, West Roxbury : the Rev. C. A. Beckwith, pastor ; the Rev. N. G. Clark, D. D., delegate.

Central Church, Jamaica Plain : the Rev. G. M. Boynton, pastor ; Deacon S. B. Capen, delegate.

Boylston Congregational Church, Jamaica Plain : the Rev. S. S. Mathews, pastor ; Deacon G. E. S. Kinney, delegate.

Harvard Church, Brookline : the Rev. Reuen Thomas, Ph. D., pastor ; Deacon H. S. Burdett, delegate.

First Church, Cambridge : the Rev. A. McKenzie, D. D., pastor ; Brother J. M. W. Hall, delegate.

North Avenue Church, Cambridge : the Rev. C. F. Thwing, pastor ; Deacon Wm. Fox Richardson, delegate.

First Church, Charlestown : the Rev. G. W. Brooks, pastor ; Deacon Anthony S. Morss, delegate.

Winthrop Church, Charlestown : the Rev. A. S. Twombly, D. D., pastor ; Brother C. E. Rogers, delegate.



First Church, Somerville : the Rev. W. E. Merriman, D. D., pastor ;  
 Brother Edward C. Porter, delegate.

First Church, Chelsea : Brother Rufus S. Frost, delegate.

First Church, Newton Centre : the Rev. T. J. Holmes, pastor ;  
 Brother George P. Davis, delegate.

Second Church, West Newton : the Rev. H. J. Patrick, pastor ;  
 Deacon H. P. Barber, delegate.

Eliot Church, Newton : Brother Geo. C. Dunne, delegate.

Hancock Church, Lexington : the Rev. E. G. Porter, pastor ; Brother  
 Geo. W. Berry, delegate.

Kirk Street Church, Lowell : the Rev. C. A. Dickinson, pastor ;  
 Brother Jacob Rogers, delegate.

South Church, Salem : the Rev. E. S. Atwood, D. D., pastor ;  
 Brother J. C. Osgood, delegate.

Second Congregational Church, Greenwich, Conn. : Deacon Charles  
 Mead and Brother L. P. Hubbard, delegates.

High Street Church, Portland, Maine : the Rev. W. H. Fenn, pastor ;  
 Brother James B. Libby, delegate.

Congregational Church, Temple, Maine : the Rev. A. G. Fitz,  
 pastor.

Also,

The Rev. G. W. Blagden, D. D., New York.

The Rev. W. J. Tucker, D. D., Andover.

The Rev. W. M. Barbour, D. D., New Haven.

The Rev. I. N. Tarbox, D. D., West Newton.

The Rev. C. A. Stoddard, D. D., New York.

The Maverick Church, East Boston, voted to accept the invitation, but neither its pastor nor delegate was able to be present. The Rev. J. H. Means, D. D., Dorchester, and the Rev. J. H. Thayer, D. D., Cambridge, were also invited, but could not attend. Thirty-four churches were represented, and thirty-nine clergymen and thirty-two laymen were on the roll.

After the action of the church and society and the correspondence in reference to the call had been read, the pastor-elect presented the following paper :—

In the book of Genesis we are told that when the Lord God had formed every beast of the field and every fowl of the air he brought them before Adam to see what he would call them, and whatsoever Adam called every living creature *that* was the name thereof. If the Lord God had brought these same fowls of the air and beasts of the field before some of Adam's children, Seth, Enoch or Methuselah, for example, they might have named these living creatures differently, and because of this verbal difference hasty men might have concluded that

Adam and his children must be contemplating different orders of creation. Nevertheless a glance at the living creatures which Adam named and at those which his sons named would have revealed the supremely important fact that in both cases the living creatures were the same. Both alike beheld with wonder and admiration the same fowls of the air, the same beasts of the field, and so were in essential agreement.

Every earnest Christian thinker looks into the living facts of God's revelation for himself. He cannot rest until his own eyes have seen the relations which God sustains to men and which men sustain to God. God's dealings with men from the beginning, God manifest in Christ, the two great laws of the spiritual life — the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus and the awful law of sin and death — are living things upon which his own eyes must rest. Perhaps he will name some of them for himself, rejecting the old names. But because he does this in any case, or in all cases, it must not be inferred that he is not beholding with love and awe and praise the same living things which all other Christian thinkers behold.

I believe in the existence of one only living and true God. His name in the Scriptures is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. I believe in his existence because my reason demands a sufficient ground for all that appears within me, about me, beneath me, and above me; an original fountain from which this Divine fullness comes — a power able to bring into being, and to maintain in being, all forms of dependent existence. To me nothing could be more irresistible than this cry of reason, that for everything that has appeared, or does appear, or will appear, in this universe, there must be a sufficient ground. I believe that this ground of all things is intelligent, because, to my mind, nothing else can account for the sublime order and wonderful adaptation of means to ends everywhere visible in the universe. I believe that this ground is a moral ground for another aspect of the same reason. In the experience of the individual, in the experience of society, and in the records of history, there is revealed a moral order which the individual perceives, which society perceives, but which neither the individual nor society makes. To me this moral order is at once a witness of the existence and of the moral intelligence of God.

I do not think that the phrase, "consciousness of God," adds anything to these arguments. It simply states them in another way. When a thoughtful man tells me that he has a "consciousness of God," I understand him to mean that his intellect and heart are at rest in a conclusion to which he has been led, and in which he is maintained by the necessity of a sufficient ground for all dependent existence, by the marks of creative intelligence in matter and in mind, and by the moral order of the world. So, too, with the idea of God. When

analyzed, it means the capacity which is native to the mind for forming the conception of God. This capacity is elicited and filled out into an actual conception by finding in experience evidence which forces one to believe in a first cause, and that the first cause must be intelligent and moral. However, there are in the general idea of God certain purely *a priori* elements, such as infinity, eternity, and absolute perfection, which seek, but seek in vain, for complete verification in experience, and which point with great impressiveness to one who is in experience, and who transcends it, — to a being who is all-powerful, all-wise, and absolutely good. This is the God in whom I believe.

Another impressive evidence of the truth of my faith in God I may state thus: Begin with the assumption that there is a God. Build individual, domestic, social and national life on this principle. Individual, domestic, social and national life thus attain to the highest possible development in peace, power and splendor. Herein is found a verification, a justification, of the spiritual assumption from which we set out. That must be true which makes us true.

I believe that God has given to men a special revelation of his will. This revelation is made through the history of the chosen people, culminating in the person and life of Jesus Christ. Underneath the spiritual life of the whole world, in explanation of it, I would place these words of John: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that hath been made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men." But God's treatment of the Jewish people was special and peculiar, and from one of this race the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and unveiled his own and his Father's eternal glory.

I would use the word revelation in two senses; first, in reference to the discovered will of God, wherever or by whomsoever made; second, in reference to that special and practically complete unveiling of the Divine mind which we have in the Bible. By inspiration, I mean the fitness which God has given to the men whom he has called to the special work of apprehending and expressing his *will*. The revelation contained in the Bible is the unveiling of God's will which I find in it; inspiration is the means which he employed for that purpose — the state of mind in the human agent necessary for the apprehension and expression of that will. Thus the will of God is the objective truth. This truth is progressively discovered through a great number of men, in different periods, who were enabled to apprehend and express it, each apprehending and expressing a part, all the parts going to constitute the whole, the whole being summed up and set forth in the life of the Lord Jesus Christ. This, then, is the order of my thought upon this great topic. First, I believe in God; second, I find God revealing himself in the human life of which the Old and New Testaments give

us a record ; finally, I believe that God has qualified, that is, inspired, the men who were the channel of this communication.

I believe that in Jesus Christ we have the incarnation of the eternal Son of God. I accept him as God manifest in the flesh, as God's unspeakable gift to men. In him God appears reconciling the world to himself. I do not pretend even to an adequate, much less to a complete, apprehension of the work of Christ in reconciliation. I believe in it. I am a student of it. I hold it to be intelligible. In respect to it I anticipate as among my chief delights greater clearness and extent of vision. I earnestly believe that prolonged and independent study of the word of God, much personal experience of Christ's power upon the human heart, wide and intimate acquaintance with the forms which the Christian life assumes in other men, are absolutely essential to right ideas upon a subject so vast, so profound, so purely spiritual. To the question, What is the purpose and end of the incarnation, life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ? I answer that the purpose is the manifestation of the love of God, and that the end is the spiritual emancipation of the human race.

To the further question, How does Christ become the reconciler of men to God? I reply, by the truth which he reveals and by his method of revelation.

*First*—There is a revelation of the true character of God. God is love. God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. He is our Father in heaven. He is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. He is a righteous being. His righteousness is declared in Christ. In Christ that righteousness is seen to be propitious to penitent sinners. This truth is arrayed against all false and inadequate ideas of God which prevail among men. It makes war upon them. It scatters, confounds and consumes them. This is one mighty element in reconciliation, a true conception of the righteous God.

*Second*—There is in Christ a revelation of the essential relation of sonship between God and a human being, and of what God may become to a human being in the evolution of his life. Christ reveals the fact that we have our being in God, that we can live in the recognition of this fact and so become conscious of his power working in us that which is well pleasing in his sight. This truth is set in antagonism to all practical atheism, to all merely human, to all godless ideas and modes of living current in the world.

*Third*—There is, therefore, a revelation of the only life worthy of a human being, the life of trust in the unseen God. This truth concerning the only life worthy of man deepens and interprets the consciousness of sin, awakens the desire of freedom, discovers and condemns all those ideas of life which lead men into spiritual bondage. These are truths in the atonement in regard to which I am clear and certain.



But I would never separate the truths themselves from the method by which they are revealed: they are revealed through the whole personal history of the Incarnate Son of God; through his humble nativity; through his perfect obedience to his Father; through his doing and his suffering; through weariness and weakness; through his agony and bloody sweat; through his cross and passion; through his whole life, and through his death and resurrection. What the nature of God is; what he is essentially, and can become practically, to men; what kind of lives human beings ought to live, — are truths which appear as living realities in Jesus Christ. They are wrought out of his personal experience. Through a person, through a character, through a life, — a life in which there is untold sorrow, in which there is a death and a resurrection, — these truths about God and about man come forth and enter the mind and heart of the world. Thus they acquire their clearness and force, their divine beauty and splendor. Thus they gain their power over men. In and through Christ, they become the power of God unto salvation to every one who believeth. The truth in reference to the nature and condition of man, which is pre-supposed in the mission and work of Christ, I recognize and hold. I believe that all men are sinners. They are in bondage. They need a deliverer. In the deliverance of men from their moral bondage the agency of the Holy Spirit is a necessity. I hold that without him no one can enter and no one can abide in the spiritual life.

On the dark and difficult topic of retribution a few things are clear to me. These I will state as plainly and as frankly as I can. They relate to the nature of retribution, to the duration of it, to a possible crisis in sinful experience, and to my own mental attitude with reference to the whole subject. What is the nature of the divine retributions? The nature of sin makes this evident. Sin consists in wrong spiritual relations. It is a denial of the claims of God and of man upon the individual spirit. It is practical atheism and inhumanity. It is moral disorder. It is a bad spiritual state, and the consciousness which accompanies that state is its punishment. Sin and punishment are linked together as cause and effect. The cause is a moral cause, the effect is a moral effect. The retributions of God are therefore moral retributions. The words eternal life and eternal punishment, I am fully persuaded, refer primarily to a certain kind, to a certain quality of being. But the question of duration cannot be suppressed. Therefore, the next point to be met is whether eternal punishment is also endless? I answer without reservation that it may be so. A soul may sin forever, and so be in a state of moral death forever. This I maintain as a clear possibility. It is a possibility to which all sinners are liable. They become more and more liable to it the longer they persist in wrong-doing. I assert,

then, the possibility of everlasting punishment as a consequence of the possibility of everlasting sin. Whether there will be, as matter of fact, any who will sin forever, whether the possibility will be converted into a reality, is a question which I have no means of deciding. The questions of possibility and of fact are, in my mind, distinct. The one I can answer, the other I cannot. I hold the same view in reference to the possibility of a crisis in the sinner's experience. If there is such a thing as the possible possession of an assured Christian character, the attainment of a fixed position in the divine righteousness, it is clear to me that there must be also a limit in the sinner's experience, beyond which he will remain steadfast in sin. This would be my conception of the final judgment. Moral life and moral death declare themselves in their final form. The processes of moral life and moral death are thus summed up and set forth.

To the question whether this world is the only place where human beings can leave unrighteousness for righteousness, the fellowship of devils for the fellowship of God and his Son, I can give no answer whatever. I do not know enough about the world to come to decide whether those who are impenitent at death remain so forever, or ultimately, through the discipline of woe, become partakers of Christ's life. I will say, however, that where men have steadfastly resisted light here, we have no reason to believe that they will not resist there; that, in view of our ignorance, all men should be led to feel that the question of eternal life and eternal death in point of duration, no less than quality of being, may be forever settled by the choice of the present hour.

To the further question as to what influence the fact of physical death may have upon the destiny of the sinful soul, I return no answer. It may have much. It may have none at all. As my mental attitude in reference to the whole question, I would say that I intend to assert the laws of righteousness as found in the Bible and in human experience. I would hold forth eternal life as an infinite and unutterable good, as a good that is in peril every hour throughout mortal existence, as a good that may be lost finally and forever, whose loss is spiritual perdition, confirmed practical atheism and inhumanity. Further, I shall earnestly endeavor to keep my mind free from opinions where I think the facts of Scripture and of life warrant none. In reference to many aspects of this and other questions touching the divine administration of the world, I believe that the mental habit of suspense is rational, healthy, fruitful of much peace, and an indispensable safeguard against the waste of intellectual and spiritual power.

Finally I profess myself an inquirer, a student of the things of God and the life of man. Christ and his Scriptures are my supreme authority and guide. I count not myself to have apprehended the divine meaning of life. It is a vast continent on whose shores I stand. I

feel the power of its sublime attractions upon my spirit. I would press on into it eagerly, gladly, solemnly and reverently, with those whom God may give me as my spiritual companions, my fellow-travelers and fellow-explorers among the unsearchable riches of Christ.

It would have been well for all concerned if the public proceedings had been brought to a close at this point. The spiritual character of the occasion would not have been marred, the fellowship of the churches would have been strengthened, not strained, and the opposition would have been spared the mortification of a signal defeat. All the documents relating to Mr. Gordon's ecclesiastical standing were regular; his withdrawal from his pastorate at Greenwich had been in strict accordance with Congregational usage; and he had been received into the membership of the Old South Church. He had also read a carefully prepared and very full statement of his religious belief. This statement the council had heard only once; the members did not have it before them in print, and it would not have been strange if some of them had desired to ask one or more questions on particular points for their own better understanding of it. To questions asked in this way there could have been no objection; but this did not appear to be the sole or chief purpose in the cross-examination of the pastor-elect which now followed, and which, as we have reason to believe, had been preconcerted. We have the corroborative testimony of the *Congregationalist* on this point: <sup>1</sup>—

The letter-missive calling the council conspicuously violated a fundamental principle of Congregationalism, by going back to the days when our churches were crude in polity and vague in faith, and selecting a form which in language failed to submit to the decision of the body the question of the fitness of the candidate for the place. The invited churches and the council, however, saw fit charitably to condone the mistake thus made, and proceed as if they had been invited in ordinary form.

We must turn aside from our narrative for a moment to consider some of the assertions in this very offensive paragraph. There is no evidence that any of the invited churches had found fault with the form of the letter-missive, or that any one of them had voted "charitably to condone" it.<sup>2</sup> Nor did the council ex-

<sup>1</sup> April 10, 1884. We have already commented on the first part of this paragraph, *ante*, vol. i. p. 365, note.

<sup>2</sup> To condone, according to Worcester,

who says that the word is rarely used, is to pardon, to forgive. It is to be hoped that its use in any such connection as above will continue to be rare. We

press any opinion of any kind upon the letter, or take any action whatever in reference to it. A small, self-constituted committee on the state of the churches, which had been holding frequent sessions in private during the preceding two years, had assumed to pass judgment upon the letter, and its members had determined to "proceed as if they had been invited in ordinary form." But the action on the part of this committee was not the action of the churches, and it became the action of the council only by default on the part of the latter. And now we may well inquire by what rule these gentlemen proceeded in the council "as if they had been invited in ordinary form." Turning to a well-known work, *Congregationalism: What it is; Whence it is; How it works*; by the Rev. Henry M. Dexter, D. D., we find the following authoritative statement on the subject Letters-Missive: "These have the same relation to the action of the council that the 'warrant' has to that of a town-meeting. They furnish the authority on which the council meets, define its membership, and limit its powers. The council, when assembled, has . . . no right to consider and offer advice upon any subject not fairly embraced in the terms of the letter-missive." Our appeal is from the learned editor of the newspaper to the learned author of the manual. What would Dr. Dexter say (we may with propriety mention his name as author) if half a dozen citizens should agree among themselves "charitably to condone" a warrant which had been published for a town-meeting, and, by mere force of will, should proceed to take action on a "subject not fairly embraced in the terms of the" warrant? Would he have any use for the word "charitable" in such a connection, and would the "mistake" lie, in his judgment, with those who had issued the call, or with those who had transgressed its terms? It is hardly worth while, however, to consult a denominational manual upon such a question. The most elementary hand-book on conduct would tell us that those who

wonder that it did not occur to Cotton Mather to employ it, when he was recording the result of the bitter opposition of himself and his father and his party friends to the formation of Brattle Street Church, and the settlement of the Rev. Benjamin Colman as its pastor. After his party had been thoroughly beaten at every point, and had been forced by circumstances to assist at public services of recognition for the new

church and its minister, and to unite in extending the fellowship of the churches to them, Cotton Mather gave relief to his feelings by writing in his journal: "There was much relenting in some of their spirits, when they saw our condescension, our charity, our compassion. We overlooked all past offences." In other words: "We charitably condoned all past offences." See *ante*, vol. i. p. 314, note.



receive hospitalities must not prescribe, much less try to break down, the arrangements for their reception, and that it is becoming in guests to acquiesce in and conform to these arrangements rather than to "condone," be it never so "charitably," the invitation which they have accepted, and then to take everything into their own hands.

We believe that only from a comparatively recent date has it become usual to call upon the members of a council, in turn, to take part in the "examination" of a pastor-elect. Before this, as we remember, the moderator asked a series of questions in behalf of the council; now, although the moderator may have traversed the whole field, opportunity is given to every member, older and younger, experienced or inexperienced, to propound whatever question may occur to him at the moment, important or trivial, pertinent or impertinent. A majority of the members, as we have noticed, prefer to be silent on such occasions. At Mr. Gordon's installation only one third took advantage of the opportunity when it came to them, and only a few of these had much to say. Of the more than one hundred interrogatories, between fifty and sixty were put by three persons, including the moderator. Mr. Gordon bore himself admirably under the trying circumstances, and, with great calmness and courtesy, endeavored to explain his views, which to the opposition seemed to be altogether new, and to come in the nature of a surprise. A reference to some of the questions and answers will illustrate the difference in point of vision between Mr. Gordon and those who questioned him. We begin with the fifth question of the moderator :<sup>1</sup> —

The MODERATOR (Dr. Webb): Take that other passage in which he [the Apostle Paul] says, "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood." What do you make of that? Where does that come in, in your theory?

MR. GORDON: In this way, that the truth of God's character, the truth of his relation to his human children who have fallen into sin, the truth of the only right life for his human children, — these three truths are all declared in the Saviour of the world; and Paul has in mind, in my judgment, in that passage to which you have referred, the consummation of the revelation of God's redeeming love in the death of Christ.

The MODERATOR: Yes; I am not quite sure I understand; but

<sup>1</sup> For the questions and answers in *The Old South Council, etc.*, 1884, pp. full at Mr. Gordon's installation, see 22-46.

perhaps I can bring my meaning out in a different way. Take that passage concerning propitiation. Has the atonement made by the Saviour any relation to justice?

Mr. GORDON : Not as considered apart from righteousness, but as a declaration of righteousness, I believe that it is most essential ; that it is a declaration of the righteousness of God, as Paul says.

The MODERATOR : In what would that righteousness consist?

Mr. GORDON : The very being of the Eternal God.

The MODERATOR : Is Paul's teaching there in regard to the being or to the action?

Mr. GORDON : I think, sir, he is speaking of a revelation of the very being of God ; that God is a righteous Being, and that he is seen to be so in the whole work of Christ.

The MODERATOR : Is that on the surface? There may be some hidden meaning in it which I do not understand. "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood." It seems to be an act.

Mr. GORDON : Yes, sir, but I do not distinguish between Christ and God metaphysically. I believe that God is in Christ reconciling the world to himself ; if, therefore, Christ is a Redeemer, God is a Redeemer, and whatever Christ does, God does. I do not distinguish between the propitiation which Christ makes and that which God offers in Christ.

The MODERATOR : Well, has the atonement made by the Lord Jesus Christ any relation to the law or the penalty of the law?

Mr. GORDON : It has, and most emphatically, I should say, for righteousness is law, and sin is a violation of the law, and God sent his Son into the world to deliver it from lawlessness, and to establish the eternal laws of righteousness.

The MODERATOR : That hardly meets the point I have in mind ; but to go back to Paul's assertion, "There is, therefore, now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus." That condemnation implies personal guilt in your apprehension, does it not?

Mr. GORDON : Certainly, sir.

The MODERATOR : And guilt is what?

Mr. GORDON : That consciousness which accompanies wrong relations to God and to man.

The MODERATOR : Yes, that is part of it, very clearly ; that is to say, that is the inherent sense of ill desert in us ; but at the same time, does not guilt involve something external?

Mr. GORDON : I cannot see that it involves anything more external than that.

The MODERATOR : For instance, take this young Berner, who has been the cause of such a riot in Cincinnati. Now, when he murdered that man in the stable there was in him a sense of ill desert, — I do

not know whether there was or not, but that is what we would suppose there would be in you and me, an inherent sense of ill desert, guilt, something attaching to me, something I cannot get rid of; and does he not, at the same time, make himself liable to penalty, and does not every act of sin bind a man to some kind of penalty, to a fine, or imprisonment, or death?

MR. GORDON: I understand your question, sir, very clearly now, and I take the ground very firmly that the analogies drawn from human government with reference to the divine government, do not in any degree satisfy my mind, and I do not hold that such an analogy illustrates even the relations which a spiritual being has to a spiritual act; that all penalties whatsoever which are visited upon the sinner, in my judgment, are spiritual penalties.

THE MODERATOR: Of course. I do not mean to imply in my question that they are material, but I only mean to illustrate by human government, which, I suppose, is a transcript, as far as necessary in this world, of the divine government. I have understood it so. Do you not understand it so?

MR. GORDON: If it is, I hope that it is a very great modification of it.

THE MODERATOR: I do not care to go further.

Dr. Withrow began by asking several questions in reference to the nature of the Godhead. He then continued:—

Dr. WITHROW: I did not quite understand your statement in respect to the Scriptures, and Christ's revelation of himself;—the work of Christ consisted in what?

MR. GORDON: In the revelation of truth and in the method of revelation. You refer, sir, to what I said about reconciliation, that in trying to account for reconciliation and trying to account for the fact, which I confess, I said that it was the truth revealed through a person, a divine person.

Dr. WITHROW: How do you connect the work of the Son with the sacrificial system preceding it?

MR. GORDON: The sacrificial system preceding it seems to be all built upon the fact that God is already propitious, and that the sacrificial system is a confession that he needs no propitiation.

Dr. WITHROW: Why did he require them to bring the sacrifice, if he was already propitious?

MR. GORDON: I think I draw this distinction between heathen sacrifices and the sacrifices which I find in the Scriptures, that whereas the heathen thought they were going to bring their gods round into a favorable condition towards them, the Scriptures always set forth, in my judgment, the fact that God is brought round.

Dr. WITHROW: What, then, was the necessity, if God was already

propitious, that his Son should offer himself a sacrifice to satisfy justice, or offer himself in a propitiatory sense? Three or four times we have the word "propitiation" through Jesus Christ as a sacrifice.

MR. GORDON: Will you quote, sir, any passage in which it is said that Christ propitiated the Divine Justice as a legal satisfaction? If you will, it will help me out of the difficulty.

DR. WITHROW: "He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." There is that passage.

MR. GORDON: Dr. Withrow, (I will beg his pardon) referred to several passages of Scripture in which Christ is spoken of as being a propitiation to Divine Justice, and I ask him to refresh my memory with a passage.

DR. WITHROW: "Propitiation" also occurs, if you will remember it, in the prayer of the publican. When he offered his prayer he used the same word, in his own language.

MR. GORDON: "God be merciful to me a sinner"?

DR. WITHROW: Yes, but the language in which it was written first.

MR. GORDON: Will you be kind enough to repeat it?

DR. WITHROW: It is "propitiation" again, sir.

MR. GORDON: Well, I have no difficulty at all with this word. Christ is the declaration to me that God is propitious towards me as a sinner.

DR. WITHROW: Suppose he had not died on the cross, God being already propitious, would our salvation be equally secure?

MR. GORDON: We should never have known it.

DR. WITHROW: But, I say, would it, in your judgment, he being propitious, have been true that we all should have been saved, if Christ had not died?

MR. GORDON: I do not think a sinner can be saved without a knowledge of a Saviour, and that the Lord, in order to give him that knowledge, became incarnate, and thus the incarnation was necessary.

We quote a portion of Dr. Plumb's questions, with the answers:—

DR. PLUMB: On one question I did not quite get your idea, how Christ is a High Priest. What is his general relation to the Priesthood?

MR. GORDON: The High Priest was himself chosen from among men in things pertaining unto God, and he must have certain qualifications. He must be called of God and chosen from among men. Christ was. He was called of God. It was in reference to things concerning God, and Christ's whole work was in reference to things concerning God and the men from among whom he was chosen; therefore he was the High Priest.



Dr. PLUMB: Do you make any distinction between Christ as a Prophet or Teacher and Christ as a Priest?

Mr. GORDON: I have just stated what a priest was and what his priesthood is.

Dr. PLUMB: As I understand your statement, Brother Gordon, as to what Christ does in reconciling men and being a Saviour, it would seem that you confine it simply to his prophetic or teaching office; he reveals God through us, makes us know how good God is. What would you do with such a passage as Hebrews ix. 24: "Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into Heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us." Why is he in there for us?

Mr. GORDON: Christ is in there as the representative of humanity. However, I must say this, that in such a question, I do not believe that it is possible for me to explain a single passage taken from the whole epistle to the Hebrews. It seems to me that the whole epistle goes together; that I must make a statement of my belief without explanation; that the epistle represents Christ as chosen and constituted by God so as to effect the redemption of the human race.

Dr. PLUMB: I have been laboring to get your idea; it may be my fault altogether, but I would like very much to have you explain this, if you will be so kind, what it is that Christ does for us. Take such a passage as Romans iii. 25: "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins," in order "that he might be just." Now, according to this, Christ was set forth to be a propitiation, in order that God might be just in forgiving the sinner. Is not that something more than to reveal God to us?

Mr. GORDON: I do not hold, sir, that that word is used in our legal sense; it is righteousness, I believe, and that the whole work of Christ was a revelation of the righteousness of God; and I would say it was the nature of the righteousness of God to deliver men from the spiritual bondage in which it finds them.

Dr. PLUMB: Now this question perhaps will bring it out: Does the effect of Christ's sacrifice on the cross operate upon any one other than the sinner? You say it reveals to the sinner, makes him know more, but does it have any effect on any other being? Does it remove any obstacles that would exist, except in his own consciousness?

Mr. GORDON: I cannot find the view countenanced, as I read the New Testament, that God is propitiated by the death of Christ, that is, made favorable to man. I distinctly reject that view; but as I read the Bible, it is a procession of the heart of God out towards man, and the difficulties in any individual text in the way must be explained in reference to what I recognize as the general trend of the Scripture, that God's nature goes out through Christ, and through his work, for

the redemption of sinners. God does not change himself in his appearance in Christ.

Dr. PLUMB: What I am trying to ascertain is, whether, when Christ suffered for us on the cross, he did anything except something that should affect our hearts; whether there was any work in any other way?

Mr. GORDON: I would go this length, that God gratified himself in the expression of his redeeming love for man; but, I understand your question to mean this, sir, — did Christ propitiate God by his death? Is that your question, sir?

Dr. PLUMB: Yes, if you will not interpret "propitiate" in the sense that he did not love us. He loved us, but there were difficulties in the way of manifesting his love, so Christ removed those difficulties. Is that your idea?

Mr. GORDON: Yes, I should say that the love of God in Christ overcame all difficulties.

The leaders of the opposition were beginning to feel some of the consequences of "condoning" the letter-missive. If they had consulted Dr. Dexter's manual, and heeded his injunction that a council has "no right to consider and offer advice upon any subject not embraced in the terms" of the letter, they would not have involved themselves in such embarrassments as now surrounded them. Their course would have been a very plain one, if they had taken action in view of the only facts upon which it was possible for them, under the circumstances, to pass an immediate and intelligent judgment, namely, that after due deliberation, the Old South Church and Society had given a call to Mr. Gordon; and, that Mr. Gordon had laid before the council an official document from his brother ministers in the neighborhood of Greenwich, testifying to the fidelity and success of his pastorate there, which document had been supported by the statements of two members of his church then present as delegates. But these leaders had assumed the responsibility of deciding upon the "orthodoxy" on all essential points of a brother minister whom they had seen for the first time on that day, and to pronounce a judgment upon the merits of a carefully prepared and elaborate theological paper which, as we have said, had been read in their hearing once only, and which presented views of Christian doctrine, by their own acknowledgment, altogether new to them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One of the saintliest men in the council, not now living, said to us a few days afterwards, that in his opinion those who questioned Mr. Gordon were unable to understand him because they

and he were moving on different levels; they were intent, as it seemed, upon technicalities, while he was on a higher plane, dealing with truths in their spiritual relations.

We shall not speak of what took place in the protracted private session which followed the cross-examination, except to notice a proposition made by some one, but which, we believe, did not come to a vote, that the council should adjourn over for a few days. We are sure that the committee of arrangements would not have listened for a moment to such a suggestion as this.

The committee had prepared an entertainment to precede the public exercises of the evening, and, for the purpose of making the occasion one of broad Christian fellowship, had invited to meet the council and the pastor-elect the ministers of the neighboring churches of other denominations, including some with which, in former years, the Old South had sustained the closest ecclesiastical relations. After waiting as long as seemed proper, the committee of arrangements, with the pastor-elect and the guests outside the council, went up-stairs and sat down to the supper which had been provided. The senior deacon, Mr. Avery Plumer, presided, and the Rev. Rufus Ellis, D. D., of the First Church, asked a blessing. Several very pleasant speeches were made.<sup>1</sup> On its return to the meeting-house, the committee was surprised to learn not only that the council was still in session, but that there was no immediate prospect of its coming to definite action. The time for the public exercises had come and passed; a large congregation was waiting; and the members of the church, who thus far had been very patient, began to show marked signs of displeasure. Deacon Plumer called his committee together for consultation, and, in its behalf, was about to go to the chapel, prepared to speak some very plain words to those who were obstructing the proceedings, when a messenger appeared and reported that the council had just voted, forty-eight to sixteen or eighteen, to proceed to the services of installation.

After further delay, the public services of the evening began. The council had made no objection to the programme prepared by the committee of arrangements, but two changes were neces-

<sup>1</sup> Among those who were present were the Rev. Rufus Ellis, D. D., the Rev. George E. Ellis, D. D., the Rev. A. P. Peabody, D. D., the Rev. Phillips Brooks, D. D., and the Rev. Cephas B. Crane, D. D. The Hon. Peter Thacher and the Hon. D. Waldo Salisbury were present as representatives of the first minister of

the church, the Rev. Thomas Thacher, and a former deacon, Mr. Samuel Salisbury. Dr. Elisha Mulford had attended the public session of the afternoon, and had followed the proceedings with much interest; the committee was happy to invite him to its table. The council took supper an hour later.

sary. Dr. Duryea, who had promised to give the right hand of fellowship, pleaded another engagement, as the council was adjourning, and Dr. McKenzie undertook this part of the service, and performed it with great acceptance. Dr. Webb, who had accepted an invitation to offer the installing prayer, asked to be excused, and Dr. Merriman officiated in his stead. The venerable Dr. Blagden made the prayer of invocation, and this, we think, was the last pulpit service performed by him. Dr. Tucker preached the sermon from 2 Cor. iv. 13: "We having the same spirit of faith, according as it is written [Psalm cxvi. 10] I believed, and therefore have I spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak." Dr. Barbour gave the charge to the pastor, and Dr. Herrick addressed the people. An original hymn, by Dr. Tarbox, was sung before the sermon,<sup>1</sup> and another, by a member of the church, at the close of the services. Mr. Gordon pronounced the benediction. The exercises were admirable in every particular, and were greatly enjoyed by those who were able to forget some of the occurrences of the afternoon.

When the action of the minority in the council became the subject of general and rather severe criticism, some of the leaders sought to justify themselves by the plea that they had been conscientious in what they had done. Conscience, as we know, has been the excuse for nearly all the persecution of the later Christian centuries, so that one may well exclaim in the words of Madame Roland, slightly changed, O Conscience, how many crimes have been committed in thy name! Without calling in question the conscientiousness of religious persecutors in general, it must be conceded, we think, that the conscientiousness of the persecuted is much more noble and much more heroic. Certainly it is a much nobler thing to resign church preferment for the sake of our convictions than to keep another man out of a desirable pulpit because he does not agree with us, — a much more heroic thing to submit to the thumbscrew and the rack rather than be false to ourselves, than to apply these instruments of torture, or their modern equivalents, to others who will not accept our standards for their guidance in belief and conduct. That it is also a much more blessed thing, we have the teaching of the Lord himself, for his last beatitude in the Sermon on the Mount was reserved for his disciples when persecuted for his name's sake, that is, we suppose, for the sake of his truth, and he had none

<sup>1</sup> *Songs and Hymns*, by Increase N. Tarbox, p. 135.



to pronounce upon the men who, even for the sake of his truth, as they imagine, inflict the persecution.

There is a conscience which, in its exercise, is not dependent upon time or place or numbers, and which is never so grandly courageous as when it represents a small minority or is alone, and this we must regard as the Christian conscience; and there is another, which is especially valiant when a large majority stands behind it, or wherever it has full control, and this we may call the ecclesiastical conscience. Two years after the Old South council of 1884 there was another installation council in Boston, in which all the men who had led in the opposition to Mr. Gordon were present, with others of the extreme conservative party; and as the theological opinions of both pastors-elect were alike progressive, it was to have been expected that those who had been impelled by their consciences to multiply questions, to protest and to condemn in the one instance, would be equally outspoken and uncompromising in defence of orthodoxy as defined by themselves in the other. Any such expectation, however, was unfulfilled, for, in the later council, hardly an interrogatory was put, no exceptions were taken, and no discussion was allowed to disturb for a moment the peacefulness of the hour. By any uninformed spectator it might easily have been taken for an installation council in those earlier years of Congregationalism, "when our churches were crude in polity and vague in faith." We will not affirm that there was any thought in the minds of the reactionary leaders on the later occasion of the questions and answers of the earlier one, of the vote of two to one against them, or of the strictures which their course then called forth; but we hazard little in the assertion that in the proceedings of the Shawmut Council of 1886 there was too little ecclesiastical conscience, or in those of the Old South Council of 1884 there was altogether too much.

A prominent pastor — one of those who stood nobly by the Old South in the private session of the council — remarked a few days later that in the trying experiences of the occasion, both the new pastor and the church "suffered vicariously," and that other churches, with their pastors-elect, in time to come, would be the better able to maintain their rights against ecclesiastical encroachments, because of this contest and this victory. Nor, as we think, was this the first instance in its history in which the church had suffered vicariously, if indeed there

can be any suffering, corporate or individual, in the cause of freedom, religious or civil, which is not vicarious. "For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself."

We have prepared this account of the proceedings in connection with Mr. Gordon's installation with great self-restraint. Much more might be said in reference to them, and should be said whenever the history of the passing controversies or of the new pastorate is written. Of this pastorate in its beginning we will only say that if strife and division prevailed in any measure outside the church, mutual confidence, absolute harmony, and hopeful expectation reigned within. Even the partisan opposition which had been brought to bear against Mr. Gordon's installation had its suggestion of encouragement; for, from the settlement of Benjamin Colman at the close of the seventeenth century onward, those ministers who at their coming hither were most strenuously opposed by some of their brethren are now recognized as among the most faithful and successful in the long and honorable list of Boston pastors.<sup>1</sup>

"Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children." In the membership of the Old South to-day there are descendants of some of its founders and earlier members; and they, together with those who stand with them in the succession, remembering with gratitude to God the works of faith and labors of love of the men and women who have gone before, and sympathizing with them in their sacred aims and aspirations, desire to emulate them in their devotion to this church and in their loyalty to Him who has ever been its Lord and Head. They desire also, in their turn, to bear faithful witness to the truth as it is in Him, and to transmit unimpaired to the next century and the next generation the spiritual inheritance which has come down to them.

<sup>1</sup> The strength of historic Congregationalism has been its flexibility; and yet there are ministers in this generation who are seeking, as others before them have done, to make it more rigid and more uniform in its outward working, and to bring it under the control of a compacted and centralized administration. It seems to us that to add to the denominational machinery would be to multiply the opportunities for machine management, that is to say, if we may judge from recent events, for the use of political methods and for restless and aggressive parti-

sanship; while to extend the principle of organization would be to place more power in fewer hands. So far as the benevolent work of the churches is concerned, what is wanted is, not more organization, but reorganization; as relates to their internal affairs, these churches are able, for the most part, to take care of themselves, or, if mutual assistance is called for at any time, this can be offered and accepted the most effectively, not under denominational regulation, but under the application by the brethren for themselves of the law of love.

Their prayer is that it may continue to be said, as it has been said hitherto, that in the history of the Third Church, — the Old South, — “century uttereth speech to century, and generation showeth knowledge to generation.”

Sic dispensant verbum Dei  
Quod nox nocti, lux diei  
Indicant scientiam.

Archbishop Trench says, in a note on Adam of St. Victor's hymn from which we have taken these lines, that the opening verses of the nineteenth Psalm, mainly on the strength of the Apostle Paul's application of them, have constantly received a spiritual application. “The Church is the firmament which shews the handywork of God ; in which day transmits to day and night to night in unbroken succession to the end of time, the wondrous story of the glory and grace of God.” To this unceasing testimony of the church catholic the local churches are evermore contributing, each in its sphere. That this shall not fail from age to age we have the assurance of the Divine word ; may the same promise find ample and perpetual fulfilment, as in the past, so in the future history of the Old South Church : “A seed shall serve Him ; it shall be accounted to the Lord for a generation. They shall come, and shall declare his righteousness unto a people that shall be born, that He hath done this.”



## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

---

### I. A LIST OF BOOKS, ETC., RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH, SOCIETY, AND MEETING-HOUSE, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO DATE OF PUBLICATION.

The Necessity of Sincerity, in renewing Covenant: Opened and urged in a Sermon Preached to the Third gathered Church in Boston, New England; June 29. 1680. On the Day wherein they Solemnly renewed Covenant. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of that Church.

*Boston, in New England, Printed by James Glen, for S. Sewall, 1682. 131-150, (1-6) pp. Small 8vo.* 1

Forms part of Willard's "Covenant-Keeping The Way to Blessedness." Pp. (1-6) contain "The Church Renewed Covenant."

Reformation The Great Duty of an Afflicted People. Setting forth The SIN and Danger there is in Neglecting of it, under the Continued and Repeated Judgments of God. Being the Substance of what was Preached on a Solemn Day of HUMILIATION, kept by the Third Gathered Church in Boston, on August 23d. 1694. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of the said Church.

*Boston, in New England, Printed and Sold by Bartholomew Green, 1694. 76 pp. 16mo.* 2

A Sermon Delivered By Thomas Prince, M. A. on Wensday [*sic*], October 1. 1718. At his Ordination to the Pastoral Charge Of the South Church in Boston, N. E. In Conjunction with the Reverend Mr. Joseph Sewall. Together with The Charge, By the Reverend Increase Mather, D. D. And a Copy of what was said at giving the Right Hand of Fellowship: By the Reverend Cotton Mather, D. D. To which is added, A Discourse Of the Validity of Ordination by the Hands of Presbyters, Previous to Mr. Sewall's on September 16. 1713. By the Late Reverend and Learned Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton, Pastor of the same Church.

*Boston: Printed by J. Franklin for S. Gerrish, 1718. (8), 76, (4), 15 pp. 16mo.* 3

Pemberton's Discourse occupies pages (4), 15, and has a separate title-page.

The Holy Spirit the Gift of God Our Heavenly Father, To them that Ask Him. A Sermon Preach'd on a Day of Prayer with FASTING, kept by the South Church in Boston, to Ask of God the Effusion



of His Spirit on the Rising Generation, Novemb. 13th. 1722. By Joseph Sewall, A. M. Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston.

*Boston: Printed for D. Henchman, 1728. (4), 32 pp. 16mo. 4*

Extracts for the Information of the Concerned.

[*Boston, 1807.*] 15 pp. 8vo. 5

Extracts of votes passed in 1800, which "relate more particularly to the building of the New Stores now called South Row, and the funds of the Society."

A Sermon, delivered, May 18th. 1808, at the Ordination of the Rev. Joshua Huntington, Colleague Pastor with the Rev. Joseph Eckley, D. D. of the Church of Christ in Marlborough-Street, Boston. By Jedidiah Morse, D. D. Published by Request of the Committee of the Society.

*Boston: Printed by Belcher & Armstrong. 1808. 32 pp. 8vo. 6*

Contains the charge by the Rev. John Lathrop, D. D., and the right hand of fellowship, by the Rev. William E. Channing.

Account of the Books and Manuscripts, lately deposited by the Old South Church and Society in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

(*In Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections. 2d Series, vol. 7, pp. 179-185. Boston, 1818.*) 7

Order of Exercises at the Ordination of Mr. Benjamin Blydenburgh Wisner, as Pastor of the Old South Church and Society, in Marlborough Street, Boston. Feb. 21, 1821. Broadside. 8

The Form of Covenant of the Old South Church, in Boston, Mass. With Lists of the Founders, the Pastors, the Ruling Elders and Deacons, and the surviving Members.

*Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1826. 24 pp. 16mo. 9*

The History of the Old South Church in Boston, in four Sermons, delivered May 9, & 16, 1830, being the first and second Sabbaths after the completion of a Century from the first Occupancy of the present Meeting House. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Church.

*Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1830. 122 pp. Folded plan. 8vo. 10*

The Form of Covenant, of the Old South Church, in Boston, Massachusetts, with Lists of the Founders, the Pastors, the Ruling Elders and Deacons, and the Members.

*Boston: Crocker & Brewster, printers. 1833. 29 pp. 16mo. 11*

Order of Exercises at the Ordination of Mr. Samuel H. Stearns, as Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, April 16, 1834. Broadside. 4to. 12

Order of Exercises at the Installation of Rev. Geo. W. Blagden, as Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, September 28, 1836. Broadside. 4to. 13

The Confession of Faith and Form of Covenant, of the Old South Church, in Boston, Massachusetts, with Lists of the Founders, the Pastors, the Ruling Elders and Deacons, and the Members.

*Boston: Printed by Crocker & Brewster. 1841. 88 pp. 12mo. 14*

Acts and Resolves passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1845. P. 562, Chap. 229. An Act to Incorporate the Old South Church, in Boston. 15

Catalogue of the Library of Rev. Thomas Prince, former Pastor of the Old South Church. Presented by him to the Old South Church and Society.

*Boston: Press of Crocker & Brewster. 1846. 112 pp. 8vo. 16*

Prepared by G. H. Whitman.

Report [of the Committee of the Old South Church, to whom was referred "the Subject of Donations for sustaining the Preaching of the Gospel in the City"].

[*Boston, 1848.*] 7 pp. 8vo. 17

Sketch of the Old South Church, Boston. By Rev. L. Whiting. (In American Congregational Union. Year Book. 1854, pp. 62-69. New York, 1854.) 18

With Woodcut of the Meeting-House.

The Confession of Faith and Form of Covenant of the Old South Church, in Boston, Massachusetts, with Lists of the Founders, the Pastors, the Ruling Elders and Deacons, and the Members.

*Boston: Press of Crocker & Brewster. 1855. 119 pp. 8vo. 19*

Sermon and Addresses, at the Installation of the Rev. Jacob M. Manning, as Associate Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, March 11, 1857.

*Boston: T. R. Marvin & Son. 1857. 91 pp. 8vo. 20*

Contains Sermon on the Revelation of God in His Works, by Edwards A. Park, D. D.; Charge to the Pastor, by William A. Stearns, D. D.; Right Hand of Fellowship, by George W. Blagden, D. D., Senior Pastor; Address to the People, by Nehemiah Adams, D. D.

Acts and Resolves passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1859. P. 269, Chap. 88. An Act to change the Name of the "Old South Church in Boston." Approved March 7, 1859. 21

Old South Chapel Prayer Meeting: its Origin and History; with interesting Narratives, and Instances of remarkable Conversions in answer to Prayer. [By Benjamin W. Williams.]

*Boston: Published by J. E. Tilton & Co. 1859. 199 pp. 12mo. 22*

Reasons for the Appointment of a Committee, to investigate the prudential Affairs of the Old South Church in Boston. To which are added Copies of Mrs. Norton's Deeds.

[*Boston, 1859.*] 46 pp. 8vo. 23

The introductory note is signed Joseph Ballard.

Act of Incorporation and By-Laws of the Old South Society in Boston.

*Boston: Printed by Alfred Mudge & Son. 1861. 18 pp. 16mo. 24*

Catalogue of Books in the Old South Sabbath School Library.

[*Boston, 1861.*] 16 pp. 16mo. 25

Exercises at a Consecration of the Flag of the Union, by the Old South Society in Boston, May 1st, 1861.

*Boston: Printed by Alfred Mudge & Son. 1861. 16 pp. 8vo. 26*

Has a title on cover, with a representation of the American flag.

Pastors Memorial. Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Installation of George W. Blagden, D. D. as Pastor of the Old South Church and Society in Boston.

[*Boston.*] *Published for the use of the members. 1862. 118 pp. 12mo. 27*

Members of the Old South Church, January 1, 1863.

*Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, printers. 1862. 21 pp. 16mo. 28*

Chronicles of Old South Church, being the Third Congregational Church in Boston. [By George F. Bigelow.]

*Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, printers. 1863. 10 pp. 8vo. 29*

Attorney General *vs.* Old South Society in Boston & others.

(*In Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. By Charles Allen. Vol. 13, pp. 474-497. November, 1866. Boston, 1872.*) 30

Relating to the use of the Trust Funds by the Church on a charge brought by Joseph Ballard.

Act of Incorporation and By-Laws of the Old South Society in Boston.

*Boston: Printed by A. Mudge & Son. 1867. 18 pp. 24mo. 31*

Account of the Poor Fund and other Charities held in Trust by the Old South Society, City of Boston; with Copies of original Papers relative to the Charities and to the late Trial before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in 1867. By Joseph Ballard.

*Boston: Press of Geo. C. Rand & Avery. 1868. 234 pp. 8vo. 32*

Catalogue of the American Portion of the Library of the Rev. Thomas Prince. With a Memoir, and List of his Publications. By Wm. H. Whitmore.

*Boston: J. K. Wiggin & Wm. Parsons Lunt. 1868. xxv, 166 pp. Portrait. 12mo. 33*

The List on pp. 1-166 is a reprint with the same type, of the American part of the Catalogue of the Prince Library, published by the Boston Public Library. The Cross References and Shelf-Numbers of that Catalogue are omitted. Some copies have a Portrait of Mr. Prince.

The Prince Library. The American Part of the Collection which

formerly belonged to the Reverend Thomas Prince, by him bequeathed to the Old South Church, and now deposited in the Public Library of the City of Boston.

[*Boston*, 1868.] (2), 70 pp. L. 8vo. 34

Title on cover.

Act of Incorporation and By-Laws of the Old South Society, in Boston.

*Boston*: M. Stevens. 1870. 18 pp. 16mo. 35

List of Pastors, Officers, and Members of Old South Church, in Boston, June 1, 1870. Also, a List of Members admitted since January 1, 1855.

*Boston*: J. Frank Farmer, printer. 1870. 34 pp. 12mo. 36

Memorial Discourses delivered in the Old South Church, Boston, on the two hundredth Anniversary of its Organization, May 23, 1869. By Rev. George W. Blagden, D. D., Senior Pastor.

*Cambridge*: Welch, Bigelow & Company. 1870. 45 pp. 8vo. 37

The Prince Library. A Catalogue of the Collection of Books and Manuscripts which formerly belonged to the Reverend Thomas Prince, and was by him bequeathed to the Old South Church, and is now deposited in the Public Library of the City of Boston.

*Boston*: Alfred Mudge & Son, City Printers. 1870. xvii, 160 pp. Portrait. L. 8vo. 38

Arranged in three parts: American, Foreign, Manuscripts. Preface by Justin Winsor, giving an Account of the Collection. The Portrait is not in all Copies.

The Old South. Argument of Richard H. Dana, Jr., Esq., before the Committee on Parishes and Religious Societies, November 27, 1872.

[*Boston*, 1872.] 7 pp. 8vo. 39

Acts and Resolves passed by the General Court of Massachusetts at a special Session of 1872. P. 437, Chap. 368. An Act to authorize the Old South Society to lease Real Estate. Approved, December 12, 1872. 40

The Old South Meeting-House. Arguments and Evidence in behalf of Pew-Owners desirous of preserving the Building for the Continuance of Public Worship therein. For the Petitioners, Linus M. Child. For the Remonstrants, George O. Shattuck, Samuel M. Quincy, M. F. Dickinson.

*Boston*: A. C. Gatchell, printer. 1874. (4), 83 pp. 8vo. 41

Hearing before the Committee on Parishes and Religious Societies, in the matter of the Old-South Meeting-House. Argument of George O. Shattuck, in behalf of those Pew-Owners who desire to preserve the Meeting-House and use it for public Worship.

[*Boston*, 1874.] 22 pp. 8vo. 42



Tax-Exemption No Excuse for Spoliation: Considerations in Opposition to the Petition, now before the Massachusetts Legislature, to permit the Sale of the Old South Church. By Josiah Phillips Quincy.

*Boston: Published by the proprietors of "Old and New."* 1874.

12 pp. 8vo. 43

Testimony of Dea. Frederick D. Allen, in favor of leasing the Old South Meeting-House. Given before the Committee on Parishes and Religious Societies.

*Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, printers.* 1874. 19 pp. 8vo. 44

Old South. Deeds and Documents relating to the Gift of Land, &c., to the Third Church in Boston (now Old South) by Madam Norton.

*Boston: Press of Rand, Avery & Co.* 1874. 35 pp. 8vo. 45

Old South. Opinion of Hon. B. R. Curtis [as to the proposed Act authorizing the Old South Society to lease the Meeting-House and Land under the same. April, 1874].

[*Boston, 1874.*] 11 pp. 8vo. 46

Senate. No. 142. Commonwealth of Massachusetts. [Report of] the Committee on Parishes and Religious Societies, to whom was referred the Petition of the Old South Society, in the City of Boston, for a Change in its Act of Incorporation. March 20, 1874. 3 pp. (*In Massachusetts. Documents printed by Order of the Senate, 1874. Boston, 1874.*) 47

Contains a proposed bill presented by the committee.

Senate. No. 143. Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy-Four. An Act relating to the Old South Society in Boston and the disposing of its Meeting-House. 48

Bill offered by Mr. Hayes as a substitute for Senate no. 142.

Senate. No. 229. Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy-Four. An Act relating to the Old South Society in Boston. 49

Bill offered by Mr. Bancroft as a substitute for Senate no. 142.

The Old South. Speech of Hon. Francis B. Hayes, (Member from Suffolk,) delivered in the Massachusetts Senate, on Thursday, April 16, 1874.

*Boston: Wright & Potter, State printers.* 1874. 22 pp. 8vo. 50

The Old South. Remarks of Hon. Henry S. Washburn upon the Bill authorizing the Lease of the Meeting-House, pending in the Massachusetts Senate. April 23, 1874.

*Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, printers.* 1874. pp. 8vo. 51

The Old South. Remarks of Hon. Jonathan A. Lane upon the Bill authorizing the Lease of the Meeting-House, pending in the Massachusetts Senate. April 23, 1874.

*Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, printers.* 1874. 17 pp. 8vo. 52

Speeches of Senator Lane and Senator Washburn, in favor of the Bill authorizing the Old South Society to lease its Meeting-House, pending in the Massachusetts Senate.

*Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, printers.* 1874. 34 pp. 8vo. 53

Acts and Resolves passed by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1874. Chap. 270. An Act relating to the Old South Society in Boston. Approved May 26, 1874. 54

An Act relating to the Old South Society in Boston and the Disposing of its Meeting-House. [1874.]

[*Boston*, 1874.] 4 pp. No title-page. 8vo. 55

Old South Society in Boston *vs.* Uriel Crocker and others. Attorney-General *vs.* Old South Society in Boston. (*In* Massachusetts Reports, 119. Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, October, 1875 — March, 1876. Pp. 1-28.

*Boston*, 1876.) 56

Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Supreme Judicial Court. Suffolk, ss. In Equity. At Chambers. Old South Society, Petitioners. *vs.* Uriel Crocker et als. Report of the Evidence taken at the Hearing of above Case before Mr. Justice Colt.

*Boston: Printed by Alfred Mudge & Son.* 1876. 290 pp. 8vo. 57

Supreme Judicial Court. Suffolk, ss. September Term, 1875. Old South Society, In Equity, *vs.* Uriel Crocker et als. Before Mr. Justice Colt, January 28, 1876. Closing Argument for the Respondents by Mr. E. R. Hoar.

[*Boston*, 1876.] 16 pp. No title-page. 4to. 58

Old South Society, In Equity, versus Crocker and Others. Closing Argument for the Plaintiffs, by B. F. Thomas.

*Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, printers.* 1876. 28 pp. 8vo. 59

Wendell Phillips on the "Old South," Boston, June 14, 1876.

[*Boston: Reuben Hildreth, printer*, 1876.] (2), 11 pp. 8vo. 60

Consists of his Oration delivered in the Old South Meeting-House, June 14, 1876. A revised edition of this Oration was published in 1884.

History of the Old South Church of Boston.

[*Boston*.] *Published for the Benefit of the Old South Fund.* 1876. (4), 73 pp. 8vo. 61

A compilation by Miss Elizabeth Putnam Sohier, using Wisner and Quincy as authorities.

Old South Meeting-House preservation Committee. Catalogue of the Loan Collection of Revolutionary Relics exhibited at the Old South Church, November, 1876. For the Benefit of the Old South Purchase Fund.

*Boston: Press of George H. Ellis.* 1876. 16 pp. 8vo. 62

There were the following editions: 2d, 24 pp.; 3d, 28 pp.; 4th, 34 pp.; 5th, 43 pp.; 5th, amended, 43 pp.; 6th, 44 pp.; 7th, 44 pp.

The "Sanctuary of Freedom." [Old South Church.] By Harvey Carpenter.

*Boston.* 1876. 3 pp. No title-page. 16mo. 63

A poem with explanatory note.

How the "Old South" Has Saved Us. By William Everett.

[*Boston: Smith & Porter, printers.* 1877.] 8 pp. Woodcut. 32mo. 64

There were two issues, the later one having only 7 pp.

Old South Meeting-House. Report of a Meeting of the Inhabitants of Cambridge, in Memorial Hall, Harvard College, January 18, 1877. Addresses by President Charles W. Eliot, Prof. James Russell Lowell, Rev. Alexander McKenzie, Hon. Charles T. Russell, Chief-Justice Charles L. Bradley, Rev. George Z. Gray, Rev. George W. Briggs.

*Boston: Press of G. H. Ellis.* 1877. 29 pp. 8vo. 65

Remonstrance of Old South Society against Annuling or Evading The Conditions of The Indenture of Sale of its Meeting-House by the Legislature of Massachusetts. [To the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, April 9, 1877.] 16 pp. 8vo. 66

To the Legislature of Massachusetts. Answer to the Reply of Petitioners to the Remonstrance of the Old South Society.

[*Boston,* 1877.] 7 pp. 8vo. 67

Acts and Resolves passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1877. Chap. 222. An Act to Incorporate the Old South Association in Boston, and to provide for the Preservation of the Old South Meeting-House. Approved May 4, 1877. 68

Poems of the "Old South," by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes, John Greenleaf Whittier, Julia Ward Howe, Edward Everett Hale, and James Freeman Clarke. Illustrated.

*Boston: William F. Gill & Co.* 1877. (2), 35 pp. Sq. 16mo. 69

History of the Old South Meeting-House in Boston. By Everett W. Burdett.

*Boston: B. B. Russell.* 1877. (4), 106 pp. Woodcuts. 8vo. 70

Report of the Treasurer of the Old South Meeting-House Preservation Fund.

[*Boston,* 1877] No title-page. 3 pp. 4to. Circular. 71

The Dial of the Old South Clock, No. 1-10. December 5-15, 1877.

*Boston,* 1877. 4to. 72

Issued during the Fair held at the Old South Meeting-House, Miss Susan Hale, editor.

1669-1877. The last Will and Testament of Mary Norton bequeathing the property known as the Old South Church. [*Boston,* 1877.] Broadside. 73

Has woodcut of the Meeting-House and Portrait of Mrs. Norton, with design of the American flag, etc., and other patriotic emblems.

Massachusetts Legislature. The Committee on Federal Relations. Arguments in behalf of Petitions for Aid in the Preservation of the Old South Meeting-House.

*Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, printers.* 1878. 48 pp. 8vo. 74

Remarks by George O. Shattuck, Charles W. Eliot, Wendell Phillips, Henry Lee, Thomas J. Gargan, and John D. Long.

Massachusetts Legislature. The Committee on Federal Relations. Speech of President Eliot for aid in the Preservation of the Old South Meeting-House.

*Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, printers.* 1878. 14 pp. 8vo. 75

Massachusetts Legislature. The Committee on Federal Relations. Speech of Hon. Wendell Phillips for aid in the Preservation of the Old South Meeting-House.

*Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, printers.* 1878. 14 pp. 8vo. 76

Acts and Resolves passed by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1878. Resolves General and Special. Chap. 26. Resolve in favor of the Old South Association in Boston. Approved May 4, 1878. 77

Diary of Samuel Sewall. 1674-1729. 3 v. Portrait. (*In Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections. 5th Series, vol. 5-7. Boston, 1878-82.*) 78

Report of the Treasurer of the Old South Preservation Fund. February 6, 1878.

*Boston, 1878.* 4 pp. No title-page. 8vo. Circular. 79

The Carnival Transcript. Vol. 1, No. 1-4 and Extra. January 22-25, 1879. 80

*Boston: G. H. Ellis, printer.* 1879. 4to. 80

Published at the Carnival of Authors held in aid of the Old South Meeting-House Fund.

Service of Admission and Catalogue of the Officers and Members of the Old South Church, in Boston, January, 1880.

*Boston: F. Frank Farmer, printer.* 1880. 38, (1) pp. 32mo. 81

1669-1882. An Historical Catalogue of the Old South Church (Third Church) Boston.

*Boston: Printed for private distribution.* 1883. x, (2), 370, (1) pp. 3 plates with fac-similes. 3 portraits. 8vo. 82

Portraits of Samuel Sewall, Samuel Adams, and William Phillips.

*Contents.* Preface. — List of Pastors. — List of Deacons. — List of Members. — List of Members under the Baptismal Covenant. — List of Members arranged alphabetically — Baptismal Covenant: alphabetically arranged. — Biographical Notes, 1669-1719. — Index to the Biographical Notes.

The Old South Council called for the Installation of the Rev. George A. Gordon, Wednesday, April 2, 1884.

*Cupples, Upham & Co. Boston.* 1884. 49 pp. 8vo. 83



Oration delivered in the Old South Meeting-House, by Wendell Phillips, June 14, 1876. (Revised by himself.) It was in this building that Mr. Phillips made his last public address, Dec. 26, 1883.

*Boston: Sold at the Old South.* 1884. 12 pp. 8vo. 84

On the historical interest of the Old South, with a view to its preservation.

1669-1884. The Old South Church, Boston. Order of Services at the Installation of the Rev. George A. Gordon, Wednesday, April 2, 1884.

[*Boston*, 1884.] (11), pp. Heliotype. 8vo. 85

Consists of 4 leaves containing the order of the Installation Services fastened in card paper covers, upon the inside of which are printed a list of ministers of the church, and extracts from Judge Sewall's Diary on the ordinations of Messrs. Pemberton, Sewall, and Prince.

Old South Church (Third Church), Boston. Memorial Addresses, Sunday evening, October 26, 1884.

*Boston: Cripples, Upham & Co.* 1885. 131, (1) pp. 8vo. 86

*Contents.* Introduction. — Joshua Scottow and John Alden, by Hamilton Andrews Hill. — Samuel Sewall, by George E. Ellis. — Samuel Adams, by Edward G. Porter. — The Ministers of the Old South, from 1670 to 1882, by Increase N. Tarbox.

Nos. 87-90 are reprints of these addresses.

Joshua Scottow and John Alden. By Hamilton Andrews Hill.

[*Boston*, 1885.] 20 pp. 8vo. 87

An Address on the Life and Character of Chief-Justice Sewall, delivered in the Old South Church, Boston, Sunday, October 26, 1884. By George E. Ellis. On the Occasion of the Erection of Tablets in the Church, commemorative of its Line of Ministers, and of Samuel Sewall and Samuel Adams.

*Boston: Printed for the author.* 1885. (2), 28 pp. Portrait. 8vo. 88

An Address on the Life and Character of Samuel Adams, delivered in the Old South Church, Boston, Sunday, October 26, 1884. By Edward G. Porter. On the Occasion of the Erection of Tablets in the Church, commemorative of its Line of Ministers, and of Samuel Sewall and Samuel Adams.

*Boston: Press of David Clapp & Son.* 1885. (2), 46 pp. Portrait. 8vo. 89

Memorial Address on the Ministers of the Old South Church, Boston, Sunday, October 26, 1884. By Increase N. Tarbox. On the Occasion of the Erection of Tablets in the Church, commemorative of its Line of Ministers, and of Samuel Sewall and Samuel Adams.

*Boston: Press of David Clapp & Son.* 1885. 15 pp. 8vo. 90

Letter-book of Samuel Sewall. 1686-1729. 2 v. Fac-simile. (*In* Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections. 6th Ser. vol. 1, 2. *Boston*, 1886, 88.) 91

History of the Old South Church (Third Church), Boston. 1669-1884. By Hamilton Andrews Hill. In two volumes.

*Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.* 1889. 8vo. 92

II. A LIST OF THE WRITINGS OF, AND WORKS HAVING REFERENCE TO, THE MINISTERS OF THE OLD SOUTH, ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY.

JOHN BACON.

I.

HIS WRITINGS.

Conjectures on Prophecies; written in the fore Part of the Year 1799. By John Bacon, Esquire.

*Printed at Boston, by David Carlisle.* 1805. 31 pp. 8vo. 93

Illustrations illustrated. Containing a brief Reply to some part of the Illustrations, annexed to a Piece, intituled, Letters of Friendship, &c. By John Bacon, A. M.

*Hartford: Printed by Hudson & Goodwin.* M, DCC, LXXI. 31 pp. 12mo. 94

A Letter, To the Reverend Joseph Huntington, D. D. By John Bacon, A. M.

*Boston: Printed by Nathaniel Willis.* M, DCC, LXXXII. 21 pp. 8vo. 95

Mr. Bacon's Motions for the establishment of Rules and Orders respecting indecorous Expressions in Debate, the Practice of Duelling wherein Members of the House are concerned, and also respecting personal Violence to Members. December 7, 1809. Ordered to lie on the Table.

*City of Washington: A. & G. Way, printers.* 1809. 3 pp. 8vo. 96

Remarks on the Apportionment Bill. (*In Annals of Congress.* 7th Congress. Col. 370-372. *Washington,* 1851.) 97

Remarks on the Judiciary Bill. Feb. 17, 1802. (*In Annals of Congress.* 7th Congress. Col. 558-564. *Washington,* 1851.) 98

The Annals of Congress, also contain the following by Mr. Bacon: Remarks on the Tax Bill, March 18, 1802; On the Case of the French Corvette *Berceau*. April 6, 1802; Remarks on a Resolution respecting the Importation of Arms, Jan. 17, 1803; On the Memorial of certain United States Judges, Jan. 27, 1803; Resolutions to recede to the States of Maryland and Virginia the District of Columbia, Feb. 8; On the Retrocession of the District of Columbia, Feb. 9, 1803; On Bankruptcy, Feb. 18, 1803.

A Sermon preached September 29th. 1771. By John Bacon, A. M. The next Lord's Day after he was Instaled, and the Rev. Mr. Hunt, A. M. Ordained Colleague Pastors of the South Church in Boston.

*Boston: Printed and Sold by Kneeland and Adams.* M DCC LXXII  
35 pp. 16mo. 99

The Speeches of Mr. Bacon and Mr. Nicholson, in the National House of Representatives, in Defence of the Bill received from the Senate, entitled "An Act to repeal certain Acts respecting the Organization of the Courts of the United States." February, 1802.

*Boston: Printed by Munroe & Francis.* 1802. 44 pp. 8vo. 100

Mr. Bacon's Speech occupies, pp. 3-8.

The substance of a speech delivered in the late Convention, on a motion being made for reconsidering a vote, by which this clause, "except Negroes, Indians and Mulattoes," in the twenty-third article of the committee, was inserted.

(In Moore, G. H. Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts, pp. 187-191. New York, 1866.) 101

Reprinted from the "Independent Chronicle," September 23, 1779. In this speech Mr. Bacon strongly opposed the adoption of the clause denying to Negroes, Indians, and Mulattoes the right of voting.

A Vindication of the Principles and Conduct of the Church in Stockbridge, In excluding from their Communion, one of their Members, for marrying a Person immoral and profane. In Reply to the Connecticut Gentleman's Plea, &c. By Stephen West, Pastor. With an Appendix, by John Bacon, A. M.

*Hartford: Printed by Hudson and Goodwin.* M. DCC. LXXX. 99 pp.  
12mo. 102

## II.

### HAVING REFERENCE TO MR. BACON.

A Droll, a Deist, and a John Bacon, Master of Arts, gently reprimanded. By the Author of the Letters of Friendship.

*Hartford: Printed by Hudson & Goodwin.* M. DCC. LXXXI. 16 pp.  
12mo. 103

The author was the Rev. Joseph Huntington, D. D. The tract is also appended without title-page to the Boston (1782) edition of "A Plea before the Ecclesiastical Council at Stockbridge." See No. 106.

Letters of Friendship To those Clergymen who have lately renounced Communion with the Ministers and Churches of Christ in general. With Illustrations from recent Examples.

*Hartford: Printed and sold by Hudson and Goodwin.* M. DCC. LXXX.  
134 pp. 12mo. 104

Pp. 113-132 are taken up with a consideration of Mr. Bacon's Appendix to West's Vindication, etc.

The author of this tract was the Rev. Joseph Huntington, D. D. It was incorporated in "A Plea before the Ecclesiastical Council," published at Boston in 1782. See No. 106.

Letters of Gratitude to the Connecticut Pleader, the Reverend Joseph Huntington, D. D. for his Letters of Friendship to a certain Class of Gentlemen, with Illustrations from Recent Examples. By Impartialis.

*Hartford: Printed by Hudson and Goodwin. M. DCC. LXXXI. 76 pp. 12mo. 105*

Among the Illustrations, is Huntington's treatment of Mr. Bacon.

A Plea before the Ecclesiastical Council at Stockbridge, In the Cause of Mrs. Fisk, who was excommunicated by the Reverend Pastor and Church in that Place, for marrying a Man whom they called *immoral* and *profane*. — Delivered the 6th and 7th of October, 1779. To which is added, Letters of Friendship to those Clergymen who have lately renounced Communion with the Ministers and Churches of Christ, in consequence of the above-mentioned Affair. — With Illustrations and recent Examples. Likewise, A Droll, a Deist, and a John Bacon, Master of Arts, gently reprimanded. By a Gentleman of Connecticut [Joseph Huntington, D. D.].

*Boston: Printed by N. Coverly and R. Hodge. M. DCC. LXXXII. 130 pp. 12mo. 106*

An edition of this pamphlet was published at Norwich in 1780, without the "Letters of Friendship," and "A Droll, a Deist, and a John Bacon."

•

## GEORGE WASHINGTON BLAGDEN, D. D.

### I.

#### HIS WRITINGS.

An Address, delivered before the Associate Choirs of the Evangelical Churches, Boston, in the Bowdoin Street Church, October 24, 1840. By George W. Blagden, Pastor of the Old South Church.

*Boston: Published by Perkins & Marvin. 1840. 22 pp. 8vo. 107*

A Discourse, occasioned by the Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Livingston Budington, preached in the First Congregational Church, Charlestown, January 14, 1855. By George W. Blagden, D. D.

*Boston: S. K. Whipple & Co. 1855. 26 pp. 8vo. 108*

A Discourse preached in the Old South Church, occasioned by the Death of Hon. Phineas Sprague, July 24, 1853. By George W. Blagden, D. D.

*Boston: Press of T. R. Marvin. 1855. 24 pp. 8vo. 109*

Dudleian Lecture by Rev. Geo. [W.] Blagden, D. D. delivered May, 9th 1849. Ms. 90 pp. 4to. 110



The Duty of a more strict Observance of the Sabbath. By Rev. G. W. Blagden, D. D.

*Boston: Nichols and Noyes.* 1866. 22 pp. 16mo. 111

Tract No. 8, published by direction of the Congregational churches of Boston.

The Effects of Education upon a country Village. An Address delivered before the Brighton School Fund Corporation, March 30, 1828. By G. W. Blagden, Pastor of the Evangelical Congregational Society, Brighton, Mass.

*Boston: T. R. Marvin, printer.* 1828. 25, (1) pp. 8vo. 112

Great Principles associated with Plymouth Rock. An Address delivered before the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, December 22, 1834. By Geo. W. Blagden.

*Boston: Light & Horton.* 1835. 30 pp. 8vo. 113

The Influence of the Gospel upon the Intellectual Powers. A Sermon, preached in the Central Church, Philadelphia, May 25, 1835. By Rev. George W. Blagden, of Boston, Mass. The sixth of a Series of Annual Sermons preached and published at the Request of the Board of Managers of the American Sunday-School Union.

*Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union.* 1835. 30 pp. 16mo. 114

A Lecture delivered before the Boston Young Men's Christian Association, December 8, 1853, by G. W. Blagden.

*Boston: Press of Crocker and Brewster.* 1854. 34 pp. 12mo. 115

Title on cover, Hope.

Memoir of Robert Henry Hunkins. Written for the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, and approved by the Committee of Publication. [*Anonymous.*]

*Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath-School Society.* [1859.] 43 pp. Woodcut. 16mo. 116

Memoir of William Jenks, D. D., LL. D. By George W. Blagden, D. D.

(*In* Massachusetts Historical Society. Proceedings. Vol. 10, Jan. 1868, pp. 106-112. *Boston*, 1869.) 117

Memorial Discourses delivered in the Old South Church, Boston, on the two hundredth Anniversary of its Organization, May 23, 1869. By Rev. George W. Blagden, D. D., Senior Pastor.

*Cambridge: Welch, Bigelow and Company.* 1870. 45 pp. 8vo. 118

Our Vows to God. A Sermon preached in the Old South Church, Boston, at the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, April 6, 1856. By G. W. Blagden, D. D., Pastor of the Church. Published by Request.

*Boston: Press of T. R. Marvin.* 1856. 19 pp. 8vo. 119

Pastor's Memorial. Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Installation of

George W. Blagden, D. D. as Pastor of the Old South Church and Society in Boston.

[*Boston.*] *Published for the use of the members.* 1862. 118 pp. 12mo. 120

Pp. 73-116 contain the "Anniversary Sermon, preached by Dr. Blagden, September 29, 1861."

Preaching as connected with Faith. A Sermon, preached at the Ordination of Mr. James H. Means, as Pastor of the Second Congregational Church and Society, Dorchester, Mass., July 13, 1848. By Rev. George W. Blagden, Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston.

*Boston : Press of T. R. Marvin.* 1848. 43 pp. 8vo. 121

The Principles on which a Preacher of the Gospel should condemn Sin: with some Reference to existing Evils. A Sermon preached at the Ordination of the Rev. Robert B. Hall, over the Third Congregational Church and Society in Plymouth, August 23, 1837. By Rev. G. W. Blagden, Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston.

*Boston : Printed by Crocker & Brewster.* 1837. 45 pp. 8vo. 122

Remarks, and a Discourse on Slavery, by G. W. Blagden.

*Boston : Ticknor, Reed & Fields.* 1854. 30 pp. 8vo. 123

Remarks of Rev. Dr. Blagden. (*In Exercises at a Consecration of the Flag of the Union, by the Old South Society in Boston, May 1st, 1861, pp. 14-16.* *Boston, 1861.*) 124

Right Hand of Fellowship. By George W. Blagden, D. D. Senior Pastor.

(*In Sermon and Addresses at the Installation of the Rev. Jacob M. Manning, as Associate Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, March 11, 1857, pp. 73-81.* *Boston, 1857.*) 125

Seed-time. A Sermon written in the ordinary course of Pastoral Duty, and preached Sunday, April 19, 1846, before the Old South Church and Society, by George W. Blagden, their Pastor. Published at the special Desire of many of his Hearers.

*Boston : Crocker and Brewster.* 1846. 23 pp. 8vo. 126

Thoughts on Moore's Byron. By G. W. Blagden.

(*In The Boston Book, 1836, pp. 52-58.* *Boston, 1836.*) 127

The Way I prove there is a God. Being the Substance of a Sermon by Rev. G. W. Blagden. Published in this Form by Request.

*Boston : Light and Horton.* 1835. 16 pp. 12mo. 128

Two editions were published.

## II.

### HAVING REFERENCE TO DR. BLAGDEN.

The Great Theme of Preaching. Delivered in Salem Street Church, Boston, at the Installation of Rev. George W. Blagden. Nov. 3, 1830-

(*In* Codman, John. Sermons delivered on various Occasions, with Addresses, pp. 9-39. *Boston*, 1834.) 129

A Discourse commemorative of the Rev. George Washington Blagden, D. D. delivered in the Old South Church, Boston, February 22nd, 1885. By the Rev. Charles A. Stoddard, D. D. Editor of the New York Observer.

*Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co.* 1885. 32 pp. 8vo. 130

Order of Exercises at the Installation of Rev. Geo. W. Blagden, as Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston. September 28, 1836. Broad-side. 4to.

### SAMUEL BLAIR, D. D.

An Account of the College of New Jersey. In which are described the methods of government, modes of instruction, manner and expences of living in the same, &c. With a Prospect of the College neatly engraved. Published, by order of the Trustees, for the information of the public; particularly of the friends and benefactors of the institution, in Europe and America. [*Anonymous.*]

*Woodbridge, in New Jersey: Printed by James Parker.* 1764. 47 pp. Plate. 8vo. 131

A Discourse delivered in the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, on Wednesday, May 9th, 1798, Recommended by the President of the United States to be observed as a Day of Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer, throughout the United States of America. By Samuel Blair, D. D. Published by Desire.

*Philadelphia: Published by James Watters & Co.* 1798. 31 pp. 8vo. 132

A Funeral Discourse, delivered in the Third Presbyterian Church in the City of Philadelphia, 17th day of November, On occasion of the Death of the Rev. Dr. John B. Smith, late Pastor of said Church, who departed this life, on the 22d of August, 1799. By the Rev. Dr. Samuel Blair.

*Philadelphia: Printed by W. W. Woodward.* 1799. 38 pp. 8vo. 133

An Oration pronounced at Nassau-Hall, January 14, 1761; on Occasion of the Death of his late Majesty King George II. By Samuel Blair, A. B. And one of the Students of the College of New-Jersey. Now published at the particular desire of some of the auditors.

*Woodbridge, in New-Jersey: Printed by James Parker.* M DCC LXI. 8 pp. Sm. 4to. 134

[Biographical Sketch of Samuel Blair.]

(*In* Sprague, W. B. Annals of the American Pulpit, vol. 3, pp. 268-270.) 135

## ALEXANDER CUMMING.

## I.

## HIS WRITINGS.

*Animadversions on The Reverend Mr. Croswell's Late Letter, &c. Designed To remove Prejudices it tends to excite against the Truth : And To shew that the principal Doctrines contained and contended for therein, are not only not according to Truth, but opposite thereto.* By A. Cumming, A. M.

*Boston : Printed and Sold by S. Kneeland. M,DCC,LXIII. (4), 40 pp. 16mo. 136*

A Sermon Preached Feb. 25. 1761. By A. Cumming, A. M. at his Instalment in the Pastoral Charge of the South Church, in Boston ; Colleague with the Reverend Joseph Sewall, D. D. To which is added, The Charge, by the Rev. Dr. Sewall ; and The Right Hand of Fellowship, by the Rev. Mr. Pemberton.

*Boston, N. E. Printed and Sold by Benjamin Mecom. M,DCC,LX,I. 58 pp. 16mo. 137*

## II.

## HAVING REFERENCE TO MR. CUMMING.

[Biographical Sketch.]

(*In* Sprague, W. B. *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. i, pp. 462-464.) 138

The Character and Reward of the faithful Ministers of Christ. A Sermon Preach'd at the South Church in Boston, On the Lord's Day after the Funeral Of the Reverend Mr. Alexander Cumming, Late Colleague Pastor of said Church. Who departed this Life, August 25. 1763. Ætat. 37. By Joseph Sewall, D. D. Pastor of said Church.

*Boston : Printed by S. Kneeland. 1763. (2), 20, (2) pp. 16mo. 139*

The (2) last pages contain "From the Massachusetts Gazette, &c. of September 1. 1763. By Another Hand."

An Eclogue Occasioned by the Death of the Reverend Alexander Cumming, A. M. On the 25th of August A. D. 1763. Ætat. 37. [By Jeremy Belknap.]

*Boston : Printed by D. & J. Kneeland, for T. Edwards. M DCC LXIII. 8 pp. 16mo. 140*

Free Justification thro' Christ's Redemption. A Discourse Delivered, in Substance, at the French Meeting-House in School-Street, October 17. 1764. From Romans III. v. 23, 24. in which The New Gospel Contained in the Writings of Messirs. Bellamy and Cumming, viz. That Men love God, and truly repent of their Sins before they



believe in Jesus Christ ; is weigh'd in the Ballance. By A. Croswell, V. D. M. In Boston.

*Boston, New England : Printed by T. & J. Fleet, and Green & Russell, 1765. (4), ii, 25 pp. 8vo. 141*

A Letter To the Reverend Alexander Cumming ; Attempting to shew him, that it is not Blasphemy to say, — No Man can love God, while he looks on Him as a God who will damn him. In which are interspersed Remarks upon Mr. Bellamy's late Performance. By A. Croswell, V. D. M. In Boston.

*Boston : Printed and Sold by D. and J. Kneeland. 1762. 31 pp. 16mo. 142*

Remarks on the Revd. Mr. Croswell's Letter To the Reverend Mr. Cumming. By Joseph Bellamy, A. M. Minister of the Gospel at Bethlem (*sic*).

*Boston : Printed and Sold by S. Kneeland. M,DCC,LXIII. 36 pp. 16mo. 143*

## JOSEPH ECKLEY, D. D.

### I.

#### HIS WRITINGS.

A Discourse before the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America, delivered Nov. 7, 1805. By Joseph Eckley, D. D. Minister of the Old South Church in Boston.

*Boston : Printed by E. Lincoln. 1806. 36 pp. 8vo. 144*

The discourse occupies pp. 1-24 only, the remaining pages having matter concerning the society.

A Discourse delivered before the Members of the Boston Female Asylum, September 24, 1802, being their Second Anniversary. By Joseph Eckley, Minister of the Old-South Church in Boston. Preached and Published by Desire.

*Boston : Printed at the Ornamental printing office, under the Columbian Museum. [1802.] 22 pp. 8vo. 145*

A Discourse, delivered on the Public Thanksgiving Day, November 29, 1798. By Joseph Eckley, D. D. Minister of the Old South Church, Boston.

*Boston : Printed and Sold by Manning & Loring. 1798. 3-23 pp. 8vo. 146*

A Discourse on the Validity of Presbyterian Ordination ; delivered in the Chapel of the University in Cambridge, May 14, 1806, being the Anniversary of the Dudleian Lecture. By Joseph Eckley. Minister of the Old South Church, in Boston.

*Boston : Printed by Lincoln & Edmands. [1806.] 30 pp. 8vo. 147*

Divine Glory Brought to View, in the Condemnation of the Ungodly : or the Doctrine of Future Punishment, Illustrated and Vindicated, As Rational and True. In Reply to a late Pamphlet, entitled, Salvation for all Men. By a Friend to Truth.

*Boston : Printed by Robert Hodge. M. DCC. LXXXII. 51 pp. 8vo. 148*

There was a later edition of same date having 8 additional pages, containing an "Appendix, In Answer to a Letter, entitled, Divine Glory Brought to View In the Final Salvation of all Men. Addressed to the Writer of this Pamphlet."

Obituary. Sketch of the Character of the late Thomas Dawes, Esq. Senior Deacon of the Old South Church ; delivered to the Members of that Society on the Afternoon of the Second Sabbath of January, 1809 ; at the close of a Discourse from the 19th chapter of Job, 25 verse. By the Rev. Dr. Eckley.

[*Boston, 1809.*] 2 pp. No title page. 8vo. 149  
Reprinted from the Panoplist.

On the Connexion between Piety and Religious Knowledge. By Joseph Eckley, A. M. Minister of the Old South Church in Boston. (*In The American Preacher. Vol. 2, pp. 109-132. Elizabeth-town, New-Jersey, 1791.*) 150

A Sermon delivered at the Installation of the Rev. Horace Holley, to the Pastoral Care of the Church and Society in Hollis Street, Boston, March 8, 1809. By Joseph Eckley, D. D., Senior Minister of the Old South Church, in Boston.

*Boston : Printed by J. Belcher. 1809. 53 pp. 8vo. 151*

A Sermon delivered at Boston, March 12th, 1789, by the Rev. Samuel West, at his Instalment to the Pastoral Care of the Church and Society in Hollis Street. To which are added, the Charge, Given on that Occasion, by the Rev. Jeremy Belknap. And the Right Hand of Fellowship, by the Rev. Joseph Eckley.

*Printed at Boston, by Isaiah Thomas and Company. MDCCLXXXIX. 31 pp. 8vo. 152*

Pp. 25-31 contain Mr. Eckley's address.

A Sermon, delivered July 1, 1789, at the Installation of The Reverend Israel Evans, to the Pastoral Care of the Church in Concord, New Hampshire. By Joseph Eckley, A. M., Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston.

*Printed at Concord, By George Hough. 1789. 32 pp. 8vo. 153*

A Sermon, preached at the Request of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company, June 4, 1792 : being the Anniversary of their Election of Officers. By Joseph Eckley, A. M. Minister of the Old South Church in Boston.

*Boston : Printed by Samuel Hall. MDCCXCII. 30 pp. 8vo. 154*

## DR. ECKLEY'S MANUSCRIPTS.

Common Place Book, 1807. 92 pp. Ms.

Extracts, Abridgments and Remarks from various Writers principally respecting Theology & Philosophy. Boston 9 March 1782. 87 pp. Ms. 155

## II.

## HAVING REFERENCE TO DR. ECKLEY.

[Biographical Sketch.]

(In Sprague, W. B. Annals of the American Pulpit, vol. 2, pp. 137-140.) 156

Divine Glory Brought to View in the Final Salvation of all Men. A letter to the Friend to Truth [Joseph Eckley]. By One who wishes well to all Mankind. [Charles Chauncy.]

*Boston: Printed and Sold by T. & J. Fleet.* 1783. 19 pp. 8vo. 157

A Letter to the Author [Joseph Eckley] of Divine glory brought to view in the Condemnation and Punishment of the Ungodly, with the Appendix.

[*Boston*, 1782 ?] 10 pp. No title page. 8vo. 158

Signed, "A Friend to pure scriptural Orthodoxy."

A Sermon delivered at the Interment of the Rev. Joseph Eckley, D. D. Senior Colleague Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, who departed this life, April 30, 1811, in the 61st year of his age. By John Lathrop, D. D. Pastor of the Old North Church. Published by Request.

*Boston: From the press of John Eliot, jun.* 1811. 20 pp. 8vo. 159

## GEORGE ANGIER GORDON.

## I.

## HIS WRITINGS.

Address at the Commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of the West Church, Boston.

(In The Commemorative Service at the West Church, pp. 72-74. *Boston*, 1887.) 160

Also in *Christian Register*, March 10, 1887.

Address at the Commemoration of the 200th Anniversary of King's Chapel, Boston.

(In The Commemoration by King's Chapel. Pp. 105-108. *Boston*, 1887.) 161

Also in *Christian Register*, Dec. 25, 1886.

- Address to the Veterans. May 30, 1888.  
*(In Boston Journal, May 31, 1888.)* 162
- Alpheus Hardy. A Memorial Address. Old South, Boston, October 28, 1887. By the Rev. George A. Gordon, Minister of the Old South Church.  
*Boston: Press of T. R. Marvin & Son. 1887. 12 pp. 8vo.* 163
- Avery Plumer. A Memorial Sermon preached at the Old South Church, Boston, by the Rev. George A. Gordon, Minister of the Church.  
*Boston: Press of T. R. Marvin & Son. 1887. 15 pp. 8vo.* 164
- Centennial Address. April 30, 1889.  
*(In Boston Journal, April 31, 1889.)* 165
- Christian Womanhood. A Memorial Sermon preached at the Old South, Boston, April 8, 1888. By the Rev. George A. Gordon, Minister of the Old South.  
*Boston, 1888. 15 pp. 8vo.* 166
- In memory of Mrs. Charlotte Abigail Johnson.
- Demons and Swine. Sermon.  
*(In Christian Union, January 17, 1889.)* 167
- The Isolation of Duty. Sermon preached at the Sunday evening service in Appleton Chapel, Cambridge.  
*(In Christian Union, Dec. 23, 1886.)* 168
- "The most reasonable View." The View that explains most, and leaves least unexplained.  
*(In The Hereafter. Twenty-three answers by as many religious teachers to the question What are the strongest proofs and arguments in support of the belief in a life hereafter? Pp. 28-31. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. [1888.])* 169
- The Preacher as an Interpreter.  
*(In The Andover Review. Vol. 6, September, 1886, pp. 225-239.)* 170
- Review of Martineau's "Types of Ethical Theory."  
*(In Christian Union, Oct. 8, 1885.)* 171
- [Review of] The Reality of Faith. By Newman Smyth.  
*(In The Andover Review. Vol. 3, pp. 85, 86.)* 172
- "Robert Elsmere." By the Rev. George A. Gordon, Minister of the Old South Church, Boston.  
*Boston, 1888. 15 pp. 8vo.* 173
- Sermon: The Missionary motive and the American Board.  
*(In Christian Union, Jan. 13, 1887.)* 174
- [Sermons.]  
*(In Harvard Vespers. Addresses to Harvard Students by the Preachers to the University. 1886-1888. Boston, 1888.)* 175



The Sincerity of God. Feb. 17, 1887. — Irremediable loss in sin. March 17, 1887. — Moral heroism. Jan. 12, 1888. — Seek, and ye shall find. Feb. 16, 1888. — Remembering God. March 15, 1888.

The Sign to Faith. Sermon.

(*In Christian Union*, January 21, 1886.)

176

## II.

HAVING REFERENCE TO MR. GORDON.

The Old South Council called for the Installation of the Rev. George A. Gordon, Wednesday, April 2, 1884.

*Cupples, Upham & Co., Boston.* 1884. 49 pp. 8vo.

177

1669-1884. The Old South Church, Boston. Order of Exercises at the Installation of the Rev. George A. Gordon, Wednesday, April 2, 1884.

[*Boston*, 1884.] (11) pp. Heliotype. 8vo.

178

## JOHN HUNT.

## I.

HIS WRITINGS.

A Sermon occasioned by the Death of Mrs. Sarah Gill, late Consort to Mr. Moses Gill, Merchant. And preached at the South-Church in Boston the Lord's-Day after her Decease. By John Hunt, M. A. Colleague Pastor of that Church.

*Boston: Printed by Edes & Gill.* MDCCLXXI. (2), 79 pp. 8vo. 179

Pp. 78, 79 contain "From The Boston Evening Post. August 12, 1771. Wrote by Another Hand."

A Sketch of the Life of Mrs. Sarah Gill, Consort of the late Lieutenant-Governor Gill; extracted from a Sermon preached by the Rev. John Hunt, in Boston, 1771; with an Account of her religious Exercises as expressed by her in her Diary.

(*In The Massachusetts Missionary Magazine.* Vol. 1, pp. 161-164; 201-204. *Salem*, 1803.) 180

## II.

HAVING REFERENCE TO MR. HUNT.

[Biographical Sketch.]

(*In Sprague.* *Annals of the American pulpit.* Vol. 1, pp. 686-688.) 181

A Sermon preached September 29th, 1771. By John Bacon A. M. The next Lord's Day after he was Installed, and the Reverend Mr. John Hunt, A. M. Ordained Colleague Pastors of the South Church in Boston.

*Boston: Printed and Sold by Kneeland & Adams.* MDCCLXXII. 35 pp. 16mo. 182

A Vindication of Divine Conduct in the Death of important and useful Persons. A Sermon preached at the Funeral of the Rev. John Hunt, Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston : Who died at his Father's House in Northampton, December 20th 1775. Aged 31 years. And in the 5th Year of his Ministry. By John Hooker, A. M. Pastor of the Church in Northampton.

*Boston, New-England: Printed by Thomas and John Fleet, 1776.*  
30 pp. 8vo. 183

## JOSHUA HUNTINGTON.

### I.

#### HIS WRITINGS.

Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Abigail Waters ; who died in Boston, November 22d, 1816, in the 96th year of her age. To which is prefixed, the Sermon preached on occasion of her Death. By Joshua Huntington, Pastor of the Old South Church.

*Boston: Published by Samuel T. Armstrong. 1817. 180 pp.*  
Portrait. 16mo. 184

*Same. Second Edition. Boston: Published by Samuel T. Armstrong. 1817. 144 pp. 16mo.* 185

Right hand of Fellowship.

(In A Sermon preached in the Tabernacle Church, Salem, Nov. 5, 1818, at the Ordination of the Rev. Messrs. Pliny Fisk, Levi Spaulding, Miron Winslow, and Henry Woodward, as Missionaries. By Moses Stuart, pp. 41-44. *Andover, 1819.*) 186

Substance of the Rev. Mr. Huntington's Address at Concert Hall, on the Anniversary of the Boston Foreign Mission Society.

(In The Panoplist. Vol. 15, February, 1819. pp. 73-75, *Boston, 1819.*) 187

### II.

#### HAVING REFERENCE TO MR. HUNTINGTON.

[Biographical Sketch.]

(In Green, S. A. Groton Historical Series, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 81-83. *Groton, 1888.*) 188

[Biographical Sketch.]

(In Sprague. Annals of the American pulpit. Vol. 2, pp. 501-503.) 189

Memoir of the Rev. Joshua Huntington, late Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston. [By Jeremiah Evarts ?]

(In The Panoplist. Vol. 16, Dec. 1820, pp. 529-535.) 190

A Sermon, delivered at the Funeral of Rev. Joshua Huntington, late Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, Sept. 13, 1819. By Sereno Edwards Dwight.

Published by Request.

*Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong. 1819. 44 pp. 8vo.* 191

A Sermon, delivered, May 18th. 1808, at the Ordination of the Rev. Joshua Huntington, Colleague Pastor with the Rev. Joseph Eckley, D. D. of the Church of Christ in Marlborough-Street, Boston. By Jedidiah Morse, D. D. Published by Request of the Committee of the Society.

*Boston: Printed by Belcher and Armstrong.* 1808. 32 pp. 8vo. 192

Contains the charge by the Rev. John Lathrop, D. D., and the right hand of fellowship, by the Rev. William [Ellery] Channing.

Solemnities at the Interment of the Remains of the late Reverend Joshua Huntington, Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, who died at Groton, Sept. 11, 1819, in the 34th year of his age, and 12th year of his Ministry. Broadside. 193

Tribute of Affection. A few Passages from a Sermon delivered at Dorchester, on the Sabbath after the Interment of Rev. Joshua Huntington, by the Rev. Mr. Codman. 194

(*In Boston Recorder*, Sept. 25, 1819, p. 158.)

#### MRS. HUNTINGTON.

A Letter to a Friend recovered from Sickness.

No. 88. Annual Publication American Tract Society. 195

Little Lucy, or the careless Child reformed. [*Anonymous.*]

*Cambridge: Printed by Hilliard & Metcalf.* 1820. 33 pp. 16mo. 196

Memoir of the late Mrs. Susan Huntington, of Boston, Massachusetts (*sic*), consisting principally of Extracts from her Journal and Letters; with the Sermon occasioned by her Death. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston.

*York [Eng.]: Printed by W. Alexander & Son; sold also by Harvey & Darton [etc.], London; R. Peart, Birmingham; D. F. Gardiner, Dublin;* 1828. iv, 372 pp. Portrait. 8vo. 197

Memoirs of the late Mrs. Susan Huntington, of Boston, Mass. consisting principally of Extracts from her Journals and Letters; with the Sermon Occasioned by her Death. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston.

*Boston: Published by Crocker & Brewster.* 1826. 408 pp. Portrait. 12mo. 198

*Same.* Second Edition.

*Boston: Published by Crocker & Brewster.* 1826. 392 pp. Portrait. 12mo. 199

Memoirs of the late Mrs. Susan Huntington, of Boston, Mass. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church. Third Edition, with an Introductory Essay, and an Original Poem, by James Montgomery.

*Boston: Published by Crocker & Brewster.* 1829. xxxi, (1), 5-408 pp. Portrait. 12mo. 200

*Same.* Fourth Edition, with an Introductory Essay and an Original Poem, by James Montgomery.

*Boston: Published by Crocker & Brewster.* 1833. 360 pp. Portrait. 12mo. 201

Memoirs of the late Mrs. Susan Huntington, of Boston, Mass. Consisting principally of Extracts from her Journal and Letters; with the Sermon occasioned by her Death.

By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston.

*London: Printed for Richard Baynes.* MDCCCXXVII. (4), 296 pp. 12mo. 202

Memoirs of the late Mrs. Susan Huntington, of Boston, Mass. Consisting principally of Extracts from her Journal and Letters; with the Sermon occasioned by her Death. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston.

*Edinburgh: Richard Baynes.* 1828. (4), 296 pp. 12mo. 203

## JACOB MERRILL MANNING, D. D.

### I.

#### HIS WRITINGS.

Address at the Anniversary Meeting [of the Boston Seaman's Friend Society, May 27, 1857].

(*In its 29th Annual Report*, pp. 38-42. *Boston*, 1857.) 204

An Address delivered before the Massachusetts College of Pharmacy, at the Third Annual Commencement. An outside View of Pharmacy, by Rev. J. M. Manning, D. D. Boston, May 18, 1871.

*Boston: A. A. Blair, printer.* [1871.] 16 pp. 8vo. 205

Address of Rev. J. M. Manning.

(*In Exercises at a Consecration of the Flag of the Union*, by the Old South Society in Boston, May 1st, 1861. Pp. 10-14. *Voston*, 1861.) 206

Address of Rev. Jacob M. Manning, delivered at the Anniversary of the Baldwin Place Home for Little Wanderers, Boston, Mass.

*Boston: J. E. Farwell & Company, printers.* 1867. 12 pp. 8vo. 207

The Carnival of Crime: A Sermon Preached Sunday Morning, June 6, 1875, by J. M. Manning, pastor of the Old South Church, Boston.

*Boston: Lee & Shepard.* 1875. 18 pp. 12mo. 208

Charles Stoddard, a Sermon preached in Boston, Sunday Morning, June 1, 1873. By Rev. J. M. Manning, D. D. Pastor of the Old South Church.

*Boston: Congregational Publishing Society.* 1873. 30, (2) pp. 8vo. 209



Christian Missions and the Social Ideal. A Sermon before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at the Seventy-First Annual Meeting, in Lowell, Oct. 5, 1880. By Rev. J. M. Manning, D. D., Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston.

*Boston: Beacon Press.* 1880. 18 pp. 8vo. 210

The Conservative Element in Protestantism. Delivered at the Anniversary of the American Congregational Union held in Boston, June 1, 1871.

(*In The Congregational Quarterly.* Vol. 14, Jan. 1872, pp. 45-60.) 211

The Conversion of our Country: A Sermon in behalf of the American Home Missionary Society, preached in the Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York, May 10, 1870. By Rev. J. M. Manning, D. D.

*New York: Printed for the American Home Missionary Society.* 1870. 24 pp. 8vo. 212

The Denial of the Supernatural. By J. M. Manning, Chaplain of 43d regt. Massachusetts Volunteers.

(*In The Bibliotheca Sacra.* Vol. 20, April, 1863, pp. 256-278.) 213

The Duty of daily secret Prayer and daily Study of the Bible. By Rev. J. M. Manning.

*Boston: Nichols & Noyes.* 1866. 22 pp. 16mo. 214

Tract No. 5, published by direction of the Congregational Churches of Boston.

The Greek Church. By Rev. J. M. Manning, Boston, Mass.

(*In The Bibliotheca Sacra.* Vol. 15, July, 1858, pp. 501-543.) 215

Half Truths and the Truth. Lectures on the Origin and Development of Prevailing Forms of Unbelief, considered in relation to the Nature and Claims of the Christian System. By Rev. J. M. Manning, D. D., Pastor of the Old South Church, and Lecturer on the Relations of Christianity to Popular Infidelity at Andover Theological Seminary.

*Boston: Lee & Shepard.* 1872. xii, 398 pp. 12mo. 216

Helps to a Life of Prayer. By Rev. J. M. Manning, D. D., Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston.

*Boston: Lee & Shepard.* 1875 [1874]. 159 pp. 16mo. 217

[Memorial of Agnes Elizabeth Claflin.]

[*Boston: Wright and Potter.*] [1869.] No title-page. 30 pp. 16mo. 218

Ministerial Education. A Discourse, delivered before the American Education Society, at the Anniversary Meeting in Boston, May 24, 1859. By Rev. Jacob M. Manning.

*Boston: Press of T. R. Marvin & Son.* 1859. 22 pp. 8vo. 219

A New-Year's Address delivered before the Boston Young Men's Christian Association in the Old South Church, January 2, 1859, by Rev. J. M. Manning. Published by the Association.

*Boston: Printed by Damrell and Moore.* 1859. 20 pp. 8vo. 220

Not of Man but of God. By Rev. J. M. Manning, D. D.

*Boston : D. Lothrop and Company.* [1883.] xl, 191 pp. 16mo. 221

On the Inspiration of the Bible.

Peace under Liberty. Oration delivered before the City Authorities of Boston, on the Fourth of July, 1865, by J. M. Manning. Together with an account of the Municipal Celebration of the Eighty-Ninth Anniversary of American Independence.

*Boston : J. E. Farwell & Company, printers.* 1865. 108 pp. 8vo.

Pp. 55-108 contain records of the celebration. 222

Samuel Hurd Walley. A Memorial Sermon preached by Rev. J. M. Manning, D. D., in the Old South Church, November 25, 1877.

*Boston : Alfred Mudge & Son, printers.* 1878. 28 pp. 8vo. 223

[Sermon on Death of Abraham Lincoln.]

(In Sermons preached in Boston on the Death of Abraham Lincoln, pp. 57-72. *Boston*, 1865.) 224

Sermons and Addresses. By Rev. Jacob Merrill Manning, D. D., Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, Mass.

*Boston : Houghton, Mifflin and Company.* 1889. viii, 542 pp. portrait. 8vo. 225

Sickness and its Lessons. A Discourse preached in the Old South Church, Dec. 13, 1863. By J. M. Manning, Junior Pastor.

*Boston : Wright & Potter, printers.* 1863. 29 pp. 8vo. 226

The Soldier of Freedom. A Sermon preached before the Officers of the Forty-Third Regiment, M. V., in the Old South Church, Boston, Sunday morning, Oct. 5, 1862. By Jacob M. Manning. Printed for the use of the Regiment.

*Boston : J. E. Farwell & Company, printers.* 1862. 20 pp. 8vo. 227

The Story of Naaman and its Lesson. A Sermon preached in the Old South Meeting-House, Boston, March 28, 1858, by the Rev. Jacob Merrill Manning, One of the Pastors of the Old South Church.

*Boston : Alfred Mudge & Son, printers.* 1883. 22 pp. 8vo. 228

The Theology of Dr. Chalmers. By Rev. J. M. Manning, Medford, Mass.

(In *The Bibliotheca Sacra*. Vol. 13, July, 1856, pp 477-519.) 229

Thomas Prince. A Biographical Sketch, by Rev. J. M. Manning, Boston.

(In *The Congregational Quarterly*. Vol. 1, January, 1859, pp. 1-16.) 230

## II.

### HAVING REFERENCE TO DR. MANNING.

The late Rev. Jacob M. Manning, D. D. A Memorial Discourse preached in the Old South Church, Boston, Sunday, Feb. 18, 1883, by the Rev. William M. Taylor, D. D., Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York.

*Boston : Alfred Mudge & Son, printers.* 1883. 26 pp. 8vo. 231

The late Rev. Jacob M. Manning, D. D. A Memorial Discourse preached in the Old South Church, Boston, Sunday, February 18, 1883, by the Rev. William M. Taylor, D. D., together with the Funeral Services, Friday December 1, 1882.

*Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, printers.* 1883. 41 pp. 8vo. 232

Revelation of God in His Works. A Sermon delivered at the Installation of the Rev. Jacob M. Manning, as Associate Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, March 11, 1857. By Edwards A. Park, D. D. Abbot Professor in Andover Theological Seminary.

*Boston: S. K. Whipple & Company.* 1857. 47 pp. 8vo. 233

Also in "Sermon and Addresses at the Installation of the Rev. Jacob M. Manning," No. 234.

Sermon and Addresses at the Installation of the Rev. Jacob M. Manning, as Associate Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, March 11, 1857.

*Boston: T. R. Marvin & Son.* 1857. 91 pp. 8vo. 234

The Sermon was by Edwards A. Park, the Charge by William A. Stearns, the Right Hand of Fellowship by George W. Blagden, and the Address to the People by Nehemiah Adams.

## EBENEZER PEMBERTON.

### I.

#### HIS WRITINGS.

A brief Account of the State of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, Civil and Ecclesiastical. By a Lover of his Country.

*Boston: Printed by T. Crump, for Gillam Phillips.* 1717. 8 pp. 8vo. 235

Dr. George H. Moore says this has been attributed to Cotton Mather. The tract is printed in Pemberton's "Sermons and Discourses."

A Christian Fixed in his Post. Being the Substance of a Sermon Preached at the Lecture in Boston April 20, 1704.

*Boston: Printed by B. Green.* 1704. 39 pp. 12mo. 236

Also in his Sermons and Discourses on several Occasions, pp. 29-53.

A Discourse had By the late Reverend and Learned Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton, Previous to the Ordination Of the Reverend Mr. Joseph Sewall, At Boston, September 16. 1713. Affirming and proving the Validity of Presbyterial Ordination.

*Boston, Printed by J. Franklin, for S. Gerrish.* 1718. (4), 15 pp. Sm. 8vo. 237

Forms a part of the work entitled "A Sermon delivered by Thomas Prince, M. A. On Wensday, October 1. 1718." See No. 3. Also published in his Sermons and Discourses on several Occasions, pp. 259-273.

The Divine Original and Dignity of Government Asserted; and An

Advantageous Prospect of the Rulers Mortality Recommended. A Sermon Preached before His Excellency the Governour, the Honourable Council, and Assembly of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England, May 31. 1710. The Day for the Election of Her Majesties Council there. By Ebenezer Pemberton, Pastor of a Church in Boston, and Fellow of Harvard College in Camb.

*Boston in N. E. Printed by B. Green. Sold by Samuel Gerrish.*  
1710. (2), 106 pp. 16mo. 238

Also in his Sermons and Discourses, pp. 145-205.

A Funeral Sermon on the Death of that Learned & Excellent Divine The Reverend Mr. Samuel Willard, Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston, and Vice-President of Harvard Colledge. Who Deceased Sept. 12. 1707. *Ætatis suæ* 68. By Ebenezer Pemberton, A. M. To which is Annexed, A Poem on the same sorrowful Occasion, By the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Colman.

*Boston: Printed by B. Green, for Benj. Eliot. 1707. (16), 80, (2), 14 pp. 16mo. 239*

Also in his Sermons and Discourses, pp. 101-144. The Poem has independent title-page and paging.

The Right Hand of Fellowship, by Mr. Pemberton.

(In A Sermon preached Feb. 25. 1761. By A. Cumming, A. M. at his Instalment in the Pastoral Charge of the South Church, in Boston, pp. 53-58. *Boston, 1761.*) 240

A Sermon Preached In the Audience of The General Assembly, at the Publick Lecture in Boston, November 1st. 1705. By Ebenezer Pemberton, M. A. Pastor of a Church in Boston.

*Boston in New-England: Printed by B. Green. Sold by Benj. Eliot. 1706. (2) 35 (1) pp. 16mo. 241*

Also printed in his Sermons and Discourses, pp. 76-100, with the title "Ill-boding Symptoms on a professing people."

Sermons and Discourses on Several Occasions. By the late Reverend and Learned Ebenezer Pemberton, A. M. Pastor of the South Church in Boston, and Fellow of Harvard College in Cambridge, New-England. To which is added, A Sermon after his Funeral preached by the Reverend Mr. Colman, Pastor of a Church in Boston: Containing some Account of Mr. Pemberton's Life and Character. Now first Collected into One Volume.

*London: Printed for J. Batley; . . . and for Sam. Gerrish, in Boston, New England. MDCCXXVII. (2), iv, (2) 310 pp. Portrait. 8vo. 242*

Contents: To my most honoured Friend Mr. Thomas Hollis, by B. Colman. 1. The soldier defended and directed. A Sermon, preached to the Artillery Company in Boston, on the day of their election of officers, Jan. 2, 1701. 2. A Christian fixed in his Post. A Sermon preached at the lecture in Boston, April 20, 1704. 3. Advice to a Son. A Sermon at the request of a gentleman in New England, upon his son's going to Europe, [April?] 20. 1705.



4. Ill-boding Symptoms on a professing people. A Sermon preached in the audience of the General Court, at the lecture in Boston, Nov. 1. 1705. 5. A Funeral Sermon, on the death of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Willard. Preached Sept. 1707. 6. The divine original and dignity of government asserted, &c. A Sermon preached before his Excellency the Governour, and the General Assembly of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England, May 31, 1710. the day for the Election of His Majesty's Council there. 7. A true Servant of his generation characterized, &c. A Sermon on the death of the honourable John Walley, Esq; Jan. 1711. 8. Three Epistles Prefatory to Books of others: Preface to the late Rev. Mr. Willard's books of Sacramental meditations; to the Reverend Mr. Colman's Sermons upon the incomprehensibleness of God; to the Reverend Mr. Sewall's Sermons on family-religion. 9. A brief Account of the State of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England, civil and ecclesiastical. Published 1717. 10. A Discourse previous to the Ordination of the Rev. Mr. Joseph Sewall, at Boston, Sept. 16. 1713. In defence of Presbyterian ordination. To which is added, A Sermon after the Funeral of Mr. Pemberton, by the Rev. Mr. Colman; giving some Account of his Life and Character

The Souldier Defended & Directed: As It was Delivered in a Sermon preached to the Artillery Company in Boston, on the day of their Election of Officers, June 2d. 1701. By Ebenezer Pemberton, Pastor of a Church in Boston.

*Boston: Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, for Samuel Sewall, Junior.* 1701. (2), 42 pp. 16mo. 243

Also included in his Sermons and Discourses, pp. 1-28.

A true Servant of his Generation Characterized, And his Promised State of Refreshment Assigned. A Sermon Preached on the Death of the Honourable John Walley Esq. One of Her Majesties Council for the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England: And One of Her Majesties Justices of the Superior Court of Judicature. Who Dyed at Boston the 11th. of January, 1711, 12. In the Sixty-ninth Year of his Age. By Ebenezer Pemberton, M. A. Pastor of a Church in Boston.

*Boston in New-England: Printed by Bartholomew Green.* 1712. (2), 32 pp. 16mo. 244

Also in his Sermons and Discourses, pp. 206-236.

## II.

HAVING REFERENCE TO MR. PEMBERTON.

[Biographical Sketch.]

(In Sprague. Annals of the American Pulpit vol. 1, pp. 250, 251.) 245

A Catalogue Of Curious and Valuable Books, Belonging to the late Reverend & Learned, Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton, Consisting of Divinity, Philosophy, History, Poetry, &c. generally well Bound: To be Sold by Auction, At the Crown Coffee-House in Boston, the Second Day of July, 1717. Beginning at Three a Clock afternoon, and so, De Die in Diem, until the Whole be Sold. Also a valuable Collection

of Pamphlets will then be Exposed to Sale. The Books may be viewed from the 25th Day of June, until the Day of Sale, at the House of the late Reverend Mr. Pemberton, where Attendance will be Given.

*Boston: Printed by B. Green, and may be had Gratis, at the Shop of Samuel Gerrish, Bookseller. 1717. (2), 28 pp. 8vo. 246*

Very Rare. "Perhaps the first instance in New England of a printed catalogue of Books at Auction." The Catalogue comprises 159 titles of books in folio, 163 in quarto, and 678 in octavo; in all, 1,000 lots.

John Charmion's Latin Epitaph from his ardent Love to Learning and Learned Men, on Mr. Pemberton, who dyed at Boston, the 13th of February, 1716, 7. in the 45th Year of his Age, translated into English. Broadside.

*Same. (Reprinted in Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections, 6th ser. vol. 2, p. 294. Boston, 1888.) 247*

AE. M. S. Eximij Pietate, Eruditione, Prudentia, Viri D. Ebenezer Pemberton, Apud Bostoniensis Americanos Prædicatoris vere Evangelici Epitaphium. [Signed] Posuit Jo. Charmion in literas Literatosque affectu percitus. Broadside. 248

*Same. (Reprinted in Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections. 6th ser. vol. 2, p. 293. Boston, 1884.) 249*

Precious Treasure in Earthen Vessels. A Sermon Occasion'd by the Death of the Reverend & Learned, Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton, Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston, and Fellow of Harvard College; Who Expired Wednesday Febr. 13th. 1716, 17. Ætatis suæ 45. By Joseph Sewall, A. M.

*Boston: Printed by B. Green, for Samuel Gerrish, and Daniel Henchman. 1717. (2), vi, 36 pp. 16mo. 250*

A Sermon at The Lecture in Boston, After the Funerals of those Excellent & Learned Divines and Eminent Fellows of Harvard College The Reverend, William Brattle, Pastor of the Church of Christ in Cambridge, Who deceased Feb. 15. 1716, 7. Ætatis suæ 55. And the Reverend, Ebenezer Pemberton, Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston, Who deceased the 13. of the said Month. Ætatis suæ 45. By Benjamin Colman, Pastor of a Church in Boston.

*Boston: Printed by B. Green, for Samuel Gerrish & Daniel Henchman. 1717. (2), iv, 46 pp. 16mo. 251*

Also printed in Pemberton's Sermons and Discourses, pp. 274-305, with the title "Industry and diligence in the work of religion."

### III.

PREFACED BY MR. PEMBERTON.

A Compleat Body of Divinity. By Samuel Willard. 252

Full title under Willard.

Pp. 1-3 contain "The author's character extracted out of the funeral sermon on his lamented death by the late Reverend Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton," etc.

Desires that Joshua's Resolution may be Revived : or, Excitations to the Constant and Diligent Exercise of Family-Religion : Being the Substance of Sundry Sermons. By Joseph Sewall, M. A.

*Boston in N. E. Printed by B. Green, for Samuel Gerrish.* 1716.  
(2), xii, 80 pp. 16mo. 253

Pp. i-xii contain "The Epistle to the Reader" by E. Pemberton.

A Humble Discourse of the Incomprehensibleness of God. In Four Sermons, Preached at the Lecture in Boston. 1714. By Benjamin Colman. Pastor of a Church in Boston. With a Preface by the Reverend Mr. Pemberton.

*Boston in N. E. Printed by B. Green, for Daniel Henchman.* 1715.  
(2), xii, 109 pp. 16mo. 254

Some Brief Sacramental Meditations, preparatory for Communion at the Great Ordinance of the Supper.

By the late Reverend Samuel Willard, M. A. Vice-president of Harvard College [etc.].

*Boston in New-England : Printed by B. Green for Benjamin Eliot.*  
1711. (2), vi, 257, (5) pp. Sm. 8vo. 255  
*Same.* The Second Edition.

*Boston : Printed by Green, Bushell and Allen, for D. Henchman.*  
1743. (2), vi, 116, (2) pp. Sm. 8vo. 256

Pp. i-vi, contain "To the Reader," by Ebenezer Pemberton.

## THOMAS PRINCE.

### I.

#### HIS WRITINGS.

An Account Of a Strange Appearance in the Heavens on Tuesday-night, March 6, 1716. As it was Seen over Stow-Market in Suffolk in England. By Thomas Prince, M. A. of Harvard College, in Cambridge, in N. England.

*Boston : Printed by S. Kneeland, for D. Henchman.* 1719. (2), 13 pp. 8vo. 257

An Account of the Great Revival in Middleborough, Mass. A. D. 1741, 1742, during the Ministry of Rev. Peter Thacher ; with a Notice of his Character, by Rev. Thomas Prince.

*Boston : Re-printed by T. R. Marvin.* 1842. 34 pp. 12mo. 258  
An Account of the late Assembly of Pastors [at Boston, July 7, 1743].

(*In* The Christian History. July 16, 1743, pp. 155-157. *Boston,* 1744.) 259

Account of the Revival of Religion in Boston, 1740. By the Rev. Mr. Prince.

(*In* The Panoplist, New Series, vol. 4, pp. 317-320 ; 363-369 ; 401-410 ; 451-457 ; 509-513. *Boston,* 1812.) 260

An Account of the Revival of Religion in Boston, in the Years 1740-1-2-3. By Thomas Prince, One of the then Pastors of the Old South Church.

*Boston: Republished by Samuel T. Armstrong. 1823. 55 pp. Portrait. 12mo. 261*

Reprinted from "The Christian History," a publication compiled and edited by Thomas Prince, Jr., Harvard College, 1740, died 1748.

An Account of the Voyage of the Plymouth Pilgrims, from their Leaving Leyden in Holland, till their Arrival in New-England, and Settlement of Plymouth. Collected by the Rev. Thomas Prince.

(In Farmer, J. and Moore, J. B. Collections, Historical and Miscellaneous, vol. 2, pp. 33-40. *Concord, N. H.*, 1823.) 262

Annals of New-England. By Thomas Prince, A. M. Vol. ii. Numb. i.-[iii.]

Numb. i. *Boston: Printed and Sold by S. Kneeland. [1755.] (2), 32, (2) pp.* Numb. ii. *Boston: Printed by B. Edes and J. Gill, for S. Kneeland. (2), 33-64, (2) pp.* Numb. iii. (2), 65-96, (2) pp. 16mo. 263

These numbers constitute all that were published of an intended continuation of Prince's Chronological History.

Annals of New-England. By Thomas Prince. Vol. ii. Numb. i.-[iii.]. *Boston: Printed and Sold by S. Kneeland, and by J. and T. Leverett. [1755.] (2), 1-64, (8), 65-96, (1) pp.*

(In Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections. 2d series, vol. 7. *Boston*, 1826.) 264

An Answer to a Printed Letter said to be wrote from a Gentleman in Newport to his Friend in Boston, Aug. 27; Pretending to find Fault with a Brief Representation of the Case between Dr. McSparan Plaintiff and Mr. Torrey Defendant, relating to the Ministry Land in South Kingstown, Narragansett, which was dated July 1739. [Anonymous.]

[*Boston*, 1739.] 10 pp. F°. 265

The original MS., in the handwriting of Mr. Prince, is in the Prince Library, and is, without doubt, the "copy" used in printing. The MS. has an "Acc't of ye printed answers, given and sent," containing the names of persons to whom Mr. Prince sent 90 copies of the printed work. The printed copy has a Postscript, which is not in the MS.

Be Followers of Them, who Through Faith and Patience, inherit the Promises. A Sermon Occasion'd by the Decease of Mrs. Hannah Fayerweather, Of Boston, on January 27th, 1855. *Ætatis* 53. And deliver'd at the South Church, the Lord's-Day after. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And a Pastor of said Church.

*Boston: Printed by Edes & Gill, for D. Henchman. 1755. (2), 27 pp. 16mo. 266*

The Case of Heman considered. In A Sermon on Psal. lxxxviii. 15. . . . Occasioned By the Death of Mr. Edward Bromfield, Mer-



chant of Boston, in New-England. April 10, 1756. Æt. 61. By Thomas Prince, A. M. And a Pastor of the South Church.

*Boston: Printed and Sold by S. Kneeland. 1756. (2), 33, (2) pp. 16mo. 267*

The two final pages contain "From the Boston-Gazette, of April 19. 1756. By Another Hand."

The Character of Caleb. In a Sermon delivered At the South-Church in Boston, On the Lord's-Day after The Funeral of The Honourable Josiah Willard, Esq.; Secretary of the Province: Who Deceased December 6. 1756. Æt. 76. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And a Pastor of said Church.

*Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland. 1756. (2), 30 pp. 16mo. 268*

Christ abolishing Death and bringing Life and Immortality to Light in the Gospel. A Sermon Occasioned by The Death of The Honourable Mary Belcher late Consort of his Excellency our Present Governour. Delivered at Boston, N. E. October 17. 1736, being the Lord's-Day after Her Funeral. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And one of the Pastors of the South Church.

*Boston: Printed by J. Draper, for D. Henchman. 1736. (2), 41, (1) pp. Sm. 4to. 269*

Appended, a poetical "Epistle to Gov. Belcher by Rev. Mr. Biles." (2), ii, 6 pp.

A Chronological History of New-England In the Form of Annals: Being A summary and exact Account of the most material Transactions and Occurrences relating to This Country, in the Order of Time wherein they happened, from the Discovery by Capt. Gosnold in 1602, to the Arrival of Governor Belcher, in 1730. With an Introduction, Containing A brief Epitome of the most remarkable Transactions and Events Abroad, from the Creation: Including the connected Line of Time, the Succession of Patriarchs and Sovereigns of the most famous Kingdoms & Empires, the gradual Discoveries of America, and the Progress of the Reformation to the Discovery of New-England. By Thomas Prince, M. A. Vol. 1.

*Boston, N. E.: Printed by Kneeland & Green for S. Gerrish, MDCCXXXVI. (10), xi, (1), 20, 104, 2, 254 pp. 16mo. 270*

Pp. 1-96 of Vol. 2 were issued in three numbers in 1755 under the title "Annals of New-England. By Thomas Prince." Vol. II. No. 1. Boston: *printed and sold by S. Kneeland, and by J. and T. Leverett. [1755.] 32 pp.* Vol. II. No. 2. Boston: *printed by B. Edes and J. Gill, for S. Kneeland. [1755.] 33-64 pp.* Vol. II. No. 3. *Same imprint. (4), 65-96 pp. See No. 263.*

These parts have independent title-pages, and were issued in covers. These comprise all that were published of volume 2, and are very rare. They cover the period from September 28, 1630, to August 5, 1633. A reprint is contained in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 2d series, vol. 7. The entire work is included in later editions, for which see below.

A Chronological History of New-England in the form of Annals.

. . . By Thomas Prince, M. A.

*Boston, N. E.: Printed by Kneeland & Green, for S. Gerrish.*  
MDCCCXXXVI. *A new edition, published by Cummings, Hilliard, and*  
*Company.* 1826. 439 pp. 8vo. 271

A Chronological History of New-England in the form of Annals :  
being A Summary and exact Account of the most material Transactions  
and Occurrences relating to this Country, in the order of Time  
wherein they happened, from the Discovery of Capt. Gosnold, in  
1602, to the Arrival of Governor Belcher, in 1730. With an Intro-  
duction. . . . By Thomas Prince, M. A. Third edition : To which is  
added, a Memoir of the Author, an attempt towards a perfect Cata-  
logue of his Writings, a Genealogy of his Family, and the names of  
the Subscribers to the original edition. By Samuel G. Drake.

*Boston : Antiquarian Bookstore.* 1852. 13, (1), iii, iv, 3-12, 5-  
439, 28 pp. 3 Portraits. 2 Plates. Woodcut. 8vo. 272

Thirty copies only were printed of this edition. The two copies in the  
Boston Public Library have a manuscript index in a fine hand occupying 28  
pages.

A Chronological History of New England in the form of Annals.

. . . By Thomas Prince, M. A. Vol. 1.

*Boston, N. E.: Printed by Kneeland & Green, for S. Gerrish.*  
MDCCCXXXVI. (*Reprinted in* Arber, Edward, *editor.* *An English Gar-*  
*ner.* Vol. 2, pp. 287-656. *London, 1879.*) 273

The preliminary matter by Drake is not here reprinted. The portions  
of vol. 2 are reprinted from the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections.  
Arber has added some notes, and a preface.

A Chronological History of New England, in the form of Annals,  
by Thomas Prince. (Boston, N. E., 1736.) In Five Volumes.

*Privately printed, Edinburgh.* 1887, 88. [Bibliotheca Curiosa.]  
Sm. 8vo. 274

Edited by Edmund Goldsmid. The Introduction with the exception of  
the part relating to New England has been omitted.

Chronological Memoranda by the Rev. Thomas Prince, prefixed to  
the seventh volume of the Mather Papers. 1687.

(*In* Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections. 4th series, vol.  
8, pp. 712-714. *Boston.*) 275

Circular Letter, asking Accounts of the Revival of Religion, for  
Publication in The Christian History. April 18, 1743.

[*Boston.* 1743.] Sheet. Sm. 4to. 276

This may be by Thomas Prince, Jr., the editor of the Christian History.

Civil Rulers Raised up by God to Feed His People. A Sermon At  
the Publick Lecture in Boston, July 25. 1728. In the Audience of  
His Excellency the Governour, His Honour the Lieut. Governour,  
and the Honourable the Council and Representatives of the Prov-

ince : Being the Thursday after His Excellency's Arrival here. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And one of the Pastors of the South Church.

*Boston, in New-England : Printed for S. Gerrish.* MDCCXXVIII.  
(4), 24 pp. 16mo. 277

The Departure of Elijah lamented. A Sermon Occasioned By the Great & Publick Loss In the Decease Of the very Reverend & Learned Cotton Mather, D. D. F. R. S. and Senior Pastor of the North Church in Boston : Who left this Life on Feb. 13th 1727, 8. The Morning after He finished the lxxv Year of his Age. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And one of the Pastors of the South Church. 278

*Boston, in New England : Printed for D. Henchman.* MDCCXXVIII.  
(4), 26 pp. 16mo. 279

The Divine Promises considered and the duty of Christians to be followers of those, who thro' Faith and Patience inherit them. A Funeral Discourse occasion'd by the Death of Mrs. Hannah Williams, the Pious Consort of the Reverend Mr. Williams, Dec. 29th, 1745.

*Boston : D. Gookin.* 1746. 32 pp. 8vo. 280

Dying Exercises of Mrs. Deborah Prince : and Devout Meditations of Mrs. Sarah Gill, Daughters of the Late Rev. Mr. Thomas Prince, Minister of the South Church, Boston.

*Edinburgh : Printed by D. Paterson, for W. Martin.* MDCCCLXXXV.  
46 pp. 12mo. 281

Pp. 3-19 contain "Part of Mr. Prince's sermon on the death of Mrs. Deborah Prince."

The Dying Prayer of Christ, for his People's Preservation and Unity. A Sermon to the North Church in Boston, January xxv. 1731, 2. Being a Day of Prayer for the Divine Direction, in their Choice of Another Colleague Pastor, to succeed the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And One of the Pastors of the South Church.

*Boston, New-England : Printed by S. Kneeland & T. Green for S. Gerrish.* MDCCXXXII. (4), 26 pp. Sm. 8vo. 282

Earthquakes the Works of God and Tokens of his just Displeasure. Two Sermons on Psal. xviii. 7. At the Particular Fast in Boston, Nov. 2. and the General Thanksgiving, Nov. 9. Occasioned By the late dreadful Earthquake. Wherein Among other things is offered a brief Account of the Natural Causes of these Operations in the hands of God : With a Relation of some late terrible Ones in other Parts of the World, as well as those that have been perceived in New-England since it's Settlement by English Inhabitants. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And one of the Pastors of the South Church in Boston.

*Boston in New England : Printed for D. Henchman.* MDCCXXVII.  
(6), 45, (3) pp. Sm. 8vo. 283

The first of these sermons was reprinted in 1755 and 1804, see Nos. 285, 286.

Earthquakes the Works of God & Tokens of his just Displeasure.

Two Sermons on Psal. xviii. 7. At the Particular Fast in Boston, Nov. 2. and the General Thanksgiving, Nov. 9. Occasioned By the late dreadful Earthquake. . . . By Thomas Prince, M. A., and one of the Pastors of the South Church in Boston. The Second Edition Corrected.

*Boston in New-England: Printed for D. Henchman.* MDCCXXVII.  
(6), 45, (3) pp. 8vo. 284

Earthquakes the Works of God, and Tokens of His Just Displeasure: being a Discourse on that Subject Wherein is given a particular Description of this awful Event of Providence. And among other Things is offer'd a Brief Account of the natural, instrumental, or secondary Causes of these Operations in the Hands of God. After which Our Thoughts are led up to Him as having the Highest and principal Agency in this Stupendous Work. By Thomas Prince, A. M. And one of the Pastors of the South Church, Boston.

Made Public at this Time on Occasion of the late Dreadful Earthquake which happen'd on the 18th of Nov. 1755.

*Boston, Printed and sold by D. Fowle.* 1755. 23 pp. 12mo. 285

Earthquakes the Works of God, and Tokens of His Just Displeasure; being a Discourse on that Subject, Wherein is given a particular Description of this awful Event of Providence. . . . By Thomas Prince. Made Public at this Time on Occasion of the late Dreadful Earthquake, which happen'd on the 18th of Nov. 1755.

*Boston: Printed and sold by D. Fowle, and by Z. Fowle.* 1804.  
24 pp. 12mo. 286

A reprint of the first sermon in the work with same title (No. 283) published in 1727.

Extract from Mr. Prince's Sermon, on Job 1. 21. Occasioned by the Decease of his eldest Daughter, Miss Deborah Prince, 20th July, 1744, in the 21st year of her age.

[Colophon:] *Boston: Printed and sold by E. Lincoln.* 1804. 24  
pp. No title page. 12mo. 287

Includes a letter by Mrs. Sarah Gill, pp. 19-23.

Extract of a Sermon Preach'd at the South Church in Boston, November 27, 1746. By the Reverend Mr. Thomas Prince, Occasioned by the surprizing Appearance of Divine Providence for North-America, In the Destruction of the French Fleet and Army, sent to Chebuctah the preceeding Summer: And re-printed at this Time with a View to encourage and animate the People of God to put their Trust in Him, and to call upon His Name, under the severe and keen distresses, now taking Place, in Boston and Charlestown; by the rigorous Execution of The late Act of the British Parliament, called the Boston Port-Bill.

*Boston: Re-printed and sold by John Kneeland.* MDCCCLXXIV. 15  
pp. 8vo. 288



*Same. Watertown : Re-printed and sold by B. Edes. 1776. 15 pp. 8vo. 289*

The original edition of this pamphlet was printed in 1746 under the title "The Salvations of God in 1746." See Nos. 319, 320.

Extraordinary Events the Doings of God, and marvellous in pious Eyes. Illustrated In a Sermon At the South church in Boston, N. E. On the General Thanksgiving, Thursday July 18, 1745. Occasion'd By taking the City of Louisbourg on the Isle of Cape-Breton, by New-England Soldiers, assisted by a British Squadron. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And one of the Pastors of said Church.

*Boston : Printed for D. Henchman. 1745. 35 pp. 8vo. 290*

*Same.* By Thomas Prince, M. A. And a Pastor of the said Church. The Second edition in N. E. with some Additions.

*Boston : Printed for D. Henchman. 1747. 35 pp. 8vo. 291*

*Same. Boston, Printed: London, reprinted; and sold by J. Lewis. 1746. 32 pp. 16mo. 292*

*Same.* The Second Edition. *Boston, Printed: London, reprinted; and sold by J. Lewis, 1746. 32 pp. 16mo. 293*

*Same.* The Third Edition. *Boston, Printed: London, reprinted; and sold by J. Lewis. 1746. 32 pp. 294*

*Same.* The Fourth Edition. *Boston, Printed: London, reprinted; and sold by J. Lewis, 1746. 32 pp. 8vo. 295*

*Same.* The Fifth Edition. *Boston, Printed: London, reprinted; and sold by J. Lewis. 1746. 32 pp. 8vo. 296*

*Same. Edinburgh: printed by R. Fleming and Company. 1746. (2), 38 pp. 8vo. 297*

The Faithful Servant Approv'd at Death, and Entring into the Joy of his Lord. A Sermon At The Publick Lecture in Boston. July xxvii. 1732. Occasion'd By the much Lamented Death of The Honourable Daniel Oliver, Esq; One of His Majesty's Council for the Province. Who Deceased There the 23d. of the same Month, In the 69th. Year of his Age. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And One of the pastors of the South Church. With a poem by Mr. Byles.

*Boston : Printed by S. Kneeland & T. Green, for D. Henchman, 1732. (6), 35, (1) pp. 8vo. 298*

Usually followed by "Young Abel dead," etc.

The Fulness of Life and Joy in the Presence of God. A Sermon Occasion'd By the Decease of Mrs. Martha Stoddard, Late Consort of the Honourable Anthony Stoddard, Esq; Feb. 11. 1747, 8. Ætatis 62. Delivered in the South Church in Boston on the Lord's Day after her Funeral. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And a Pastor of the said Church.

*Boston : Printed by Kneeland and Green. 1748. 24 pp. 8vo. 299*

A Funeral Sermon On the Reverend Mr. Nathanael Williams, Who Deceased Tuesday January 10. 1737. 8. Ætatis 63. Delivered at the

South-Church in Boston, on the Lord's Day after. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And One of the Pastors of the same Church.

*Boston : Printed by S. Kneeland & T. Green. MDCCXXXVIII. (2),*  
30 pp. 8vo. 300

God brings to the Desired Haven. A Thanksgiving-Sermon, Deliver'd At the Lecture in Boston N. E. On Thursday September 5. 1717. Upon Occasion of the Author's safe Arrival thro' many great Hazards & Deliverances, Especially on the Seas, in above Eight Years absence from his Dear & Native Country. By Thomas Prince, M. A. With a Prefatory Epistle to the Reader, by Increase Mather, D. D.

*Boston : Printed by B. Green, for Thomas Fleet. 1717. (2), iii,*  
32 pp. 16mo. 301

God Destroyeth the Hope of Man ! A Sermon Occasion'd by The inexpressible Loss in the Death of his Late Royal Highness Frederick Prince of Wales : In the Night after March 20. last, In the 45th Year of his Age. By Thomas Prince, A. M. And a Pastor of the South Church in Boston.

*Boston : Printed by S. Kneeland, for D. Henchman. MDCCLI. (2),*  
34 pp. 8vo. 302

The Grave and Death Destroyed, and Believers Ransomed and Redeemed from them. A Sermon At Midleborough East-Precinct July. vii. 1728. Being the Lord's-Day after The Decease & Funeral of Samuel Prince, Esq ; There. By Thomas Prince, M. A. a Pastor of the South Church in Boston, and One of the Sons of the Deceased.

*Boston in New-England : Printed for S. Gerrish. 1728. (4), 23*  
pp. 16mo. 303

The Great and Solemn Obligations to Early Piety. By Mr. Prince. Boston-Lecture April 27. 1721. 52 pp.

(In A Course of Sermons on Early Piety. By the Eight Ministers who carry on the Thursday-Lecture in Boston. With a Preface by Increase Mather. *Boston : in N. E. Printed by S. Kneeland, for N. Buttolph, B. Eliot and D. Henchman. 1721.*) 304

An Improvement of the Doctrine of Earthquakes, Being the Works of God, and Tokens of his just Displeasure. Containing an Historical Summary of the most remarkable Earthquakes in New-England, from the first Settlement of the English here, as also in other Parts of the World since 1666. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And one of the Pastors of the South Church in Boston. To which is added, A Letter to a Gentleman, giving an Account of the dreadful Earthquake felt in Boston, New-England Nov. 18. twenty Minutes past 4 in the Morning.

*Boston, New-England, Printed and sold by D. Fowle, and by Z. Fowle. 1755. 23 pp. 16mo.* 305

Indian Converts : or, some Account of the Lives and Dying Speeches of a considerable Number of the Christianized Indians of

Martha's Vineyard, in New-England. By Experience Mayhew. . . . To which is added, Some Account of those English Ministers who have successively presided over the Indian Work in that and the adjacent Islands. By Mr. Prince.

*London, Printed for Samuel Gerrish, in Boston, New-England; and sold by J. Osborn and T. Longman. M.DCC.XXVII. xxiv, 310 pp. 8vo.*

306

Mr Prince's tract has an independent title-page, with title "Some Account of those English Ministers who have successively presided over the Work of Gospelizing the Indians on Martha's Vineyard, and the adjacent Islands. By another Hand." London, M.DCC.XXVII. See No. 328.

[Letter in Reply to Winthrop on Earthquakes.] Jan. 15, 1756.

(*In Boston Gazette, January 26, 1756.*)

307

Mr. Prince's Account of the Northern Lights, when first seen in England, 1716.

(*In Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections. 1st series, vol. 2, pp. 14-16. Boston, 1793. Reprinted, 1810.*)

308

Morning Health No Security Against the Sudden Arrest of Death before Night. A Sermon Occasioned By the very Sudden Death of Two Young Gentlemen in Boston, January 14th. 1726, 7. Dedicated to the Youth of the Town. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And one of the Pastors of the South Church.

*Boston: Printed for Daniel Henchman. 1727. (6), 26, (2) pp. 16mo.*

309

*Same. The Second Edition. Same imprint. (8), 37, (2) pp. 16mo.*

310

The subjects of this sermon were Samuel Hirst and Thomas Davis. Annexed is an "ingenious poem" by "a very hopeful young scholar [Mather Byles], upon hearing the foregoing Discourse."

The natural and moral Government and Agency of God, in causing Droughts and Rains. A Sermon At the South Church in Boston, Thursday, Aug. 24. 1749. Being the Day of the General Thanksgiving, In the Province of the Massachusetts, For the extraordinary reviving Rains, after the most distressing Drought which have been known among us in the Memory of any Living. By Thomas Prince, A. M. And a Pastor of the said Church.

*Boston: Printed and sold at Kneeland and Green's. 1749. (6), 40 pp. 8vo.*

311

*Same. Same imprint. 1750. (6), 40 pp. 8vo.*

312

*Same. Corrected by the Author's own Hand; and by him dedicated to the Royal Society.*

*Boston: printed: London re-printed; and published by John Lewis. 1750. (6), 34 pp. 8vo.*

313

*Same. The Second Edition. Same imprint. 1750. (6), 34 pp. 8vo.*

314

## New England Chronology.

(*In* Morton, N. New-England's Memorial. Sixth Edition. Boston, 1855. Pp. 285-325.) 315

Prefatory note: "Mr. Prince having read all the contemporary histories of the first thirteen years of the settlement at Plymouth, put the whole in the form of Annals; and we have here extracted so much as seemed desirable to make this volume a full and complete narrative of the events of the time included."

The People of New-England Put in mind of the Righteous Acts of the Lord to Them and their Fathers, and Reasoned with concerning them. A sermon Delivered at Cambridge Before the Great and General Assembly Of the Province of the Massachusetts May 27th MDCCLXXX. Being the Anniversary for the Election of His Majesty's Council for the Province. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And one of the Pastors of the South Church in Boston.

*Boston in New-England: Printed by B. Green, for D. Henchman.*

1730. (2), 48, (3) pp. 8vo. 316

The last 3 pages contain "Passages from Mr. Stoughton's Election Sermon, April 29, 1668."

The Pious cry to the Lord for Help when the Godly and Faithful fail among them. A Sermon Occasion'd By the great and publick Loss In the Death of the Honourable Thomas Cushing, Esq; Speaker of the Honourable House of Representatives Of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England: April 11. 1746. Delivered at the South Church in Boston, the Lord's Day after his Funeral. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And one of the Pastors of the said Church.

*Boston, Printed for T. Rand. 1746. 38 pp. 8vo. 317*

Precious in the Sight of the Lord is the Death of his Saints. A Sermon Upon the Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Oliver, Relict of the Honourable Daniel Oliver, Esq; Wednesday May xxi. 1735. Ætatis 58. Delivered At the South Church in Boston, on the Lord's Day after. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And One of the Pastors of the said Church.

*Boston, Printed by S. Kneeland & T. Green. MDCCLXXXV. (4), 26, (1) pp. 8vo. 318*

At the end is "An Account of the Deceased, From the Boston Gazette, June 2. 1735."

The Salvations of God in 1746. In Part set forth in a Sermon At the South Church in Boston, Nov. 27. 1746. Being the Day of the Anniversary Thanksgiving In the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in N. E. Wherein The most remarkable Salvations of the Year past, both in Europe and North-America, as far as they are come to our Knowledge, are briefly considered. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And a Pastor of said Church.

*Boston: Printed for D. Henchman. 1746. 35 pp. 8vo. 319*

*Same. Boston printed: London reprinted, and sold by T. Longman and T. Shewell. 1747. 36 pp. 8vo. 320*



A Sermon At The Publick Lecture in Boston Jan. viii. 1729, 30. Upon The Death of The Honourable Samuel Sewall, Esq; Late Chief Justice of the Circuits And One of His Majesty's Council for the Province. Who Deceased at his house in Boston on the 1st of the same Month and in the 78th Year of his Age. By Thomas Prince, M. A. One of the Pastors of the South Church.

*Boston in New England: Printed by B. Green, 1730.* (4), 36,  
4 pp. 8vo. 321

The last 4 pages contain "An Account of the Deceased from the Weekly News-Letter, No. 158. Corrected. Boston, January 8, 1729, 30."

A Sermon Delivered At the South Church in Boston, N. E. August 14. 1746. Being the Day of General Thanksgiving for The great Deliverance of the British Nations by The glorious and happy Victory near Culloden. Obtained by His Royal Highness Prince William Duke of Cumberland April 16. last. Wherein The Greatness of the Publick Danger and Deliverance is in Part set forth, to excite their most grateful Praises to the God of their Salvation. By Thomas Prince, M. A. and a Pastor of said Church.

*Boston: Printed for D. Henchman, and S. Kneeland and T. Green.*  
1746. 38, (1) pp. 8vo. 322

A Sermon Deliver'd at the South-Church in Boston, New-England, August 14. 1746. Being the Day of General Thanksgiving for the Great Deliverance of the British Nations, by the Glorious and Happy Victory near Culloden. Obtained by His Royal Highness Prince William Duke of Cumberland, April 16, in the same year. . . . By Thomas Prince, M. A. And a Pastor of the said Church.

*Boston, Printed: London, Re-printed and sold by John Lewis.*  
1747. 39 pp. 8vo. 323

A Sermon Delivered By Thomas Prince, M. A. on Wensday, (*sic.*) October 1. 1718. At his Ordination to the Pastoral Charge Of the South Church in Boston, N. E. in Conjunction with the Reverend Mr. Joseph Sewall. Together with The Charge, By the Reverend Increase Mather, D. D. And a Copy of what was said at giving the Right Hand of Fellowship: By the Reverend Cotton Mather, D. D. To which is added, A Discourse Of the Validity of Ordination by the Hands of Presbyters, Previous to Mr. Sewall's on September 16. 1713. By the Late Reverend and Learned Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton, Pastor of the same Church.

*Boston: Printed by J. Franklin for S. Gerrish.* 1718. (8), 76,  
(4), 15 pp. 16mo. 324

Mr. Pemberton's discourse occupies pp. (4), 15, and has a separate title-page.

A Sermon On the sorrowful Occasion Of the Death Of His late Majesty King George Of Blessed Memory, And the Happy Accession of His present Majesty King George II. to the Throne. Deliver'd at the Publick Lecture in Boston N. E. Aug. 24th 1727. In the Audience

of the Great & General Assembly of the Province: And Published at the Desire of the Honourable House of Representatives. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And one of the Pastors of the South Church in Boston.

*Boston: Printed for Daniel Henchman.* MDCCXXVII. (4), 27 pp. 8vo. 325

Six Sermons by the late Thomas Prince A. M. one of the Ministers of the South Church In Boston. Published from his Manuscripts, By John Erskine, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh.

*Edinburgh: Printed by David Paterson, for William Martin.* MDCC LXXXV. xvi, 156 pp. 12mo. 326

Contains a "Memoir of Thomas Prince, by Dr. John Erskine."

Some Account of the late Revival of Religion in Boston, by the Rev. Mr. Prince, One of the Pastors of the South Church.

(*In* The Christian History, January 19, 26, Feb. 2, 9, 16, 23, 1744, 45, pp. 374-376; 377-415. *Boston*, 1745.) 327

Some Account of those English Ministers who Have successively presided over the Work of Gospelizing the Indians on Martha's Vineyard, and the adjacent Islands. By another Hand. [Thomas Prince.]

*London, printed in the year M.DCC.XXVII. 277-310 pp. 8vo. 328*

Appended to Indian Converts, [etc.]. By Experience Mayhew. *See* No. 306.

The Sovereign God Acknowledged and Blessed, both in Giving and Taking away. A Sermon Occasioned by the Decease of Mrs. Deborah Prince, on Friday July 20. 1744. In the 21st Year of her Age. Delivered At the South Church in Boston, July 29. Being the Lord's-Day after her Funeral. With A brief Account of the Dealings of God towards Her; especially in the Time of her Sickness and Passing through the Valley of the Shadow of Death. By Her Father.

*Boston, printed by Rogers and Fowle, for T. Rand.* 1744. 40, (2) pp. 8vo. 329

The Vade Mecum for America: Or a Companion for Traders and Travellers Containing I. An exact and useful Table, shewing the Value of any Quantity of any Commodity [etc.]. II. A Table of Interest. III. The Names of the Towns, and Counties in New-England, New-York, and the Jersies; as also the several Counties in Pensilvania, Maryland and Virginia: with the Time of the Setting of their Courts. IV. The Time of the General Meetings of the Baptists and Quakers. V. A Description of the Principal Roads from the Mouth of Kennebeck-River in the North-East of New England, to James-River in Virginia. VI. A correct Table of the Kings and Queens of England. . . . To which is Added, The Names of the Streets in Boston. Collected & Composed with great Care & Accuracy.

*Boston, N. E. Printed by S. Kneeland and T. Green, for D. Henchman and T. Hancock.* M DCC XXXII. (2), iv, (2), 220 pp. Obl. 16mo. 330

"The Publisher to the Reader," pp. iv, is signed in MS. "T. P."

Mr. Prince says in the Preface, "It is a Work that has been long desired, is indeed the *first* of its kind." That Mr. Prince was the compiler of this the earliest published gazetteer of this country, seems to be shown conclusively by his signature in MS. affixed to the preface in his private copy.

Young Abel Dead, yet Speaketh. A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of Young Mr. Daniel Oliver, Delivered at the South Church in Boston Sept. 10th. 1727. Being the first Lord's Day after the Surprising Tidings came of His Dying of the Small Pox in London, July 5th. as He was Finishing His Travels, and Returning to His Friends and Country. By Thomas Prince, M. A. And One of the Pastors of the South Church. 33<sup>1</sup>

*Boston: Printed for D. Henchman, MDCCXXXII. (2), 24, (1) pp. 8vo. 33<sup>2</sup>*

*Same. Bungay, Reprinted. 1801. 32 pp. 8vo.*

Usually appended to "The Faithful Servant." Byles's Elegy (4) pp. is appended to some copies.

## II.

### HAVING REFERENCE TO MR. PRINCE.

Account of the Books and Manuscripts, lately deposited by the Old South Church and Society in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. [By Abiel Holmes.]

(In Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections. 2d series, vol. 7, pp. 179-185. *Boston, 1818.*) 333

[Biographical Sketch.]

(In Sprague, W. B. Annals of the American pulpit, vol. 1, pp. 304-307.) 334

Catalogue of the American portion of the library of the Rev. Thomas Prince. With a Memoir, and List of his Publications, by Wm. H. Whitmore.

*Boston: J. K. Wiggin & Wm. Parsons Lunt. 1868. xxv, 166 pp. Portrait. 12mo. 335*

The list on pp. 1-166 is a reprint with the same type, of the American part of the Catalogue of the Prince Library, published by the Boston Public Library. The cross-references and shelf-numbers of that Catalogue are omitted. Some copies have a Portrait of Mr. Prince.

Catalogue of the Library of Rev. Thomas Prince, former Pastor of the Old South Church. Presented by him to the Old South Church and Society.

*Boston: Press of Crocker & Brewster. 1846. 112 pp. 8vo. 336*  
Prepared by G. H. Whitman.

The Duty, Character and Reward of Christ's faithful Servants. A Sermon Preached at the South-Church in Boston: On the Lord's-Day after the Funeral Of the Reverend Thomas Prince, Late Colleague-Pastor of said Church. Who departed this Life October 22<sup>d</sup> 1758. Ætat. 72. By Joseph Sewall, D. D. Pastor of said Church.

*Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland.* MDCC[L]VIII. (2), 22, (2) pp.  
8vo. 337

The 2 concluding pages contain "From the Boston-Gazette, &c. of October 30. 1758. By another Hand."

A Letter To the Publishers of the Boston Gazette, &c. Containing an Answer to the Rev. Mr. Prince's Letter, inserted in said Gazette, on the 26th of January 1756. [By John Winthrop.]

[*Cambridge, 1756.*] 7 pp. No title-page. 8vo. 338

Life and Labors of Thomas Prince. [By W. H. Whitmore.]

(*In North American Review.* Vol. 91, Oct. 1860, pp. 354-375.) 339

The New England Library and its Founder. By Victoria Reed.

(*In The New England Magazine*, vol. 4, April, 1886, pp. 347-363.)

340

The Prince Library. The American Part of the Collection which formerly belonged to the Reverend Thomas Prince, by him bequeathed to the Old South Church, and now deposited in the Public Library of the City of Boston.

[*Boston, 1868.*] (2), 70 pp. L. 8vo.

341

Title on cover.

The Prince Library. A Catalogue of the Collection of Books and Manuscripts which formerly belonged to the Reverend Thomas Prince and was by him bequeathed to the Old South Church, and is now deposited in the Public Library of the City of Boston.

342

*Boston, 1870.* xvii, 159, (1) pp. Portrait. L. 8vo.

Arranged in three parts: American; Foreign; Manuscripts. Preface by Justin Winsor, giving an account of the collection. The Portrait is not in all copies.

The Rev. Thomas Prince and the Old South Meeting-House.

(*In Boston Past and Present*, pp. 37-41. *Cambridge, 1874.*) 343

Some Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Thomas Prince, together with a Pedigree of his Family. By Samuel G. Drake.

*Boston: Office of the New England Historic-Genealogical Register.* 1851. 13, (1) pp. Portrait. Coat of arms. 8vo. 344

*Same.* (*In New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. 5, October, 1851, pp. 375-384. *Boston, 1851.*) 345

This also appears in Drake's edition of Prince's Chronological History, No. 272.

Thomas Prince. A Biographical Sketch, by Rev. J. M. Manning, Boston.

(*In The Congregational Quarterly*, vol. 1, January, 1859, pp. 1-16.)

346

### III.

EDITED OR PREFACED BY MR. PRINCE.

All Power in Heaven, And in Earth Given unto Jesus Christ. A Sermon Preached at the Public Lecture in Boston New-England, Jan.



29<sup>th</sup> 1756. By Ebenezer Pemberton, A. M. Pastor of a Church in Boston. With a Preface by the Reverend Dr. Sewall, Mr. Prince, and Mr. Foxcroft.

*Boston: Printed and Sold by D. Fowle and Z. Fowle. 1756. (4),*  
 iv, 30, pp. 8vo. 347

The Preface occupies pp. i-iv.

The Authentic Narrative of the Success of Tar Water, In curing a great Number and Variety of Distempers. By Thomas Prior. . . .

*London, printed 1746. Boston: N. E. Re-printed and sold by Rogers and Fowle. MDCCXLIX. 80 pp. 8vo. 348*

Pp. 74-80 consist of "Appendix Containing the most material Extracts from Two Tracts wrote by those learned Philosophers, Dr. Stephen Hales, and A. Reid; printed at London in 1747: With some Observations of the several Sorts of Tar used in Boston in New-England. By T. P."

Brief Directions to a Young Scholar, Designing the Ministry, for the Study of Divinity. By the Reverend and Learned Samuel Willard, M. A. Pastor of the South Church in Boston.

*Boston: Printed by J. Draper, for T. Hancock. 1735. (2), iv,*  
 7 pp. 16mo. 349

Pp. i-iv consist of Preface by Sewall and Prince.

A Brief Discourse concerning Futurities or Things to come [etc.]. Written by Mr. William Torrey. . . . With a Preface by the Reverend Mr. Prince.

*Boston: Printed and sold by Edes and Gill. 1757. (2), iv, iii,*  
 76 pp. 8vo. 350

Mr. Prince's Preface occupies pp. i-iv.

A Brief History of the Pequot War. Written by Major John Mason, A principal Actor therein, as then chief captain and commander of Connecticut forces. With an Introduction and some Explanatory Notes by the Reverend Mr. Thomas Prince.

*Boston: Printed and sold by S. Kneeland and T. Green. 1736.*  
 (2), vi, x, 22 pp. 12mo. 351

*Same. (Reprinted in Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections. 2d series, vol. 8, pp. 120-153. Boston, 1819.) 352*

*Same. New York: Reprinted by J. Sabin and Sons. 1869. pp.*  
 8vo. 353

This work is also printed as an appendix to the "Case of the Government and Company of Connecticut and Monhegan Indians." London, 1769.

Christ Victorious over the Powers of Darkness, by the Light of His preached Gospel. A Sermon Preached, December 12, 1733. At the Ordination of the Reverend Mr. Stephen Parker, Mr. Ebenezer Hinsdell, and Mr. Joseph Seccombe. . . . By Joseph Sewall. . . .

*Boston: Printed and sold by S. Kneeland & T. Green. MDCCXXXIII.*  
 (8), 46 pp. 8vo. 354

Pp. 37-46 contain "The Right Hand of Fellowship," by Mr. Prince.

A Compleat Body of Divinity. *See* Willard, S. No. 453. 355

God Glorified in the Work of Redemption, By the Greatness of Man's Dependance upon Him, in the Whole of it. A Sermon Preached on the Publick Lecture in Boston, July 8. 1731. . . . By Jonathan Edwards, A. M. Pastor of the Church of Christ in Northampton.

*Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland, and T. Green for D. Henchman.*

1731. (4), ii, 25 pp. 16mo. 356

The address "To the Reader," pp. ii, is signed "T. Prince, W. Cooper."

The first sermon or essay which President Edwards ever published, was his "Thursday Lecture," preached in Boston, July 8, 1731, and prefaced with an "advertisement" from Mr. Prince and Mr. Cooper. "It was with no small difficulty," they say, "that the author's youth and modesty were prevailed on to let him appear a preacher in our public lecture, and afterwards to give us a copy of his discourse" for the press. He was then in the twenty-eighth year of his age." — *Dr. Park's Note in Sermon at installation of Dr. Manning.*

The Good Government of Christian Families Recommended: As that which will contribute greatly to their Peace and Happiness. To which is added, A Discourse on Secret Prayer. By the late Reverend William Homes, A. M.

*Boston: Printed for D. Henchman. 1747. (2), 164 pp. 16mo. 357*

"The Preface," pp. 1-10, is biographical, and signed "Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince."

The Hinckley Papers; being Letters and Papers of Thomas Hinckley, Governor of the Colony of New Plymouth. 1676-1699.

(*In* Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections. 4th series, vol. 5, pp. 1-308. *Boston, 1861.*) 358

Has valuable notes by Mr. Prince. The original manuscripts, belonging to the Old South Church and Society, are deposited in the Boston Public Library.

History of Plymouth Plantation. By William Bradford. Now first printed from the Original Manuscript.

*Boston: Published for the Massachusetts Historical Society. 1856.*

xix, 476, (1) pp. 8vo. 359

First printed in the Collections of the Society, fourth series, vol. iii. Contains notes by Mr. Prince.

An Humble Attempt To promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union Of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer For the Revival of Religion. . . . By Jonathan Edwards, A. M. With a Preface by several Ministers.

*Boston, New-England: Printed for D. Henchman. 1747. (10), 188 pp. 16mo. 360*

After "The Contents" is a second title-page, much more full. "The Preface" is signed "Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince, John Webb, Thomas Foxcroft, Joshua Gee."

An Humble Inquiry Into The Rules of the Word of God, Concerning the Qualifications Requisite to a Compleat Standing and full Com-

munion in the Visible Christian Church. By Jonathan Edwards, A. M. With an Appendix by Mr. Foxcroft.

*Boston: Printed & sold by S. Kneeland. 1749. (2), vi, 136, 16 pp. Sm. 4to. 361*

Preface on p. vi is signed by Mr. Prince and others.

The Mather Papers.

(*In Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections. 4th series, vol. 8, pp. 1-685. Boston, 1868.*) 362

Mr. Prince's notes have been carefully preserved, and his name has in every instance been attached to them. The original manuscripts, belonging to the Old South Church and Society, are deposited in the Boston Public Library.

Memoirs of Captain Roger Clap. Relating some of God's remarkable Providences to him, in bringing him into New-England; and some of the straits and afflictions, the good People met with here in their beginnings.

*Boston, in New-England, Printed by B. Green. 1731. 33, 2-11 pp. 16mo. 363*

Contains a preface by Mr. Prince dated Aug. 16, 1731, in which he says, "Upon my searching for materials for our chronology, the following piece with others come to hand; I cannot but think it worthy of the publick view."

An edition came out at Pittsfield, 1824.

*Same. Reprinted by R. & S. Draper. 1766. 33, 11 pp. 8vo. 364*

An edition was published in 1774.

Memoirs of Captain Roger Clap. Relating some of God's remarkable Providences to him, in bringing him into New-England; and some of the Straits and Afflictions, the good People met with here in their beginnings.

*Boston: Printed for William Tileston Clap. 1807. 39 pp. 8vo. 365*

Memoirs of Roger Clap. 1630.

*Boston: Printed and published by David Clapp. 1844. [Collections of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society. No. 1.] 61, (1) pp. 8vo. 366*

Reprint of the 1731 edition, with the Preface by Mr. Prince.

The Nature & Necessity Of the New-Birth, In A Sermon Delivered In Part at the Publick Lecture in Boston, May 9. 1728. By Israel Loring, M. A. With a Preface by Mr. Prince; and Jonathan Mitchell's Letter on the Same Subject. 367

*Boston, 1728. (2), 4, 88 pp. 32mo.*

"The Preface" is signed "Thomas Prince."

One chosen of God and called to the Work of the Ministry willingly offering Himself. A Sermon Preached at the Ordination Of the Reverend Mr. Samuel Cooper, To the Pastoral office in the Church of Christ in Brattle-Street, Boston May 21. 1746. By Benjamin Colman Senior Pastor. To which are added, The Charge given by the Rev.

Dr. Sewall and The Right Hand of Fellowship by the Rev. Mr. Prince.

*Boston: Printed by Rogers & Fowle for J. Edwards.* MDCCXLVI.  
33 pp. 8vo. 368

Pp. 31-33 contain "The Fellowship of the Churches. By the Rev. Mr. Prince."

A Perswasive To make a Publick Confession of Christ, and come up to All His Ordinances, in particular those of Baptism and the Lord's-Supper, And Objections answered. By the late Hon. Daniel Parker, esq. of Barnstable.

*Boston, New-England: Printed for D. Henchman.* 1730. (4),  
19 pp. 16mo. 369

The preface by Mr. Prince gives a Biographical Sketch of the Author.

The Psalms, Hymns, & Spiritual Songs, of the Old and New Testament, Faithfully translated into English Metre. Being the New-England Psalm Book Revised and Improved; By an Endeavour after a yet nearer Approach to the inspired Original, as well as to the Rules of Poetry. With an Addition of fifty other Hymns [etc.].

*Boston: N. E. Printed and sold by D. Henchman, and S. Kneeland.* 1758. (2), vi, 360 pp. 16mo. 370

Edited by Mr. Prince. Pp. i-vi. contain his Preface. A copy in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society has 15 pp. containing musical score.

*Same.* The Second Edition.

*Boston, New-England: Printed by Thomas and John Fleet.* 1773.  
(2), vi, 340 pp. 16mo. 371

The Redeemed Captive, Returning to Zion. A Faithful History of Remarkable Occurrences, in the Captivity and Deliverance of Mr. John Williams; Minister of the Gospel in Deerfield, who in the Desolation which befel that Plantation, by an Incursion of the French and Indians, was by Them carried away, with his Family, and his Neighbourhood, unto Canada. Drawn up by Himself. . . . The Third Edition. As also an Appendix: Containing an Account of those taken Captive at Deerfield, February 29. 1703, 4. . . . With a Conclusion to the whole. By the Rev. Mr. Williams of Springfield, and the Rev. Mr. Prince of Boston.

*Boston: Printed and sold by S. Kneeland.* 1758. (2), iv, 104 pp.  
8vo. 372

Mr. Prince's contribution is also contained in the following editions.

The Fourth Edition. *Boston, printed; New London, reprinted, by T. Green.* [1773.] The Fifth Edition. *Boston: Printed and sold by John Boyle.* 1774. 70 pp.; The Fifth Edition. *New London, reprinted, T. Green.* [1780?]; The Fourth Edition, with Additions. *Printed at Greenfield, Massachusetts: T. Dickman.* MDCCXIII. 6, 154 pp. 12mo.; The Sixth Edition. *Boston: Printed by Samuel*



*Hall.* 1795. 132 pp. 12mo.; The Sixth edition, with Additions. *Greenfield.* 1800; [Edition reprinted, apparently from the Fifth Edition.] *New Haven, Wm. W. Morse.* 1802. 12mo.

The Sins of Youth, Remembred with Bitterness. As Represented in A Sermon At a Private Meeting of a Society of Young Men for Religious Exercise, in Boston Feb. 14. 1724. 5. Upon Psalm xxv. 7. By Daniel Lewes, M. A. and Pastor of the Church at Pembroke. Prefac'd by the Rev. Mr. Thomas Prince. 373

*Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland.* MDCCXXV. (2), ii, 22 pp. 16mo.

Three valuable Pieces, Viz. Select Cases Resolved; First Principles Of the Oracles of God. . . . Both corrected by Four several Editions: and A private Diary. . . . By Thomas Shepard M. A. With some Account of the Rev. Author.

*Boston: Printed and sold by Rogers & Fowle.* 1747. (2) 7, (7), 53, (4), 27, (2), vi, (6), 73 pp. 16mo. 374

The first seven pages consist of "A general Preface giving some Account of the author, and the following Pieces," signed by Mr. Prince.

The Spirits of the present Day Tried. A Sermon at the Tuesday evening-lecture, in Brattle-Street, in Boston, Nov. 3. 1741. By the Reverend Mr. David McGregere, Of Londonderry in New-England. With a Preface by some Ministers of Boston.

*Boston: Printed by D. Fowle, for D. Henchman.* 1742. (8) 30 pp. 12mo. 375

*Same.* Second Edition. With an Appendix containing an Answer to the Preface of Mr. Caldwell's Sermon on the Trial of the Spirits.

*Boston: Printed by J. Draper for D. Henchman.* 1742. (6), 30 pp. 8vo. 376

The Preface 4 pp. is signed "Thomas Prince, John Webb, William Cooper."

Unfruitful Hearers detected & warned: or, a Discourse wherein the Danger of, and by Unprofitable Hearing is laid open and cautioned against. As it was delivered in the Course of his Ministry. By Nehemiah Walter, Pastor of the Church in Roxbury.

First Published by some of the Hearers in 1696, and now Re-printed at the Desire of their Successors.

*Boston: N. E. Re-printed by J. Draper, for D. Henchman.* 1754. (2), v, (1), 68 pp. 16mo. 377

Preface by S. Willard and Postscript by Mr. Prince.

## JOSEPH SEWALL, D. D.

### I.

#### HIS WRITINGS.

All Flesh is as Grass; but the Word of the Lord endureth for ever. A Sermon Preached at the Thursday Lecture in Boston, January 1st.

1740, 1. By Joseph Sewall, D. D. Pastor to a Church of Christ in Boston.

*Boston: printed and Sold by S. Kneeland and T. Green. 1741.*  
(4), 24 pp. 8vo. 378

Believers invited to Come to Christ As the Author of their Resurrection and Life, In a Sermon at the Lecture In Boston, N. E. Novemb.

10. 1715. By Joseph Sewall, A. M. Pastor of a Church in Boston.

*Boston: Printed by B. Green, for Samuel Gerrish. 1716. (2),*  
17 pp. 16mo. 379

A Caveat against Covetousness in a Sermon at the lecture in Boston, N. E. February 20, 17<sup>17</sup>. By Joseph Sewall, A. M. Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston.

*Boston: Printed by B. Green for Samuel Gerrish. 1718. (2),*  
22 pp. 16mo. 380

The Certainty & Suddenness of Christ's Coming to Judgment, Improved as a Motive to Diligence in Preparing for it. In a Sermon At the Lecture in Boston, October 6. 1715. By Joseph Sewall, A. M. Pastor of a Church in Boston.

*Boston: Printed by B. Green, for Samuel Gerrish. 1716. (2),*  
19 pp. 16mo. 381

The Character and Blessedness of the Upright. A Sermon Occasion'd by the Death of the Honourable Wait Winthrop, Esq; Who expired, Nov. 7. 1717. Ætatis 76. By Joseph Sewall, A. M. Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston.

*Boston: Printed by T. Crumpp, 1717. (2), 48 pp. 16mo. 382*

The Character and Reward of the faithful Ministers of Christ. A Sermon Preach'd at the South Church in Boston, On the Lord's Day after the Funeral Of the Reverend Mr. Alexander Cumming, Late Colleague Pastor of said Church. Who departed this Life, August 25. 1763. Ætat. 37. By Joseph Sewall, D. D. Pastor of said Church.

*Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland. 1763. (2), 20, (2) pp. 16mo. 383*

The last (2) pages contain "From the Massachusetts Gazette, &c. of September 1. 1763. By Another Hand."

Christ Victorious over the Powers of Darkness, by the Light of His preached Gospel. A Sermon Preached in Boston, December 12. 1733. At the Ordination of the Reverend Mr. Stephen Parker, Mr. Ebenezer Hinsdell, and Mr. Joseph Seccombe, Chosen by the Commissioners to the Honourable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, at Edinburgh, to carry the Gospel to the Aboriginal Natives on the borders of New England. By Joseph Sewall, D. D. Pastor to a Church of Christ in Boston. To which are annexed, A brief Account of the Honourable Society and of the present Mission, with an Abstract of the Ordination Prayers, and the Charge given by the Reverend Dr.

Colman. And the Right Hand of Fellowship given by the Reverend Mr. Prince.

*Boston: Printed and Sold by S. Kneeland & T. Green. MDCCXXXIII.*  
(6), 46 pp. 8vo. 384

Desires that Joshua's Resolution may be Revived: or, Excitations to the Constant and Diligent Exercise of Family-Religion: Being the Substance of Sundry Sermons. By Joseph Sewall, M. A. Pastor of a Church in Boston.

*Boston, in N. E. Printed by B. Green, for Samuel Gerrish. 1716.*  
(2), xii, 80 pp. 16mo. 385

The Duty, Character and Reward of Christ's faithful Servants. A Sermon Preached at the South-Church in Boston: On the Lord's-Day after the Funeral Of the Reverend Thomas Prince, Late Colleague-Pastor of said Church. Who departed this Life October 22<sup>d</sup> 1758. *Ætat. 72.* By Joseph Sewall, D. D. Pastor of said Church.

*Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland. MDCC[L]VIII. (2), 22, (2) pp.*  
8vo. 386

The 2 concluding pages contain "From the Boston-Gazette, &c. of October 30, 1758. By Another Hand."

The Duty of a People to Stand in Aw of God, And not Sin, When under His terrible Judgments. A Sermon Preach'd at the South Meeting House in Boston, the Evening after the Earthquake, Which was in the Night between the 29th & 30th of October, 1727. By Joseph Sewall, M. A. Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston.

*Boston: Printed for D. Henchman. 1727. (4), 24 pp. 16mo. 387*  
*Same.* The Second Edition.

*Boston: Printed for D. Henchman. 1727. (4), 28 pp. 16mo. 388*

The Duty of every Man To be Always Ready to Die. A Sermon Occasion'd by the very Sudden Deaths of Mr. Thomas Lewis, Aged 32, And of Mr. Samuel Hirst, Aged 22. On Saturday Jan. 14. 1726, 7. By Joseph Sewall, Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston.

*Boston in New-England: Printed by B. Green. 1727. (4), 23,*  
pp. 16mo. 389

The first and great Commandment, To love the Lord our God. A Sermon Preach'd at the Thursday-Lecture in Boston January 28. 1741, 2. By Joseph Sewall, D. D. Pastor to a Church of Christ in Boston.

*Boston, Printed by T. Fleet, for D. Henchman. 1742. 31 pp.*  
16mo. 390

God's People must Enquire of Him to bestow the Blessings promised in his Word. A Sermon Preach'd February 26. 1741, 2. On a Day of Prayer observed by the South Church and Congregation in Boston, to seek of God the more Plentiful Effusion of His Holy Spirit Upon

them and His People. By Joseph Sewall, D. D. One of the Pastors of said Church.

*Boston, Printed by D. Fowle for D. Henchman. 1742. 30 pp. 16mo. 391*

He that would keep God's Commandments Must Renounce the Society of Evil Doers. A Sermon preach'd at the publick Lecture in Boston, July 18th. 1728. After a Bloody and Mortal Duel. By Joseph Sewall, M. A. Pastor of A Church of Christ in Boston. With a Preface by the united Ministers of the said Town.

*Boston in New-England: Printed by B. Green, for Daniel Henchman. 1728. (2), vi, 28 pp. 8vo. 392*

The Holy Spirit Convincing the World of Sin, of Righteousness, and of Judgment, considered in Four Sermons: The two former delivered at the Tuesday-Evening Lecture in Brattle-Street, January 20th & March 3: The other at the Old-South-Church in Boston, April 17 & 26, 1741. By Joseph Sewall, D. D.

*Boston: Printed by J. Draper, for D. Henchman. 1741. (2), vi, 133 (1), pp. 16mo. 393*

The Holy Spirit the Gift of God Our Heavenly Father, To them that Ask Him. A Sermon Preach'd on a Day of Prayer with Fasting, Kept by the South Church in Boston, to Ask of God the Effusion of His Spirit on the Rising Generation, Novemb. 13th. 1722. By Joseph Sewall, A. M. Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston.

*Boston: Printed for D. Henchman. 1728. (4), 32 pp. 16mo. 394*

Jehovah is the King and Saviour of his People. A Sermon Preach'd at the Boston Lecture, August 17. 1727. Upon the awful Tidings of the Death of His late Majesty King George, June 11th. By Joseph Sewall, A. M. Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston.

*Boston in New-England: Printed by B. Green, Printer to His Honour the Lieut. Governour & Council; for Daniel Henchman. MDCCXXVII. (4), 25 pp. 16mo. 395*

The Lamb slain, worthy to be praised, as the most powerful, rich, wise, and strong. A Sermon preach'd at the Thursday-Lecture in Boston, July 11. 1745. By Joseph Sewall, D. D. Pastor of a Church in said Town.

*Boston: Printed for D. Henchman. 1745. 34 pp. 8vo. 396*

Nineveh's Repentance and Deliverance. A Sermon Preach'd before His Excellency the Governour The Honourable Council and Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, on a Day of Fasting and Prayer in the Council Chamber, Dec. 3. 1740. By Joseph Sewall, D. D. Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston.

*Boston in New England: Printed by J. Draper, Printer to His Excellency the Governour and Council, for D. Henchman. 1740. (4), 33 pp. 8vo. 397*



The Orphan's best Legacy: or, God's Parental Care of Bereaved Children: A Discourse Occasion'd By the Death of the Honourable Samuel Sewall Esq; Who departed this Life, Jan. 1. 1729, 30. *Ætatis* 78. By His Son, Joseph Sewall, Pastor of the South Church in Boston.

*Boston: Printed by B. Green: Sold by S. Gerrish and D. Henchman.* 1730. (4), 33, (1) pp. 8vo. 398

Precious Treasure in Earthen Vessels. A Sermon Occasion'd by the Death of the Reverend & Learned Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton, Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston, and Fellow of Harvard College; Who Expired Wednesday, Febr. 13th. 1716, 17. *Ætatis suæ* 45. By Joseph Sewall, A. M.

*Boston: Printed by B. Green, for Samuel Gerrish, and Daniel Henchman.* 1717. (2), vi, 36 pp. 16mo. 399

Repentance The sure Way to Escape Destruction. Two Sermons on Jer. 18. 7. 8. Preach'd December 21st. on a Publick Fast occasioned by the Earthquake the Night after the Lord's-Day Octob. 29th. And on the Lord's-Day December 24th. 1727. By Joseph Sewall, M. A. Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston.

*Boston: Printed for D. Henchman.* 1727. (4), 55 pp. 16mo. 400

Rulers must be Just, Ruling In the Fear of God. A Sermon Preach'd before the Honourable, The Lieutenant Governour, the Council & Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England, May 27. 1724. Being the Day for the Election of His Majesty's Council. By Joseph Sewall, Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston.

*Boston in N. E. Printed by B. Green, Printer to His Honour the Lieut. Governour and Council. Sold by Samuel Gerrish,* 1724. (2), 69 pp. 16mo. 401

The second Commandment like to the first; Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self. A Sermon Preach'd at the Thursday Lecture in Boston, May 6. 1742. By Joseph Sewall, D. D. Pastor to a Church of Christ in Boston.

*Boston: Printed by Tho. Fleet, for D. Henchman.* 1742. 30 pp. 8vo. 402

A Sermon preached at the Thursday-Lecture in Boston, September 16, 1762. Before the Great and General Court Of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England. On the Joyful News of the Reduction of the Havannah. By Joseph Sewall, D. D. Colleague Pastor of the South Church in said Town.

*Boston; New England: Printed by John Draper, printer to His Excellency the Governor, and the Honourable His Majesty's Council: and, By Edes and Gill, Printers to the Honourable House of Representatives.* 1762. 33 pp. 8vo. 403

Sober-Mindedness Explain'd as a necessary Part of Early Piety. By Mr. Joseph Sewall. Boston-Lecture, April 13. 1721. 26 pp.

(*In A Course of Sermons on Early Piety. By the Eight Ministers who carry on the Thursday-Lecture in Boston. Boston, 1721.*) 404

A tender Heart pleasing to God and profitable to Men. A Sermon Preached at the South-Church in Boston: On the Lord's-Day after the Death of The Honourable Josiah Willard, Esq.; Secretary of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay. Who departed this Life, December 6. 1756. *Æt.* 76. By Joseph Sewall, D. D. A Pastor of said Church.

*Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland. 1756. (4), 22 pp. Sm. 8vo. 405*

The Thirsty invited to come, and take the Waters of Life freely. A Sermon Preached on the Friday Evening-Lecture at the South Meeting-House in Boston, March 5. 1741, 2. By Joseph Sewall, D. D.

*Boston, Printed and sold by Rogers & Fowle. 1742. 24, 3 pp. 8vo. 406*

When the Godly cease, and Faithful fail; we must seek to God for Help. A Sermon, Preach'd at Cambridge, Upon the Death of the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth, President of Harvard College. Who Deceas'd, March 16th. 1736, 7. *Ætatis suæ* 68. By Joseph Sewall, D. D. Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston.

*Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland & T. Green, for D. Henchman. MDCCXXXVII. (2), 32 pp. 8vo. 407*

## II.

## WORKS PREFACED BY DR. SEWALL.

All Power in Heaven, And in Earth Given unto Christ. A Sermon Preached at the Public Lecture in Boston, Jan. 29<sup>th</sup> 1756. By Ebenezer Pemberton, A. M. Pastor of a Church in Boston. With a Preface by the Reverend Dr. Sewall, Mr. Prince, and Mr. Foxcroft.

*Boston: Printed and Sold by D. Fowle and Z. Fowle. 1756. (2), iv, 30, (1) pp. 8vo. 408*

The Preface occupies pp. i-iv.

Brief Directions to a Young Scholar, Designing the Ministry, for the Study of Divinity. By the Reverend and Learned Samuel Willard, M. A. Late Pastor of the South-Church in Boston, and Vice-President of Harvard College in Cambridge in New-England.

*Boston: Printed by J. Draper, for T. Hancock. 1735. (2), iv, 7 pp. 16mo. 409*

Preface pp. i-iv, is by Sewall and Prince.

A Faithful Narrative of The Proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Council Convened at Salem in 1734. Occasioned By the scandalous Divisions in the first Church in that Town [etc.].

*Boston: Printed for D. Henchman. 1735. (2), vi, 94 pp. 12mo. 410*

Signed by Dr. Sewall and 17 others. The second signer was Thomas Prince.

The Good Government of Christian Families Recommended : as that which will contribute greatly to their Peace and Happiness. To which is added, A Discourse on Secret Prayer. By the late Reverend William Homes, A. M.

*Boston : Printed for D. Henchman. 1747. (2), 164 pp. 16mo. 411*

"The Preface," pp. 1-10, is biographical, and signed "Joseph Sewall. Thomas Prince." The "Discourse" has a separate title-page.

How God wills the Salvation of all Men ; and their coming to the Knowledge of the Truth, as the Means thereof. Illustrated in a Sermon from I Tim. ii. 4. Preached in Boston, March 27. 1753. at the Ordination of the Rev. Mr. Stephen Badger, as a Missionary with a special Reference to the Indians at Natick. By Nathanael Appleton, A. M. Pastor of the First church in Cambridge. To which are annexed, The Charge, by the Reverend Dr. Sewall : [etc.].

*Boston : Printed and Sold by S. Kneeland. 1753. (2), 34 pp. 8vo. 412*

One chosen of God and called to the Work of the Ministry, willingly offering Himself. A Sermon Preached at the Ordination Of the Reverend Mr. Samuel Cooper, To the Pastoral Office in the Church of Christ in Brattle-street, Boston, May 21. 1746. By Benjamin Colman, D. D. To which are added, The Charge given by the Rev. Dr. Sewall : and The right Hand of Fellowship by the Rev. Mr. Prince.

*Boston : Printed by Rogers and Fowle for J. Edwards. MDCCLVI. 33 pp. 8vo. 413*

The charge by Dr. Sewall occupies pp. 28-30.

A Practical Discourse Concerning the Choice Benefit of Communion with God in His House. By Joshua Moody, Late Minister of the Gospel.

*Boston : Printed for D. Henchman. 1746. (2), 6, 88 pp. 16mo. 414*

Preface by Sewall, Prince, and Webb, pp. 1-6.

Preface to Edwards, J. An Humble Attempt. *See full title under Thomas Prince. See No. 360. 415*

Preface to A Compleat Body of Divinity. *See Willard, S. 416*

### III.

#### HAVING REFERENCE TO DR. SEWALL.

[Biographical Sketch.]

(*In* Sprague, W. B. Annals of the American Pulpit, vol. 1, pp. 278-280.) *417*

A Discourse had By the late Reverend and Learned Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton, Previous to the Ordination Of the Reverend Mr. Joseph Sewall, At Boston, September 16. 1713. Affirming and proving the Validity of Presbyterial Ordination.

*Boston: Printed by J. Franklin, for S. Gerrish.* 1718. (4),  
15 pp. 16mo. 418

Forms part of "A sermon delivered by Thomas Prince," etc. See No. 324.

A Discourse occasioned by the Death of the Reverend Dr. Joseph Sewall, Late colleague Pastor of the South-Church in Boston: who departed this Life, On the Evening of June 27. 1769. In the 81<sup>st</sup> year of his age. Delivered the Lord's-day after his Decease. By Charles Chauncy, D. D. pastor of the First Church in Boston.

*Boston: Printed and Sold by Kneeland and Adams.* MDCCLXIX.  
40 pp. 8vo. 419

Pages 35-40 contain an "Appendix. From the Boston Evening-Post of July 3d. 1769."

Joseph Sewall. By Rev. Henry M. Dexter. With Portrait.

(*In* The Congregational Quarterly, vol. 19, July, 1863, pp. 201-  
205.) 420

## SAMUEL HORATIO STEARNS.

### I.

#### HIS WRITINGS.

Address and Select Discourses of Rev. Samuel H. Stearns. New edition.

*Boston: James Munroe and Company.* 1846. IV, 265 pp.  
12mo. 421

Life and Select Discourses of Rev. Samuel H. Stearns.

*Boston: Published by Josiah A. Stearns, and Whipple & Damrell.* 1838. 420 pp. 8vo. 422

The Life occupies pp. 9-192. The discourses occupy pp. 193-420. They consist of an Address delivered before the Porter Rhetorical Society, at Andover, September, 1828; Sermons, "of which the first two were preached in the Old South Church, the first Sabbath after his ordination. The third discourse is the last which he preached to his people,—the last that he ever preached. The fourth is a fragment, intended as a farewell sermon. The remaining ten are of a miscellaneous nature."

### II.

#### HAVING REFERENCE TO MR. STEARNS.

[Biographical Sketch.]

(*In* Sprague, W. B. Annals of the American Pulpit, vol. 2, pp. 718-  
724.) 423

The Life and Character of Rev. Samuel H. Stearns. Second Edition.

*Boston: J. A. Stearns.* 1839. 252 pp. 12mo. 424

"The first edition of this memoir was published in connection with a few select discourses. The volume now presented contains the Life and Character, with some slight emendations, and with several new letters written by Mr. S., in Europe." *Preface.* See No. 422.



Life of Rev. Samuel H. Stearns, late Minister of the Old South Church in Boston. New [third] edition.

*Boston: James Munroe and Company. 1846. viii, 244 pp. 12mo. 425*

By W. A. Stearns. This edition is identical in text with the second edition published in 1830. No. 424.

Order of Exercises at the Ordination of Mr. Samuel H. Stearns, as Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston. April 16, 1834. Broadside. 4to. 426

## THOMAS THACHER.

### I.

#### HIS WRITINGS.

According to Dr. Wisner, Mr. Thacher prepared a catechism for children, and a Hebrew lexicon. These cannot be traced.

A Brief Rule To guide the Common-People of New-England How to order themselves and theirs in the Small pocks, or Measels.

*Boston: Printed and sold by John Foster. 1677. Broadside. 427*

The original is in the Massachusetts Historical Society Library, and Dr. S. A. Green considers it the earliest American medical publication. In 1874 three copies were made by the heliotype process, two of which went to the Surgeon-general's office, Washington, and the other is kept at the Boston Public Library.

*Same.* [2d edition.] Boston, 1702. 8 pp. 8vo. 428

A Fast of God's chusing, Plainly opened, For the help of those poor in spirit, whose hearts are set to seek the Lord their God in New-England, in the solemn Ordinance of a Fast. Wherein is shewed 1. The nature of such a Fast. 2. The Testimony God will give thereunto of his gracious acceptation. 3. The special Seasons wherein God will bear witness to such A Fast. 4. Some helps to Faith that it shall be so. 5. Why such a Fast is so acceptable and successfull. 6. How much this concerns Gods people in New-England. Preached on a Fast called by publick Authority, On 26. 1. 74. By Thomas Thacher, Pastor of a Church in Boston.

*Boston, Printed by John Foster, 1678. (6), 25 pp. 8vo. 429*

Letter [to the Reverend & much esteemed Elders of the churches, Mr. Wilson, Sen., Mr. Norton, Mr. Mather, Mr. Eliot, Mr. Sims, Mr. Tomson, these present].

(In Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections. 5th series, vol. 1, pp. 375-377. Boston, 1871.) 430

Letter. 16. 8. 1676.

(In New England Historical and Genealogical Register. Vol. 8, pp. 177, 178. Boston, 1854.) 431

Letter to his son Peter, giving news of King Philip's war, etc.

## II.

PREFACED BY MR. THACHER.

David serving his Generation, or A Discovrse Wherein is shewed that the great Care and Endeavour of every Christian ought to be, that he may be Serviceable unto God and to the present Generation, Delivered in a Sermon preached to the General Court of the Colony of New-Plimouth in New-England, on the 3d Day of June 1674. Being the Day of Election there. By Samuel Arnold Teacher of the Church of Christ at Marshfield in New England.

*Cambridge, printed by Samuel Green.* 1674. (4), 18 pp. Sm.  
4to. 432

Pp. (3, 4) contain To the reader, signed by Thomas Walley and Thomas Thacher, on Public Spirit.

Eye-Salve, Or a Watch-Word From Christ unto his Churches: Especially those within the Colony of the Massachusetts in New-England, To take heed of Apostacy [etc.]. By Thomas Shepard, Teacher of the Church of Christ in Charlestown; who was appointed by the Magistrates, to Preach on the day of Election at Boston, May 15. 1672.

*Cambridge, printed by Samuel Green.* 1673. (4), 53 pp. Sm.  
4to. 433

An address headed "Christian Reader," pp. 2, is signed "Thomas Thacher."

New-Englands Memoriall: or A brief Relation of the most Memorable Remarkable Passages of the Providence of God, manifested to the Planters of New-England in America; With special Reference to the first Colony thereof, called New-Plimouth. By Nathaniel Morton, Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New-Plymouth.

*Cambridge: Printed by S. G. and M. J. for John Usher of Boston.*  
1669. (12), 198, (10) pp. Sm. 4°. 434

An Address "To the Reader," signed "John Higginson. Thomas Thacher." The succeeding editions have the Address "To the Reader."

## III.

HAVING REFERENCE TO MR. THACHER.

[Biographical Sketch.]

(*In* Sprague, W. B. *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. 1, pp. 126-129.) 435

The life of Mr. Thomas Thacher.

(*In* Mather, Cotton. *Magnalia Christiana Americana: or, the Ecclesiastical History of New-England*. Book iii. chap. xxvi. pp. 148-153.) 436

## SAMUEL WILLARD.

## I.

## HIS WRITINGS.

Address of the Congregations in N. E. to James II. 1687.

(*In* Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections. 4th series, vol. 8, page 698. *Boston.*) 437

This Address is in the handwriting of Mr. Willard.

All Plots against God and his People Detected and Defeated, as it was delivered in a Sermon At a Fast kept by the First gathered church in Boston, Jan. 25. 1682. No title page. 163-197 pp. 438

Printed with the Child's Portion. *See* No. 451.

The Barren Fig Trees Doom. Or, A Brief Discourse wherein is set forth the woful Danger of all who abide Unfruitful under Gospel-Priviledges and Gods Husbandry. Being the Substance of Sixteen Sermons Preached on Christ's Parable of the Fig-Tree. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston, printed by Benjamin Harris, and John Allen, 1691. (6), 300, pp. 16mo.* 439

The Best Priviledge. Or, A Sermon wherein the Great advantage of enjoying the Oracles of God is displayed, and the Duty of such as have them is urged. Preached on the Lecture in Boston, on June 19th. 1701. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston, printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for Benjamin Eliot. 1701. (2), 30 pp. 16mo.* 440

Brief Directions to a Young Scholar, Designing the Ministry, for the Study of Divinity. By the Reverend and Learned Samuel Willard, M. A. Pastor of the South-Church in Boston, and Vice-President of Harvard-College in Cambridge in New-England.

*Boston: Printed by J. Draper, for T. Hancock, 1735. (2), iv, 7 pp. 16mo.* 441

A Brief Discourse Concerning that Ceremony of Laying the Hand on the Bible in Swearing. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church at Boston in New-England.

*London, Printed by J. A. in the Year 1689. (4), 8 pp. Sm. 4to.* 442

*Same. (Reprinted in The Andros Tracts, vol. 1, pp. 179-191. Boston: Published by the Prince Society. 1868.)* 443

The reprint has bibliographical and historical notes by William H. Whitmore.

A Brief Discourse of Justification. Wherein This Doctrine is plainly laid down according to the Scriptures: As it was Delivered in several

Sermons on this Subject. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston, printed by S. G. for Samuel Phillips.* 1686. (6), 168 pp. 16mo. 444

A Brief Reply to Mr. George Kieth, (*sic*) in Answer To a Script of his, Entitled, A Refutation of a Dangerous and Hurtfull Opinion, Maintained by Mr. Samuel Willard, &c. [*Anonymous.*]

*Boston: Printed and sold by Samuel Phillips.* 1703. (2), 66 pp. 16mo. 445

A briefe Account of a strange & unusuall Providence of God, be-fallen to Elizabeth Knap of Groton.

(*In Massachusetts Historical Society. Collections. 4th ser. vol. 8, pp. 555-570. Boston, 1868.*) 446

*In 1671-1672.*

A briefe Account of a strange & unusuall Providence of God be-fallen to Elizabeth Knap of Groton, p me Sam<sup>el</sup>. Willard.

(*In Green, S. A. Groton in the witchcraft times, pp. 7-21. Groton, 1883.*) 447

Reprinted from the MS. in the Prince Library.

Brotherly Love Described and Directed, As It was Casuistically handled in Two Sermons, Preached on the Lecture in Boston, in the year 1701.

(*In his The Christians Exercise By Satans Temptations, pp. 217-268. Boston in N. E. 1701.*) 448

The Character Of a good Ruler. As it was Recommended in a Sermon Preached before his Excellency the Governour, and the Honourable Counsellors, and Assembly of the Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England. On May 30. 1694. Which was the Day for Election of Counsellors for that Province. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston, Printed by Benjamin Harris, for Michael Perry.* 1694. (6), 31 pp. 16mo. 449

The Checkered State of the Gospel Church. Being The Substance of a Sermon prepared for, and in part Preached on September 18th. 1701. Being a Day of Publick Fasting and Prayer. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston in New-England: Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for Samuel Sewall, junior.* 1701. 64 pp. 16mo. 450

The Child's Portion: Or the unseen Glory of the Children of God, Asserted, and proved: Together with several other sermons Occasionally Preached, and now published. By Samuel Willard Teacher of a Church in Boston, New-England.

*Boston, in New-England, Printed by Samuel Green, and are to be sold by Samuel Phillips.* 1684. (6), 144 pp. followed by pp. 145-162



with independent title, "The Righteous Man's Death A Presage of evil approaching: A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of Major Thomas Savage, Esq; Preached Febr. 19. 1681. By Samuel Willard Teacher of a Church in Boston, N.-E. *Boston in New-England, printed by Samuel Green*, 1684; pp. 163-197, "The only sure way to prevent threatned Calamity: as it was delivered in a Sermon, Preached at the Court of elecion on May 24. 1682; pp. 199-227. "All Plots against God and his People Detected and Defeated, as it was delivered in a Sermon At a Fast kept by the First gathered Church in Boston, Jan. 25. 1682. 451

The Christians Exercise By Satans Temptations: Or, An Essay to discover the methods which this Adversary useth to Tempt the Children of God; and to direct them how to escape the mischief thereof. Being the Substance of several Sermons Preached on that Subject. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston in N. E. Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for Benjamin Eliot.* 1701. (4), 268 pp. 16mo. 452

Pages 217-268 contain "Brotherly Love Described and Directed, as It was Casuistically handled in Two Sermons, Preached on the Lecture in Boston, 1701."

Haven in his Bibliography of ante-Revolutionary publications, in Thomas's History of Printing, cites an edition of 1721.

A Compleat Body of Divinity in Two Hundred and Fifty Expository Lectures on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism Wherein The Doctrines of the Christian Religion are unfolded, their Truth confirm'd, their Excellence display'd, their Usefulness improv'd; contrary Errors & Vices refuted & expos'd, Objections answer'd, Controversies settled, Cases of Conscience resolv'd; and a great Light thereby reflected on the present Age. By the Reverend & Learned Samuel Willard, Late Pastor of the South Church in Boston, and Vice-President of Harvard College in Cambridge, in New-England. Prefac'd by the Pastors of the same Church.

*Boston in New England: Printed by B. Green and S. Kneeland for B. Eliot and D. Henchman.* MDCCXXVI. (2), iv, 3, (3), 1-158, 177-666, 581-914 (1) pp. Portrait. F°. 453

"The Preface," pp. i-iv, is signed "Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince." Pp. 1-3 contain "The author's character extracted out of the funeral sermon on his lamented death, by the late Reverend Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton his colleague"; pp. (1-3) "An exact list of the subscribers." The last page contains "A catalogue of the author's works published in his life-time." "The largest [work] that was ever Printed Here, and the first of Divinity in a Folio Volumn." — *Preface*. "By reason of several Presses being made use of in this Large Work, it has fallen out (as is frequent in such cases) that the Pages for a considerable way, are numbered over again." Some copies lack the portrait. The original plate of the portrait is in the custody of the Secretary of State of Massachusetts, the reverse having been used by Paul Revere for engraving colonial currency. Dr. S. A. Green had some copies struck off from this plate.

Covenant-Keeping The Way to Blessedness ; Or, A brief Discourse wherein is shown the Connexion which there is between the Promise, on God's Part, and Duty, on Our Part, in the Covenant of Grace : As it was Delivered in Several Sermons Preached in Order to Solemn Renewing of Covenant. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston in New-England.

*Boston, in New England, Printed by James Glen, for S. Sewall.*  
1682. (9), 156, (6) pp. 16mo. 454

Pp. (9) contain "To the reader," by Increase Mather. Page 129 is a second title-page : "The Necessity of Sincerity, in renewing Covenant : Opened and urged in a Sermon Preached to the Third gathered church in Boston New-England : June 29, 1680. See No. 1.

The Danger of Taking God's Name in Vain. As it was Delivered in a Sermon. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston, Printed by Benjamin Harris, and John Allen.* 1691.  
(2), 30 pp. 16mo. 455

The Doctrine of the Covenant of Redemption. Wherein is laid the Foundation of all our Hopes and Happiness. Briefly Opened and Improved. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston, Printed by Benj. Harris.* 1693. (8), 165 pp. 16mo. 456

An address "To the Reader," pp. 7, is signed "Increase Mather."

The Duty of a People that have Renewed their Covenant with God. Opened and Urged in A Sermon Preached to the second Church in Boston in New-England, March 17. 16<sup>70</sup>/<sub>80</sub>, after that Church had explicitly and most solemnly renewed the Ingagement of themselves to God, and one to another. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston in New-England.

*Boston, printed by John Foster.* 1680. (2), 13 pp. Sm. 4to. 457

Evangelical Perfection, Or How far the Gospel requires Believers to Aspire after being compleatly Perfect. As it was Delivered on A Lecture, at Boston June 10th. 1694. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston. (*In his* The Fountain Opened. Pp. 167-208. *Boston, 1700.*) 458

The Fear of an Oath. Or, Some Cautions to be used about Swearing, If we would approve our selves Truly Godly. As it was Discoursed in A Sermon, Preached at Boston, on the Lecture ; January 30, 1700, 1. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston, in N. E. Printed for Nicholas Boone.* 1701. 29 pp. 16mo. 459

The Fiery Tryal no strange thing ; Delivered in a Sermon Preached at Charlstown, February 15. 1681. Being a Day of Humiliation : By Samuel Willard Teacher of a Church in Boston in New England.

*Boston in New England : Printed for Samuel Sewall.* 1682. (4), 19, (1) pp. Sm. 4to. 460

The last page is taken up with an account of floods in Holland.

The Fountain Opened : Or, The Great Gospel Priviledge of having Christ exhibited to Sinfull Men. Wherein Also is proved that there shall be a National Calling of the Jews, From Zech. XIII. 1. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston in New-England: Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for Samuel Sewall junior.* 1700. (4), 208, (2) pp. 16mo. 461

Pp. 167-208 contain his "Evangelical Perfection."

The Fountain Opened : Or, The Admirable Blessings plentifully to be Dispensed at the National Conversion of the Jews From Zech. XIII. 1. By the late Reverend and Learned Samuel Willard, M. A. Teacher of a Church in Boston, N. E. and Vice-President of Harvard College. The Second Edition.

*Boston: Printed by B. Green.* 1722. (2), 40 pp. 16mo. 462

See note to No. 463.

The Fountain Opened : Or, The Admirable Blessings plentifully to be Dispensed at the National Conversion of the Jews. By the late Reverend & Learned Samuel Willard, M. A. Teacher of a Church in Boston, N. E. and Vice-President of Harvard College. The Third Edition.

[*Boston, printed by Bartholomew Green: and sold by Benjamin Eliot, Samuel Gerrish & Daniel Henchman.* 1727.] 24 (1) pp.

No title page. Sm. 4to. 463

Pp. 16-24 contain Appendix by Samuel Sewall, who prefaces it with the following "The foregoing sermon, was with many others on the same text published in the year 1700. And having been for some time out of print; the importance and seasonableness of the subject prevail'd with me to reprint it." It is appended to Sewall's "Phænomena quædam Apocalyptica ad aspectum Novi orbis configurata."

"The first edition contains six Doctrines, apparently so many separate sermons on the same text, Zech. XIII. 1. The second edition contains only five pages of introductory matter, the fifth Doctrine, and appendix by Samuel Sewall, pp. 31-40. The third edition contains the same matter, the appendix filling pages 16-24."

The Heart Garrisoned Or, The Wisdome, and Care of the Spiritual Souldier above all things to safeguard his Heart. Delivered in a Sermon which was Preached to the Honoured Gentlemen of the Artillery Company, on the Day of their Election, at Boston in New-England June 5, 1676. By Mr. Samuel Willard.

*Cambridge, Printed by Samuel Green.* 1676. (2), 21 pp. Sm. 4to. 464

Heavenly Merchandize ; Or The Purchasing of Truth Recommended and the Selling of it Disswaded. As it was Delivered in Several Sermons Upon Prov. 23. 23. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston, in New-England; Printed by Samuel Green, and are to be sold by Joseph Brunning.* 1686. (6), 171 pp. 16mo. 465

The High Esteem Which God hath of the Death of his Saints. As it was Delivered in A Sermon Preached October 7. 1683. Occasioned by the Death of the Worshipful John Hull Esq: Who Deceased October 1. 1683. By Samuel Willard Teacher to a Church in Boston.

*Boston in New-England Printed by Samuel Green for Samuel Sewall: 1683. (2), 26 pp. Sm. 4to.* 466

Verses "In obitum Johannis Hull Armigeri," pp. 19-20, are signed "Elijah Corlet."

Impenitent Sinners Warned of their Misery and Summoned to Judgment. Delivered in Two Sermons at Boston, Nov. 6 and 10. 1698. Occasioned by the Amazing Instance of a Miserable creature who stood condemned for Murdering her Infant, . . .

*Boston, printed by B. Green and J. Allen. 1698. (8), 48 pp. 16mo.* 467

Israel's True Safety: Offered in a Sermon, Before His Excellency, the Honourable Council, and Representatives, of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England, On March 15th. 1704. Being a Day Set a part for Solemn Fasting and Prayer. By Samuel Willard.

*Boston: printed by B. Green, for Samuel Phillips. 1704. (2), 34 pp. 16mo.* 468

The Just Man's Prerogative. A Sermon Preached Privately, Sept. 27. 1706. On a Solemn Occasion; For the Consolation of a Sorrowful Family, Mourning over the Immature Death, of a Pious Son, viz. Mr. Simeon Stoddard, who was found Barbarously Murdered, in Chelsea-Fields near London, May 14. 1706. By S. Willard.

*Boston N. E. Printed by B. Green. Sold by Nicholas Boone. 1706. (2), 28 pp. 16mo.* 469

Latin Epitaph on the Monument of the Reverend John Sherman, of Watertown, who died in August, 1685.

(Printed in C. Francis's History of Watertown, pp. 138, 139, and W. T. Harris's Watertown Epitaphs, page 48.) 470

The Law Established by the Gospel Or, A Brief Discourse, wherein is Asserted and Declared, the Great Honour which is put upon the Law of God, in the Gospel way of Justification by Faith alone. Being The Substance of A Sermon Preached on the Lecture in Boston, September 20. 1694. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church there.

*Boston, in New-England Printed by Bartholomew Green, for Michael Perry. 1694. 39 pp. 16mo.* 471

Love's Pedigree. Or A Discourse shewing the Grace of Love in a Believer to be of A Divine Original. Delivered in a Sermon Preached at the Lecture in Boston. Febr. 29. <sup>1699</sup>/<sub>1700</sub>. By S. Willard, Teacher of a Church there.

*Boston in N. E. Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen. Sold by Benjamin Eliot. 1700. 28 pp. 16mo.* 472



The Man of War. A Sermon Preached to the Artillery Company at Boston, on June 5. 1699. Being the Anniversary day for their Election Of Officers. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston, printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for Benjamin Eliot.*  
1699. 30 pp. 16mo. 473

Some copies have Michael Perry in place of Benjamin Eliot.

Mercy Magnified on a Penitent Prodigal, Or A Brief Discourse, wherein Christ's Parable of the Lost Son found, is Opened and Applied. As it was Delivered in sundry Sermons. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston in New-England.

*Boston in New-England. Printed by Samuel Green, for Samuel Philips.* 1684. (6), 391, (1) pp. 16mo. 474

Morality Not to be Relied on for Life. Or. A Brief Discourse, discovering the One Thing Wanting, which leaves the legalist Short of Life Eternal. Delivered in a Sermon on the Lecture in Boston, May 23d. 1700. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston, in N. E. printed by B. Green, & J. Allen, for Benjamin Eliot.* 1700. 28 pp. 16mo. 475

The Mourners Cordial Against Excessive Sorrow Discovering what Grounds of Hope God's People have concerning their Dead Friends. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston. Printed by Benjamin Harris, and John Allen.* 1691. 4, 137 pp. 16mo. 476

The Necessity of Sincerity, in renewing Covenant: Opened and urged in a Sermon Preached to the Third gathered Church in Boston. New England: June 29. 1680. On the Day wherein they Solemnly renewed Covenant. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of that Church.

*Boston in New England Printed by James Glen, for Samuel Sewall,* 1682. 131-150 (6) pp. Sm. 8vo. 477

Forms part of the "Covenant-Keeping The Way to Blessedness." Pp. (1-6) contain "The church renewed covenant as followeth."

Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam. Or Brief Animadversions Upon the New-England Anabaptists late Fallacious Narrative; Wherein the Notorious Mistakes and Falshoods by them Published, are Detected. By Samuel Willard Teacher of a Church in Boston in New-England.

*Boston in New-England, Printed by S. Green, upon Assignment of S. Sewall. And are to be sold by Sam. Philips.* 1681. (8), 27 pp. Sm. 4to. 478

The only sure way to prevent threatned Calamity: as it was delivered in a Sermon, preached at the court of elecion [*sic*], May 24. 1682.

[*Boston, 1684.*] 163-197 pp. No title page. 16mo. 479

Forms part of "The Child's Portion."

The Peril of the Times Displayed. Or The Danger of Mens taking up with a Form of Godliness, But Denying the Power of it. Being the Substance of several Sermons Preached: By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston, N. E.

*Boston, printed by B. Green & J. Allen. Sold by Benjamin Eliot.*  
1700. 168 pp. 16mo. 480

The address "To the Reader," is signed "Increase Mather."

Prognosticks of Impending Calamities. Delivered in a Sermon Preached on the Lecture at Boston, July 17. 1701. Occasioned by the Death of the Truly Honourable, William Stoughton, Esq. Lieutenant Governour, &c. of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New-England. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston: Printed by B. Green, & J. Allen, for Nicholas Boone.*  
1701. 32 pp. 16mo. 481

Promise-Keeping A Great Duty. As it was Delivered in A Sermon. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston, Printed by Benjamin Harris, and John Allen.* 1691. (2),  
28 pp. 16mo. 482

Reformation The Great Duty of an Afflicted People. Setting forth The SIN and Danger there is in Neglecting of it, under the Continued and Repeated Judgments of God. Being the Substance of what was Preached on a Solemn Day of Humiliation kept by the Third Gathered Church in Boston, August. 23d. 1694. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of the said Church.

*Boston in New-England, Printed and Sold by Bartholomew Green,*  
1694. 76 pp. 16mo. 483

A Remedy against Despair. Or, A Brief Discourse wherein Great Sinners are Encouraged, and Directed how to improve the consideration of the Greatness of their Sins in Praying to God for Pardon. Being the Substance of Two Sermons Preached at the Lecture in Boston, 1699. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church there.

*Boston, printed by B. Green, and J. Allen. Sold by S. Philips.*  
1700. 70 pp. 32mo. 484

Rules For the Discerning Of the Present Times. Recommended To the People of God, in New-England. In a Sermon Preached on the Lecture in Boston; November 27th. 1692. By Samuel Willard.

*Boston, printed by Benjamin Harris, 1693. (2), 30 pp. 16mo. 485*

A Sermon Preached upon Ezek. 22. 30, 31. Occasioned by the Death of the much honoured John Leveret, Esq; Governour of the Colony of the Massachusetts. N. E. By S. W. Teacher of the South Church in Boston.

*Boston; Printed by John Foster, in the year 1679. (2), 13 pp.*  
Sm. 4to. 486

The Sinfulness of Worshipping God With Men's Institutions As

it was Delivered in a Sermon. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

[*Boston*], printed by Benjamin Harris, and John Allen. 1691. (2), 29 pp. 16mo. 487

Some Brief Sacramental Meditations Preparatory for Communion at the Great Ordinance of the Supper. By the late Reverend Samuel Willard, M. A. Vice-President of Harvard-College, and Pastor of a Church in Boston.

*Boston in New-England: printed by B. Green for Benjamin Eliot.* 1711. (2), vi, 257, (5) pp. Sm. 8vo. 488

Pp. i-vi, contain "To the Reader," by Ebenezer Pemberton.

Some Brief Sacramental Meditations Preparatory for Communion at the Great Ordinance of the Supper. By the late Reverend Samuel Willard, M. A. Vice-President of Harvard-College, and Pastor of a Church in Boston.

The Second Edition.

*Boston: printed by Green, Bushell, and Allen, for D. Henchman.* 1743. (2), vi, 216, (2) pp. 16mo. 489

Some Miscellany Observations On our present Debates respecting Witchcrafts, in a Dialogue Between S. & B. By P. E. and J. A.

*Philadelphia, Printed by William Bradford for Hezekiah Usher.* 1692. 16 pp. Sm. 4to. 490

"This was written by Rev. Mr. Willard." — T. Prince's manuscript catalogue.

Same. (*Reprinted in Congregationalist Quarterly*, vol. xi., July, 1869, pp. 400-415.) 491

Same. *Boston*: "Congregational Quarterly," Reprint No. 1. 1869. 24 pp. Sm. 4to. 492

100 copies printed.

Spiritual Desertions Discovered and Remedied. Being The Substance of divers Sermons Preached for the help of dark Souls. labouring under Divine withdrawals. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston in New England, printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for Michael Perry and Benjamin Eliot.* 1699. 144 pp. 24mo. 493

Spiritual Desertions Discovered and Remedied.

*Boston, 1713.* 160 pp. 8vo. 494

Reprint of 1699 edition.

Same. *Boston, 1741.* 495

Haven gives these Titles, but we have been unable to see the books.

A Thanksgiving Sermon, Preach'd at Boston in New-England, December, 1705. On the Return of a Gentleman from his Travels. By the Reverend Samuel Willard, Pastor of the South Church in Boston, and Vice-President of Harvard-Colledge in Cambridge.

*London, printed for Ralph Smith.* 1709. 16 pp. 8vo. 496

The Truly Blessed Man : Or, The Way to be Happy here, and For Ever: Being the Substance of Divers Sermons Preached on Psalm xxxii. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston. N. E.

*Boston in N. E. Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for Michael Perry.* 1700. 652, (3) pp. 12mo. 497

Useful Instructions for a professing People in Times of great Security and Degeneracy: Delivered in several Sermons on Solemn Occasions: By Mr. Samuel Willard Pastor of the Church of Christ at Groton.

*Cambridge: printed by Samuel Green.* 1673. (4), 80 pp. Sm. 4to. 498

Only three copies of this are known to be in existence. This title was taken from Dr. Samuel A. Green's copy.

Walking with God, The Great Duty and Priviledge Of true Christians. In Two Sermons Preached on the Lecture, in the year 1700. By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in Boston.

*Boston: printed by B. Green, and J. Allen. Sold by Benjamin Eliot.* 1701. 56 pp. 16mo. 499

## II.

## HAVING CONTRIBUTIONS OR PREFACED BY MR. WILLARD.

The Answer of Several Ministers In and near Boston, To that Case of Conscience, Whether it is Lawful for a Man to Marry his Wives own Sister?

*Boston in N. E., Printed, and Sold by Bartholomew Green.* 1695. 8, (1) pp. 8vo. 500

*Same. Boston: Reprinted by B. Green.* 1711. 8 pp. 8vo. 501

The only title is a half-title on first page. Samuel Willard is one of the eight ministers signing the work.

An Answer to George Keith's Libel. Against A Catechism published, by Francis Makemie. To which is Added, by way of Postscript A brief Narrative of a Late Difference among the Quakers, begun at Philadelphia.

*Boston, printed by Benjamin Harris.* MDCXCIII. (12), 103 pp. 16mo. 502

Address to the "Christian Reader" is signed "Increase Mather, James Allen, Samuel Willard, John Baily, Cotton Mather."

Late Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions, Clearly Manifesting, Not only that there are Witches, but that Good Men (as well as others) may possibly have their Lives shortned by such evil Instruments of Satan. Written by Cotton Mather. The Second Impression. Recommended by the Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter, and by the Ministers of Boston and Charlestown in New England.



*London, Printed for Tho. Parkhurst. 1691. (22), 144 pp.*  
16mo. 503

Samuel Willard is one of the signers of "To the reader," pp. (8)-(12).  
For the First Impression, See No. 504.

Memorable Providences, Relating to Witchcrafts And Possessions.  
A Faithful Account of many Wonderful and Surprising Things, that  
have befallen several Bewitched and Possessed Persons in New-  
England. . . . Written By Cotton Mather, Minister of the Gospel.  
And Recommended by the Ministers of Boston and Charleston.

*Printed at Boston in N. England by R. P. 1689. Sold by Joseph  
Brunning. (8), 75, 21, 41, 14 pp. 16mo.* 504

"To the Reader," (4) pp. signed by Samuel Willard among others.

Our Dying Saviour's Legacy of Peace To His Disciples in a trouble-  
some World, from John 14. 27. Also a Discourse on the Two Wit-  
nesses. By John Higginson Pastor of the Church in Salem.

*Boston: Printed by Samuel Green for John Usher, 1686. (14),  
205 pp. 16mo.* 505

A second "Preface" pp. (9-11) is signed "Samuel Willard."

The Principles of the Protestant Religion maintained, And Churches  
of New-England, in the Profession and Exercise thereof defended,  
Against all the Calumnies of one George Keith, a Quaker, in a Book  
lately Published at Pensilvania, to undermine them both. By the  
Ministers of the Gospel in Boston [James Allen, Joshua Moodey,  
Samuel Willard, and Cotton Mather].

*Boston, in New-England, Printed by Richard Pierce. MDCXC. (10),  
156 pp. 16mo.* 506

Answered by Keith in "The Pretended Antidote Proved Poyson," etc.  
See No. 515.

Unfruitful Hearers detected & warned. By Nehemiah Walter. 507

Pp. 1-4 have Address to the Reader by Mr. Willard. See No. 377 for full  
title.

### III.

#### HAVING REFERENCE TO MR. WILLARD.

[Biographical Sketch.] By Josiah Willard Gibbs. 508  
(In Sprague, W. B. Annals of the American Pulpit, vol. 1, pp.  
164-167.)

[Biographical Sketch.]

(In Green, S. A. An Historical Address, bi-centennial and cen-  
tennial, at Groton, July 4, 1876. Pp. 20-24. Groton, 1876.) 509

Biographical Sketch of the Rev. Samuel Willard, Pastor of the  
South Church in Boston, and Vice-President of Harvard College.

(In The Panoplist. Vol. 3, August, 1807, pp. 97-101.) 510

A Funeral Sermon on the Death of that Learned & Excellent

Divine The Reverend Mr. Samuel Willard, Pastor of a Church of Christ in Boston, and Vice-President of Harvard Colledge. Who Deceased Sept. 12. 1707. *Ætatis Suæ* 68. By Ebenezer Pemberton. A. M. To which is Annexed, A Poem, on the Same Sorrowful Occasion. By the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Colman.

*Boston: Printed by B. Green, for Benj. Eliot. 1707. (16), 80, (2), 14 pp. 16mo. 511*

Also printed in Pemberton's Sermons and Discourses, pp. 101-144. The Poem has a separate title-page. *See* No. 514.

[Life, with a Bibliography.]

(*In* Sibley, J. L. Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University. Vol. ii., pp. 13-36. *Cambridge, 1881.*) 512

The Catalogue has been consulted in the preparation of the present Bibliography.

Memoir of Rev. Samuel Willard, M. A. Vice-President of Harvard University. By Joseph Willard.

(*In* American Quarterly Register. Vol. xii., November, 1839, pp. 113-121.) 513

Contains a list of some of his publications.

A Poem on Elijah's Translation, Occasion'd by the Death of the Reverend and Learned Mr. Samuel Willard, Late Pastor to a Church of Christ in Boston, and Vice-President of Harvard Colledge in Cambridge. By Mr. Colman, V. D. M.

*Boston: printed for Benjamin Eliot, 1707. (2), 14 pp. 16mo. 514*

Appended to Mr. Pemberton's Funeral Sermon. *See* No. 511.

The Pretended Antidote Proved Poyson: Or, The true Principles of the Christian & Protestant Religion Defended, And the Four Counterfit Defenders thereof Detected and Discovered; the Names of which are James Allen, Joshua Moodey, Samuel Willard and Cotton Mather, who call themselves Ministers of the Gospel in Boston, in their pretended Answer to my Book, called, The Presbyterian, &c. By George Keith.

*Philadelphia, printed by Will. Bradford, 1690. (2), 224 pp. 16mo. 515*

A Refutation of A dangerous & hurtful Opinion maintained by Mr. Samuel Willard, an Independent Minister at Boston, & President at the Commencement in Cambridge, in New England, July 1<sup>st</sup>. 1702. Sent to him in Latin soon after the Commencement, and since translated into English. By George Keith, M. A.

[*New York: Printed by William Bradford. 1702.*] 7 pp. No title-page. 4to. 516

Title from Menzies Catalogue.

Upon Mr. Samuel Willard, his first coming into the Assembly, and Praying, after a long and dangerous Fit of Sickness; November 21.

1700. at 3, in the Afternoon, being a day of publick Thanksgiving. Mr. Pemberton's text, Psal. 118. 27 [Verses.] 2 pp. No title-page. 16mo. 517

This title, and three stanzas of four lines each, fill a page; another page, dated "May 12th, 1720," relates to "The Fountain Opened," with which both are bound. "S. Sewall Esq<sup>r</sup> — and Prin<sup>d</sup> at Boston. 1700." *MS. note by T. Prince.* (See *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, vol. ii. p. 26.)

## BENJAMIN BLYDENBURGH WISNER, D. D.

### I.

#### HIS WRITINGS.

Benefits and Claims of Sabbath Schools. A Sermon delivered in the Old South Church, on the morning and afternoon of the Sabbath, January 17, 1830. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston.

*Boston: Perkins & Marvin.* 1830. 28 pp. 12mo. 518

The History of the Old South Church in Boston, in four Sermons, delivered May 9, & 16, 1830, being the first and second Sabbaths after the completion of a Century from the first Occupancy of the present Meeting House. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Church.

*Boston: Crocker & Brewster.* 1830. 122 pp. Folded plan. 8vo. 519

Influence of Religion on Liberty. A Discourse in commemoration of the Landing of the Pilgrims, delivered at Plymouth, December 22, 1830. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston.

*Boston: Perkins & Marvin.* 1831. 36 pp. 8vo. 520

Memoir of the late Mrs. Susan Huntington, of Boston, Massachusetts [*sic*], consisting principally of Extracts from her Journal and Letters; with the Sermon occasioned by her Death. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston.

*York [Eng.]: Printed by W. Alexander & Son; sold also by Harvey & Darton [etc.], London; R. Peart, Birmingham; D. F. Gardiner, Dublin; 1828.* iv, 372 pp. Portrait. 8vo. 521

Memoirs of the late Mrs. Susan Huntington, of Boston, Mass. consisting principally of Extracts from her Journals and Letters; with the Sermon Occasioned by her Death. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston.

*Boston: Published by Crocker & Brewster.* 1826. 408 pp. Portrait. 12mo. 522

*Same.* Second Edition.

*Boston: Published by Crocker & Brewster.* 1826. 392 pp. Portrait. 12mo. 523

Memoirs of the late Mrs. Susan Huntington, of Boston, Mass. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church. Third Edition, with an Introductory Essay, and an Original Poem, by James Montgomery.

*Boston: Published by Crocker & Brewster. 1829. xxxi, (1), 5-408 pp. Portrait. 12mo. 524*

*Same.* Fourth Edition, with an Introductory Essay and an Original Poem, by James Montgomery.

*Boston: Published by Crocker & Brewster. 1833. 360 pp. Portrait. 12mo. 525*

Memoirs of the late Mrs. Susan Huntington, of Boston, Mass. Consisting principally of Extracts from her Journal and Letters; with the Sermon occasioned by her Death. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston.

*London: Printed for Richard Baynes. MDCCCXXVII. (4), 296 pp. Portrait. 12mo. 526*

Memoirs of the late Mrs. Susan Huntington, of Boston, Mass. Consisting principally of Extracts from her Journal and Letters; with the Sermon occasioned by her Death. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston.

*Edinburgh: Richard Baynes. 1828. (4), 296 pp. 12mo. 527*

According to the British Museum Catalogue this was edited by W. Innes.

There were seven editions of the Memoirs published at Glasgow from 1828 to 1832, some if not all of which had Montgomery's Essay and Poem. The Memoirs also appear in the "Christian Biography, containing the Lives of Bishop Hall, J. Eliot, S. Huntington, C. Heywood, J. Milner." [London, 1835?] This title is taken from the British Museum Catalogue, a copy not having been accessible when this list was first made up.

The Moral Condition and Prospects of the Heathen. A Sermon, delivered at the Old South Church in Boston, before the Foreign Mission Society of Boston and the Vicinity, at their annual meeting, Jan. 1, 1824. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church.

*Boston: Printed by Crocker and Brewster. 1824. 36 pp. 8vo. 528*

The proper Mode of conducting Missions to the Heathen. A Sermon delivered before the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America, November 5, 1829. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston.

*Boston: Putnam & Hunt. 1829. 23 pp. 8vo. 529*

Review of a Pamphlet on the Trust Deed of the Hanover Church [Anonymous.]

*Boston: T. R. Marvin, printer. 1828. 37 pp. 8vo. 530*

The pamphlet in question was entitled "The Recent Attempt to defeat the Constitutional Provisions in favor of Religious Freedom, considered in reference to the Trust Conveyances of Hanover Street Church. By A Layman [John Lowell]." Boston, 1828.



A Review of Rev. Dr. Channing's Discourse, preached at the Dedication of the Second Congregational Unitarian Church, New York, December 7, 1826. [*Anonymous.*]

*Boston: published by Peirce and Parker. 1832. 44 pp. 8vo. 531*

Review of "The New Divinity Tried"; or an Examination of Rev. Mr. Rand's Strictures on a Sermon delivered by the Rev. C. G. Finney, on making a new Heart. [*Anonymous.*]

*Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins. 1827. 91 pp. 8vo. 532*

A Sermon occasioned by the Death of Mrs. Miriam Phillips, Consort of His Honor William Phillips, delivered on the 18th of May, being the Sabbath after the Funeral. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston.

*Cambridge: printed by Hilliard and Metcalf. 1823. 25 pp. 8vo. 533*

A Sermon occasioned by the Death of the Hon. William Phillips, preached on the third of June, 1827, being the Sabbath after the Funeral. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston.

*Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins. 1827. 52 pp. 8vo. 534*

Book for Parents. The Genius and Design of the domestic Constitution [etc.]. By Christopher Anderson.

From the Edinburgh Edition.

*Boston: Perkins, Marvin & Co. 1834. xvi (2), 15-420 pp. 12mo. 535*

Pp. iii-vi contain Introductory notice, by Dr. Wisner.

## II.

### HAVING REFERENCE TO DR. WISNER.

[Biographical Sketch.] By Mrs. Wisner.

(*In* Sprague, W. B. *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. 2, pp. 682-687.) *536*

The Grand Theme of the Christian Preacher. A Sermon delivered at the Old South Church in Boston at the Ordination of the Rev. Benjamin B. Wisner, Feb. 21, 1821. By Leonard Woods.

*Andover: published by Flagg and Gould. 1821. 30 pp. 8vo. 537*

Memoir of the late Benjamin B. Wisner, D. D.

(*In* The *Missionary Herald*. Vol. 32, pp. 117-123.) *538*

Extracts from Mr. Fay's funeral sermon.

Missionary Remains: Or Sketches of the Lives of Evarts, Cornelius, and Wisner, with An Introduction. By Samuel H. Cox, D. D.

*New York: Taylor & Gould. 1835. iv, 143 pp. 12mo. 539*

*Same.* With Notes by Rev. W. Ellis. Second Edition.

*London.* 1835. 12mo.

540

Notice of Rev. Dr. B. B. Wisner. [By Henry M. Dexter.]

(*In* Massachusetts Historical Society. Proceedings, vol. 2, [Apr. 1835], pp. 4, 5. *Boston*, 1880.)

541

Contains a partial list of his writings.

Order of Exercises at the Ordination of Mr. Benjamin Blydenburgh Wisner as Pastor of the Old South Church and Society, in Marlborough street, Boston. Feb. 21, 1821. Broadside.

542

A Sermon, delivered at the Funeral of the Rev. Benjamin B. Wisner, D. D., one of the Secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and formerly Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston. By Warren Fay, D. D. Pastor of the First Church in Charlestown.

*Boston: printed by Crocker and Brewster.* 1835. 31 pp. 8vo. 543



# INDEX.

[The names of clergymen are printed in *italics*.]

- Abbot, Abiel*, ii. 497.  
*Abbot, Daniel*, i. 429.  
*Abbot, Hull*, i. 496, 530, 536.  
*Abbot, John Lovejoy*, ii. 361, 376, 377.  
 Absent members, ii. 389.  
 Accounts, ii. 73, 83, 95, 134, 135, 151, 197, 278, 325, 345, 349, 354, 362, 363, 373, 399, 400.  
*Adams, Abijah*, ii. 69, 89, 121, 136.  
*Adams, Amos*, ii. 13, 20.  
*Adams, Benjamin*, i. 544.  
*Adams, Eliphalet*, i. 326; ii. 49.  
*Adams, Elizabeth* (Checkley), ii. 248.  
*Adams, John*, i. 327.  
*Adams, John*, ii. 12, 47, 57, 154, 159, 205, 210, 247, 391, 392.  
*Adams, Joseph*, i. 534.  
*Adams, Mary* (Fifield), ii. 248.  
*Adams, Mary* (Thurston), ii. 287.  
*Adams, Nehemiah*, ii. 511, 560.  
*Adams, Samuel*, i. 377, 396, 462.  
*Adams, Samuel*, i. 395, 520, 568; ii. 3, 80, 81, 120, 121, 141, 148, 149, 152, 153, 157, 159, 171, 172, 173, 177, 205, 206, 210, 226, 242, 246, 247, 249, 250, 255, 256, 257, 285, 286, 539.  
*Adams, Samuel, Jr.*, ii. 256.  
*Adams, Sarah* (Chauncy), ii. 13.  
*Adams, William*, i. 250; ii. 49.  
*Adams, William*, ii. 49.  
 Addington, Isaac, i. 223, 313, 316.  
 Addison, Joseph, i. 269.  
 Admissions, ii. 28, 29, 250, 480.  
*Albro, John Adams*, ii. 511.  
 Alcocke, John, i. 223.  
*Alden, Elizabeth* (Phillips, Everill), i. 118.  
*Alden, Elizabeth* (Walley, Willard), i. 165, 168, 202.  
*Alden, John* (of Plymouth), i. 125.  
*Alden, John*, i. 25, 51, 113, 118; trial of, 285, 286, 287, 345.  
*Alden, John*, i. 286.  
*Alden, Lucius*, ii. 484.  
*Alden, Mary*, i. 547.  
*Alden, William*, i. 419.  
*Alexander, Archibald*, ii. 45, 161.  
*Alford, Benjamin*, i. 376.  
*Alford, John*, i. 376.  
*Alford, Mary* (Richards), i. 376.  
*Alford, Mary?* i. 459.  
*Allen, Daniel*, i. 370, 371.  
*Allen, Frederick Deane*, ii. 534, 555.  
*Allen, James*, i. 5, 17, 33, 36, 37, 43, 56, 60, 81, 91, 122, 167, 170; ordained, 41; signer of letter, 80, 159, 180, 200; censured, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 95, 145, 173, 190, 191; sole pastor, 243; 244, 246, 265, 270, 279, 284, 288, 296, 299, 301, 313, 315, 317, 329, 334, 337, 343.  
*Allen, John*, i. 83.  
*Allen, John*, i. 281.  
*Allen, Thomas*, i. 129.  
*Allen, Timothy*, i. 594.  
*Allen, William*, i. 453, 483.  
*Allen, William*, ii. 9, 332, 416.  
*Allin, John*, i. 27, 55, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 87, 109, 150, 160, 163.  
*Allin, Katharine* (Dudley), i. 72.  
*Alline, Edward*, i. 28, 119.  
*Alline, Henry*, i. 49.  
*Alline, William*, i. 216.  
*Allyn, John*, ii. 298.  
 "American Biographical Dictionary," i. 453.  
 American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, ii. 350, 351, 352, 370, 398, 413, 436, 490.  
 American Congregational Association, ii. 523.  
 American Education Society, ii. 407, 414, 436.  
 "American History, Critical Period of," ii. 267.  
 "American Quarterly Register," i. 522.  
 "American Quarterly Review," i. 442.  
 "Among my Books," i. 220, 284.  
*Amory, John*, ii. 177.  
 Andover Professors, ii. 559.  
 "Andover Review," i. 114; ii. 112.  
 Andover Theological Seminary, ii. 332, 351, 365, 472, 510.  
*Andrews, John*, ii. 474.  
*Andros, Lady*, i. 268, 269, 477.  
*Andros, Sir Edmund*, i. 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 278, 279, 325; ii. 14, 215.  
 "Andros Tracts," i. 267.  
*Angier, Calvin W.*, ii. 562.  
*Angier, Edmund*, i. 129.  
*Angier, Samuel*, i. 408.  
 Anglican Church, i. 362; ii. 307; interference, i. 259, 261, 263.  
 "Animadversions on Mr. Croswell's Letter," ii. 62, 63.  
 "Annals of the American Pulpit," ii. 15,



- 84, 92, 102, 140, 141, 234, 250, 303, 322, 585, 460.  
 "Annals of the Am. Unit. Pulpit," ii. 92.  
 "Annals of King's Chapel," i. 261, 273, 363, 489, 505, 524; ii. 188, 374.  
 "Annals of Salem," i. 103; ii. 72.  
*Annan, Robert*, ii. 236.  
 Anniversary Week, i. 362; ii. 298, 363, 497.  
 Anthem, ii. 225, 358, 408.  
 Anti-synodists, i. 173, 192.  
 "Apologetical Reply," i. 85.  
 Appleton, Daniel, ii. 83.  
 Appleton, Elizabeth, ii. 83.  
*Appleton, Jesse*, ii. 380.  
*Appleton, Nathaniel*, i. 401, 414, 477, 507, 537, 555; ii. 18, 49, 57, 127, 132, 147, 225.  
 April 19, 1775, ii. 520.  
 Argent, William, i. 397.  
 Argyll, James Graham, Duke of, i. 271.  
 Armitage, Jonathan, i. 491, 544, 545.  
 Arnold, Abigail (Frary), i. 236.  
 Arnold, Anna? i. 594, 598.  
 Arnold, Berechiah, i. 431.  
 Armstrong, Christian (Bass), ii. 81.  
 Armstrong, Christian, ii. 489.  
 Armstrong, John, ii. 489.  
 Armstrong, Samuel Turell, ii. 81, 370, 378, 380, 399, 406, 428, 437, 489, 490, 500, 504.  
 Artillery Company, Ancient and Honorable, i. 319, 356, 371; ii. 115, 254.  
 Ascension Day, i. 270.  
 Ashurst, Henry, i. 261.  
 Assembly's Shorter Catechism, ii. 330.  
 Associations of ministers, i. 553.  
 Atkins, Benjamin, ii. 505.  
 Atkins, Thomas? i. 342.  
 Atkinson, Mary (Wheelwright, Lyde), i. 117.  
 Atkinson, Theodore, i. 28, 51, 113, 117, 144, 148, 218.  
*Atterbury, Francis*, Bishop of Rochester, i. 269.  
 Atwater, Joshua, i. 212.  
 Atwater, Mrs. (Higginson), i. 519.  
*Atwood, Edward Sumner*, ii. 562.  
 Atwood, John, i. 342, 350.  
 Austin, Benjamin, ii. 328.  
 Austin, Charles, ii. 328.  
*Austin, Samuel*, ii. 381.  
*Avery, John*, i. 124.  
 Avery, John, ii. 15, 205, 228.  
  
*Backus, Isaac*, i. 104; ii. 298.  
 Bacon, Ezekiel, ii. 208.  
*Bacon, John*, ii. 86, 124, 125, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 151, 158, 159, 160, 161, 163, 169, 170, 171, 203, 208, 209, 210, 214, 348; bibliography, 591-593.  
*Bacon, Leonard*, i. 20, 546; ii. 521.  
 Bacon, Sir Nicholas, i. 121.  
 Badlam, Stephen, ii. 330.  
  
*Bailey, John*, i. 256, 257, 258, 299, 301.  
 Bailey, Susanna (Wilkins, Thacher), i. 256.  
 Baker, Joseph, ii. 453, 474.  
 Baker, Mary, i. 235, 254.  
 Baldwin, Loammi, ii. 296.  
*Baldwin, Thomas*, ii. 289, 376.  
*Ballantine, John Winthrop*, ii. 561.  
 Ballard, Joseph, i. 121.  
 Ballentine, John, i. 429.  
 Bancroft, Dr. —, ii. 429.  
 Bancroft, George, i. 262.  
 Banister, Thomas, i. 276.  
 Banner, Peter, ii. 343, 348.  
 Bant, William, ii. 138, 192.  
 Baptism, i. 9, 10, 91, 254, 330; ii. 1, 130, 139, 158, 159, 209.  
 Baptismal Covenant, i. 6, 7, 235; ii. 160, 196, 235.  
 Barber, H. P., ii. 562.  
 Barber, John, ii. 74.  
*Barbour, William Macleod*, ii. 562, 577.  
 Barford, Stephen, i. 397.  
 Barker, Matthew, i. 212.  
 Barnard, John, i. 342.  
*Barnard, John*, i. 368, 487, 553; ii. 66.  
 Barrington, Lord, i. 410.  
 Barry, John Lincoln, ii. 552.  
 Barry, John Stetson, ii. 375.  
 Bartlett, William, ii. 351.  
 Bartholomew, Henry, i. 111.  
*Bartol, Cyrus Augustus*, ii. 475.  
*Bass, Benjamin*, i. 485, 486, 491, 497.  
 Bass, Christian, ii. 489.  
*Bass, Edward*, Bp. Prot. Ep. Ch. in Mass., i. 505, 569.  
 Bass, Samuel, ii. 10, 12, 17, 18, 37, 53, 74, 79, 81, 489.  
 Bass, Samuel, Jr., ii. 81, 270.  
 Bates, Daniel, ii. 361.  
 Bates, Edward, i. 62, 67, 160.  
 Bates, Joshua, ii. 296, 455.  
*Baxter, Joseph*, i. 299, 441, 597.  
*Baxter, Richard*, i. 260, 435.  
 Bay Psalm-book, ii. 19, 32, 44.  
 Bayley, Thomas, ii. 243.  
 Bean, Aaron H., ii. 421.  
 Beck, Elizabeth, i. 167, 202.  
 Beck, Manasseh, i. 167, 209.  
 Beck, Mary (Salter), i. 167.  
*Beckwith, Clarence A.*, ii. 561.  
*Beecher, Lyman*, ii. 405, 483.  
 Beeres, Richard, i. 111.  
 Belcher, Andrew, i. 209, 228, 279, 329, 334, 344, 346, 355, 356, 357, 364, 368, 378, 389, 390, 391; ii. 155.  
 Belcher, Andrew, 3d, i. 433.  
 Belcher, Hannah (Frary, Walker), i. 236.  
 Belcher, John, i. 236.  
 Belcher, Jonathan, i. 236, 334, 335, 345, 390, 398, 422, 428, 430, 431, 458, 479; appointed governor, 447; arrival, 453, 455; residence, 461; cruise to eastward, 468; and Whitefield, 505, 509.

- 512, 513, 552; is superseded, 521, 522, 523; governor of New Jersey, 524, 538; ii. 423.
- Belcher, Jonathan, Jr., i. 454, 455.
- Belcher, Joseph, i. 209, 334.
- Belcher, Josiah, i. 28, 51, 113, 115, 148, 236.
- Belcher, Mary (Partridge), i. 335, 456, 477.
- Belcher, Mary (Lyde), i. 454.
- Belcher, Mary Louisa Emily Teal, i. 477.
- Belcher, Ranis (Rainsford), i. 119, 165, 168, 202.
- Belcher, Samuel, i. 313.
- Belknap, Jeremiah, i. 405, 545, 562; ii. 125, 170, 237.
- Belknap, Jeremy, i. 188; ii. 44, 72, 219, 220, 222, 223, 236, 237, 238, 239, 244, 248, 250, 253, 254, 255, 257, 268, 269, 285.
- Belknap, Joseph, i. 28, 51, 113, 119, 144, 148, 236; ii. 237.
- Belknap, Joseph, ii. 37, 133, 170, 196, 237.
- "Belknap Papers," ii. 208, 237, 245.
- Belknap, Ruth (Brackett), i. 119.
- Belknap, Ruth (Eliot), ii. 237.
- Belknap, Samuel, ii. 323, 344, 348, 379, 325.
- Belknap, Sarah (Byles), ii. 237.
- Bell, Old South, i. 457; ii. 387, 393, 398.
- Bellamy, Joseph, ii. 62, 143.
- Bellingham, Richard, i. 79, 91, 94, 95, 141, 142, 146, 173, 175, 177, 190, 191.
- Bellingham, Samuel, i. 132, 191.
- Bellomont, Lord, i. 282, 283, 308, 319.
- Bendall, Freegrace, i. 140, 141.
- Benjamin, Asher, ii. 347, 348.
- Bennett, John, i. 461.
- Bennett, Spencer, ii. 31.
- Berkeley, George, Bishop of Cloyne, i. 457.
- Bernard, Sir Francis, ii. 67, 92, 138.
- Berry, George W., ii. 562.
- Bethune, George, i. 399, 436, 463, 475, 520, 583.
- Bethune, Nathaniel, i. 373.
- Bible Classes, ii. 480.
- Bibliography of the Old South and its Ministers, ii. 581-655.
- Bi-centennial of the Old South Church, ii. 525.
- Bigelow, George Frederick, ii. 77, 508, 516, 534.
- Bigelow, Jonathan, ii. 477.
- Bigotry, reign of, i. 190.
- Bill, Jonathan, i. 345.
- Bill of Rights, ii. 253.
- Billings, William, ii. 231.
- Bingham, Caleb, ii. 339, 343.
- Bingham, Hiram, ii. 437.
- Bingham, Luther G., ii. 484.
- Binney, Charles James Fox, ii. 120.
- "Biog. Sketches of the Loyalists," ii. 155.
- Birch, Samuel, ii. 177.
- Bird, Isaac, ii. 477.
- Bishops and Presbyters, ii. 307, 308.
- Blagden, George Washington, ii. 487, 496, 499, 500, 501, 502, 508, 511, 512, 514, 515, 516, 517, 520, 521, 527, 532, 550, 562, 577; bibliography, 593-596.
- Blair, Samuel, ii. 46, 78, 79, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 88, 92, 94, 95, 97, 98, 103; letter of, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112; second letter, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 126, 138, 139, 140, 144, 168, 203; bibliography, 596.
- Blair, Samuel, ii. 46, 79.
- Blair, Susan, ii. 107, 108.
- Blake, Agnes, i. 165, 166.
- Blake, Charles, ii. 500, 505, 527.
- Blake, James, ii. 500, 516.
- Blake, John, i. 166.
- Blake, Mary, i. 166.
- Blake, William, i. 166.
- Blakeman, Adam, i. 319.
- Bligh, Thomas? i. 281.
- Boardman, William, ii. 239.
- Bodge, George Madison, i. 209.
- Bodman, Katharine, ii. 50, 65, 69.
- Bodman, Sarah, i. 202.
- Bonfire in New London, ii. 532.
- Booth, Elizabeth, i. 286.
- Borland, Francis, i. 399, 420, 428, 430, 474, 486, 583; ii. 19, 25, 54.
- Borland, John, i. 363, 420.
- Boston, in state of siege, ii. 175; a scene of desolation, 185; distress in, 207, 208.
- Boston Association, i. 332; ii. 282, 426, 434, 461.
- Boston Athenæum, ii. 25.
- Boston Board of Trade, ii. 528.
- "Boston Centennial Address," i. 262.
- "Boston Daily Advertiser," i. 121; ii. 414, 437, 532.
- "Boston Daily Journal," ii. 518, 548.
- "Boston, Description of," ii. 208.
- Boston Foreign Mission Society, ii. 398, 415.
- "Boston Gazette," ii. 49, 59, 60, 76, 79, 83, 85, 86, 94, 101, 123, 147, 148, 156, 174, 184, 237.
- Boston Light Infantry, ii. 517.
- Boston Massacre, ii. 120, 149, 155, 171.
- "Boston News Letter," i. 282, 328, 393, 444.
- Boston Port Bill, ii. 156, 157.
- "Boston Recorder," ii. 426, 433, 435, 480, 481, 487.
- "Boston Town Records," i. 143.
- "Boston Weekly Magazine," ii. 283.
- "Bostonian Society, Collections of," ii. 273.
- Bourne, Garret, i. 145.
- Boutineau, Stephen, ii. 54.
- Bow, James, i. 599.
- Bowditch, Nathaniel Ingersoll, i. 504; ii. 260.
- Bowdoin College, ii. 413.

- Bowdoin, James, ii. 20, 130, 205, 210, 231, 242, 246, 505.  
 Bowen, Abel, ii. 273.  
 Bowen, Daniel, ii. 273.  
 Bowen, Elizabeth, Jr., i. 219.  
*Bowen, Penuel*, ii. 78, 79, 143, 150.  
 Bowes, Nicholas, i. 405; ii. 198.  
*Bowman, Joseph*, i. 466.  
 Box, John, ii. 15.  
 Boyer, James, ii. 238.  
 Boyle, Robert, i. 261, 264.  
 Boylston, Thomas, ii. 141.  
*Boynston, George M.*, ii. 561.  
 Brackett, Anthony, ii. 46.  
 Brackett, James, i. 276.  
 Brackett, Mary (Williams), i. 165, 168, 202.  
 Brackett, Peter, i. 28, 51, 113, 115, 144, 147, 148, 153, 160, 165, 228, 251.  
 Brackett, Richard, i. 130.  
 Braddock, Edward, ii. 26.  
 Bradford, William, ii. 44, 334.  
*Bradford, Samuel Dexter*, ii. 255.  
 Bradley, Capt., ii. 259.  
 Bradstreet, Anne (Downing, Gardner), i. 238.  
 Bradstreet, Samuel, i. 131.  
 Bradstreet, Simon, i. 77, 94, 122, 131, 144, 145, 216, 219; governor, 238, 251, 254, 269, 272, 279; survivor of first generation of Puritan leaders, 280, 281, 290, 425, 442.  
*Bradstreet, Simon*, i. 301, 302, 304, 310, 321, 368, 538.  
*Brainerd, David*, i. 581, 590; ii. 351.  
 Brandon, Benjamin, i. 416, 428.  
 Brandon, Joseph, i. 423, 482, 484.  
 Brattle, Edward, i. 312.  
 Brattle, Elizabeth (Tyng), i. 115.  
 Brattle, Elizabeth (Oliver), i. 236.  
 Brattle, Katharine (Eyre, Winthrop), i. 236.  
 Brattle, Thomas, i. 28, 51, 56, 107, 113, 115, 142, 143, 144, 148, 154, 155, 156, 167, 180, 208, 272, 285, 289, 290, 312; ii. 70.  
 Brattle, Thomas, i. 115, 236, 312, 316, 321, 326, 343, 348, 353, 447.  
*Brattle, William*, i. 236, 300, 308, 310, 313, 317, 326, 336, 354, 365, 380.  
 Brattle, William, ii. 26.  
 Brattles, offended at Mather's attack, i. 310, 325.  
 Brattle Street Church, i. 236, 252, 310, 311, 312, 313, 328, 352, 373, 383, 389, 396, 433, 447, 469, 500, 506; ii. 84, 143, 150, 226, 229, 284, 304, 411, 569.  
 Breame, Mary (Pemberton), i. 236.  
 Breck, Joanna (Mason), i. 236.  
*Breck, Robert*, i. 236; ii. 7, 8.  
 Breed, William, ii. 281.  
*Brett, Silas*, i. 598; ii. 2, 10, 13, 17, 18, 22, 27, 38, 45, 50, 65, 69, 73, 77, 80, 87, 89.  
 Brewer, Samuel, ii. 452.  
 Brewster, Margaret, i. 219.  
 Brewster, Osmyn, ii. 500.  
 Brewster, William, ii. 354.  
 Bridge, Samuel, i. 390.  
*Bridge, Thomas*, i. 299, 337, 341, 342, 343, 344, 350, 352, 353, 354, 357, 358.  
 Bridgham, Henry, i. 49, 81, 93, 284, 329, 359, 366, 369, 371, 372, 373, 376, 377.  
 Briggs, George Nixon, ii. 504.  
 Briggs, William, ii. 474.  
 Brigham, Benajah, ii. 343.  
 British soldiery, ii. 172, 176, 189, 525.  
 Brock, John, i. 87.  
 Bromfield, Abigail (Coney), i. 319; ii. 25.  
 Bromfield, Abigail (Phillips), ii. 25.  
 Bromfield, Ann (Roberts), ii. 25.  
 Bromfield, Edward, Sen., i. 282, 302, 343, 348, 355, 363, 364, 368, 372, 377, 388, 393, 425, 443, 467; ii. 13, 19, 23, 24, 25, 75.  
 Bromfield, Edward, i. 319, 467, 486, 525, 576, 581, 583, 597.  
 Bromfield, Edward, 3d, i. 581; ii. 24.  
 Bromfield, Henry, ii. 480.  
 Bromfield, John, ii. 25.  
 Bromfield, John, ii. 25, 333.  
 Bromfield, Mary (Danforth), i. 468.  
 Bromfield, Thomas, ii. 25.  
 Brooks, Charles, ii. 126.  
*Brooks, George Wolcott*, ii. 561.  
 Brooks, John, ii. 392.  
 Brooks, Peter Chardon, ii. 481.  
*Brooks, Phillips*, ii. 576.  
 Brown, Benjamin, i. 336.  
 Brown, Gawn, ii. 93, 94, 393.  
 Brown, J. E. and N., ii. 507.  
 Brown, Mary, ii. 93.  
 Brown, Simeon, i. 533.  
 Brown, William, ii. 243, 421.  
*Browne, Edmund*, i. 62, 67, 87, 89, 109, 150.  
 Browne, Joseph, i. 185.  
 Browne, William, i. 401.  
*Bruen, Matthias*, ii. 444, 473, 484.  
 Bryant, Gridley, J. F., ii. 507.  
*Bryant, Lemuel*, ii. 12.  
 Buck, J. H., i. 212.  
 Buckingham, William Alfred, ii. 521.  
*Buckminster, Joseph*, ii. 223, 295.  
*Buckminster, Joseph Stevens*, ii. 295, 303, 338, 360, 362, 413.  
*Budington, William Ives*, i. 302.  
 Building Committee, i. 329, 346, 430, 432, 437, 482, 483.  
 Buildings on church land, ii. 274, 275.  
 Bulfinch, Charles, ii. 245, 337.  
 Bulfinch, Thomas, ii. 188, 216, 217.  
*Bulkley, Edward*, i. 62, 67, 87, 89, 150.  
 Bulkley, Peter, i. 238, 264.  
 Bullivant, Benjamin, i. 263, 266, 267, 278.  
 Bullman, John, ii. 376.  
 Bumstead, Jeremiah, i. 411, 417, 422, 423; ii. 43, 198, 284, 295, 302, 315, 377, 452.

- Bumstead, Josiah, ii. 301, 341, 342.  
 Bumstead, Josiah, Jr., ii. 356.  
 Bumstead, Mary Greenough, ii. 341.  
 Bumstead, Thomas, i. 218; ii. 191, 195.  
 Bunker Hill, battle of, ii. 175.  
 Burden, George, i. 137.  
 Burdett, Horatio S., ii. 561.  
 Burgess, Abigail Bromfield (Phillips), ii. 477.  
*Burgess, Ebenezer*, ii. 476, 477.  
 Burgoyne, John, ii. 177, 178, 185.  
 Burial Hill, Plymouth, ii. 523.  
*Burnet, Gilbert*, Bishop of Salisbury, i. 434.  
 Burnet, William, i. 302.  
*Burnham, Michael*, ii. 561.  
*Burr, Aaron*, i. 524; ii. 17, 124.  
 Burr, Aaron, ii. 247.  
*Burroughs, Francis*, i. 294.  
 Burroughs, Francis, i. 368.  
*Burroughs, George*, i. 290.  
 Burt, Seaborn, i. 464.  
 Butcher, Robert, i. 475.  
 Butler, Caleb, i. 226.  
 Butler, Hannah, i. 345.  
*Buttrick, Daniel S.*, ii. 405.  
 Byfield, Nathaniel, i. 313, 316, 415, 429.  
*Byington, Swift*, i. 517.  
*Byles, Mather*, i. 461, 478, 508, 525, 533, 537; ii. 5, 8, 21, 55, 84, 91, 143, 147, 175, 186, 240.  
 Cabot, George, ii. 334, 381.  
 Calef, Robert, i. 285, 382.  
 Calhoun, Andrew, ii. 341, 343.  
 Callender, James, i. 486.  
 Callender, Joseph, ii. 355, 358, 365, 374, 379, 383, 386, 452, 474.  
 Callender, Sarah, i. 486.  
*Calvin, John*, ii. 9, 101.  
 Cambridge, i. 458; routes to, from Boston, 326; Whitefield at, 510, 555.  
 Cambridge church, i. 78; dealings of with Leonard Hoar, 189.  
 Cambridge North Farms, i. 300.  
 Cambridge Platform, i. 2, 4, 122, 304, 310, 332, 365, 375, 402, 471; ii. 6, 112, 201, 218, 460.  
 Cambridge University, i. 4.  
 Campbell, John, i. 282, 328, 363.  
 Campbell, Katharine (Willard), i. 538.  
*Campbell, Othniel*, i. 538, 576, 582, 584, 598; ii. 2, 10, 13, 17, 18, 22, 27, 38, 45, 50, 65, 69, 73, 77, 80, 87, 89, 121.  
*Campbell, William Rogers*, ii. 561.  
*Caner, Henry*, ii. 14.  
*Canterbury*, Archbishop of, i. 261; ii. 68.  
 Capen, Samuel B., ii. 561.  
*Carmichael*, —, ii. 220.  
*Carpenter, Ezra*, i. 480, 486, 489, 497, 515; ii. 27.  
 Carpenter, George, ii. 482.  
 Carter, Samuel, i. 356.  
*Cary, Samuel*, ii. 366, 385.  
*Cary, William*, ii. 459.  
*Caryl, Joseph*, i. 410.  
 Catalogue of Prince Library, ii. 43.  
 Caucus Club, ii. 80, 205.  
*Cecil, Richard*, ii. 402.  
 Censures, i. 373, 374.  
 Centennials, i. 451.  
 "Century, The," i. 451.  
 Certificate, fac-simile of, i. 12.  
 Chaffie, Matthew, i. 136.  
 Chalmers, George, i. 11.  
 Chambers, John, i. 457, 484.  
 Chamberlain, Mellen, i. 282.  
 Chambers St. Chapel, ii. 508, 513.  
*Champney, Joseph*, ii. 122.  
 Chandelier, Old South, ii. 280, 281, 283.  
*Chandler*, —, ii. 171.  
 Chandler, Joseph, ii. 98.  
 Chandler, Samuel, ii. 98.  
 Chandler, Susannah, ii. 98.  
*Chaney, George Leonard*, ii. 423.  
*Channing, Henry*, ii. 284, 332.  
 Channing, William, ii. 284.  
*Channings, William Ellery*, ii. 267, 283, 284, 302, 303, 326, 327, 332, 362, 380, 381, 401, 403, 407, 408, 416, 424, 428, 441.  
 Chapel; see King's Chapel.  
*Chapin, Calvin*, ii. 351.  
 Chaplains, ii. 515, 517.  
*Chaplin, Daniel*, ii. 380, 428, 429.  
 Chapman, George Roundy, ii. 557.  
 Charlestown, i. 78, 79, 80, 90; plan of, 89; church of, 236, 237, 303, 304.  
 Charter of colony vacated, i. 250, 263.  
*Chauncy, Charles*, i. 443.  
 Chauncy, Charles, i. 319, 371, 417.  
*Chauncy, Charles*, i. 9, 124, 159, 161, 163, 189, 371, 416, 421, 443, 466, 469, 492, 530, 536; and Foxcroft, 557; and Whitefield, 558, 560, 566, 567; and Mayhew, 579; Election sermon, 580; ii. 16, 85, 98, 99, 103, 111, 128, 142, 143, 147, 150, 170, 186; characteristics of, 194, 236; charge at Mr. Hunt's ordination, 308, 350, 372.  
 Chauncy, Elizabeth (Hirst), i. 481.  
 Chauncy, Sarah (Walley), i. 417.  
 Checkley, Anthony, i. 116.  
 Checkley, Elizabeth (Adams), i. 395.  
 Checkley, Mary (Scottow), i. 492.  
 Checkley, Samuel, i. 228, 253, 294, 296, 297, 302, 307, 314, 319, 323, 324, 328, 329, 346, 347, 355, 360, 363, 370, 371, 388, 390, 395, 405, 417, 491, 492, 582.  
*Checkley, Samuel*, i. 395, 396, 461, 462, 507, 536, 582; ii. 8, 49, 79, 90.  
*Checkley, Samuel*, 3d, i. 582; ii. 49.  
*Cheever, Ames*, i. 335.  
 Cheever, Bartholomew, i. 167.  
 Cheever, Ezekiel, i. 255, 430.  
*Cheever, Jacob*, i. 255.  
*Cheever, Samuel*, i. 359.  
*Cheever, Thomas*, i. 336, 377, 401, 402, 459, 551.  
 Chelsea, church at, ii. 32.



- Chester, Joseph L., i. 121.  
*Chester, William*, ii. 461.  
*Cheverus, John*, R. C. Bp. of Boston, ii. 376.  
 Child, David W., ii. 356, 365, 374, 378, 379, 386, 391, 397, 410, 420, 435, 445, 447, 454, 461, 462, 463, 464, 467, 475, 482, 483.  
 Child, Linus Mason, ii. 533, 539, 546, 552, 557.  
 Chilton, Mary, i. 425.  
 Christ Church, ii. 407.  
 "Christian History, The," i. 132, 501, 513, 520, 551, 552, 559.  
 "Christian Spectator," ii. 426.  
 Christmas, i. 372, 410; ii. 14, 408, 441.  
 "Chronological History," ii. 42, 49.  
 Church of the Advent, ii. 413; i. of England, 4, 5, 260, 261, 262, 271, 363, 372.  
 Church Covenant, i. 126, 240, 241; ii. 96, 112, 113, 330.  
 "Church Creeds and Church Membership," ii. 330, 341.  
 Church discipline, i. 307, 575; ii. 12, 79, 89, 130, 243, 306.  
 Church government, ii. 135, 290.  
 Church Green, i. 377.  
 Church meetings : First Church, i. 47, 48, 52, 55, 60, 72, 73, 83, 163, 167, 245, 247; Third Church, i. 170, 244, 253, 255, 276, 303, 307, 308, 346, 355, 364, 389, 391, 393, 417, 418, 423, 424, 426, 463, 539; South, or Old South, ii. 39, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 64, 65, 68, 69, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 82, 83, 84, 87, 88, 94, 95, 97, 107, 134, 135, 136, 151, 159, 160, 163, 169, 170, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 200, 201, 209, 319, 320, 321, 377, 450, 451, 452.  
 Church Mission Society for Africa, ii. 351.  
 Church officers, i. 4; ii. 308.  
 Church and parish, ii. 455.  
 Church property, ii. 135, 190; see Meeting-house; Parsonage; Stores.  
 Church records, i. 397; ii. 14, 89, 90, 99, 149, 330.  
 Churches in Boston, ii. 367.  
 Churches invited, i. 78, 159, 364, 394, 396, 526, 578, 586; ii. 55, 84, 143, 170, 201, 302, 324, 340, 421, 561, 562.  
 "Churches' Quarrel Espoused," i. 374, 376; ii. 252, 381.  
 City Mission, ii. 426; Missionary Society, ii. 406.  
*Clap, Nathaniel*, i. 498, 544.  
*Clap, Roger*, i. 27, 62, 67.  
*Clark, Benjamin*, i. 498; ii. 129, 259, 277, 279, 281, 297, 395, 349.  
*Clark, Edward Lord*, ii. 515.  
*Clark, Ephraim*, i. 591.  
*Clark, Francis Edward*, ii. 561.  
*Clark, John*, i. 407.  
*Clark, Jonas*, i. 300.  
*Clark, Joseph Sylvester*, i. 2, 4, 237, 251, 334, 335, 365, 375, 402, 527, 529; ii. 8, 31, 230, 234, 237, 250, 252, 268, 282, 283, 381, 382.  
*Clark, Mary (Pemberton)*, i. 212.  
*Clark, Mary (Atwater, Coney)*, i. 319.  
*Clark, Miriam (Kilby)*, ii. 129.  
*Clark, Nathaniel George*, ii. 561.  
*Clark, Peter*, ii. 72.  
*Clark, Robert*, i. 260, 267.  
*Clark, Samuel*, ii. 18.  
*Clark, Sarah (Shrimpton)*, i. 407.  
*Clark, Thomas*, i. 32, 43, 57, 80, 82, 111, 128, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 218.  
*Clarke, Henry*, i. 96.  
*Clarke, James*, ii. 44.  
*Clarke, John*, ii. 186, 218, 219, 222, 229, 264, 270.  
*Clarke, Richard*, ii. 151.  
*Clarke, Timothy*, i. 130.  
*Clarke, William*, i. 96, 111, 388.  
*Cleaveland, John*, i. 585.  
*Clements, Elizabeth*, i. 166.  
 Clergymen, signers of judgment, i. 204; ejected by Act of Uniformity, i. 5, 260.  
 Clerical associations, ii. 251, 252.  
 Clerical fault-finders, ii. 58, 61.  
*Cleveland, Aaron*, ii. 412.  
*Cleveland, Aaron Porter*, ii. 391, 397, 410, 412, 420, 435, 445, 446, 478.  
*Cleveland, Abigail (Salisbury)*, ii. 412.  
*Cleveland, Charles*, ii. 410, 412, 415, 434, 437.  
*Cleveland, Charles Dexter*, ii. 434, 435.  
*Cleveland, Grover*, ii. 412.  
*Cleveland, Lydia (Lathrop)*, ii. 412.  
*Cleverly, John*, ii. 431.  
 Clock, Old South, ii. 93, 94, 393.  
*Clough, John*, i. 396.  
*Cobbet, Thomas*, i. 59, 62, 67, 87, 89, 109, 150, 203, 204.  
*Coddington, William*, i. 117, 219.  
*Codman, John*, ii. 259.  
*Codman, John*, ii. 329, 332, 341, 366, 396, 405, 406, 416, 432, 433, 436, 442, 461, 464, 472, 491, 501, 505.  
*Coffin, Joshua*, i. 543.  
*Coggan, Martha*, i. 213.  
*Colborne, William*, i. 136, 218.  
*Cole, Gilbert*, i. 209, 213.  
 Colleague pastor, i. 301, 314, 342, 355, 377, 383, 496, 570; ii. 52, 53, 81, 82, 316, 317, 508.  
 Collections for pious and charitable uses, i. 418, 422, 423, 429, 435, 455, 456, 488, 491, 496, 497, 516, 518, 525, 528, 532, 533, 538, 547, 562, 566, 568, 576, 578, 582, 583, 584, 598; ii. 2, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 22, 25, 27, 38, 45, 50, 54, 65, 69, 73, 77, 80, 87, 89, 121, 136, 350, 365, 386.  
 College of New Jersey, ii. 16, 17, 21, 88.  
*Collicott, Richard*, i. 212.  
*Collier, William*, ii. 269.  
*Collins, John*, i. 186, 187.  
*Colman, Benjamin*, i. 310, 311, 313, 317, 321, 325, 326, 327, 337, 342, 343, 344.

- 354, 364, 366, 367, 370, 371, 373, 377, 378, 379, 380, 384, 388, 389, 394, 395, 396, 400, 406, 409, 411, 414, 415, 420, 421, 424, 433, 439, 440, 441, 454, 455, 458, 459, 461, 476, 482, 487, 500, 509, 510, 520, 513, 514, 525, 534, 536, 551, 552, 559, 570, 581, 582, 593; ii. 8, 16, 20, 86, 225, 248, 252, 569, 579.
- Colman, Mary (Pepperrell, Frost), i. 565.
- Colman, William, i. 190.
- Colony, Mass., i. quiet in, 205; prosperity of, 231; decline of religious life, 231; without a charter, 272.
- Colt, James D., ii. 522, 542.
- Colton, Benjamin, i. 566.
- "Columbian Centinel," i. 573; ii. 178, 185, 186, 231, 265, 269, 296, 298, 301, 304, 326, 335, 351, 354, 358, 366, 371, 372, 387, 391, 392, 393, 398, 405, 407, 408, 412, 414, 430, 434, 437, 439, 446, 463, 464, 467, 468, 469, 470, 473.
- "Commemorative Discourse," ii. 502.
- "Commercial Gazette," ii. 480.
- Commissioners, royal, i. 258, 262; to try cases of witchcraft, i. 286.
- Committee, hostile to the new church, i. 128; of Public Safety, i. 279; of Inquiry, ii. 437.
- Communion service, i. 442.
- "Complete Body of Divinity," i. 338, 339; ii. 101.
- "Complete Hist. Conn.," i. 88.
- Comrin, John, i. 545; ii. 37.
- Conant, Sylvanus, i. 591.
- Concert of prayer, ii. 261, 262, 412.
- Coney, Abigail (Bromfield), i. 319.
- Coney, John, i. 190.
- Confession of faith, i. 234, 235; ii. 113, 142, 169, 323, 342, 523, 555.
- Congregational church theory, i. 333; churches in Boston, 343, 367, 425; Council, ii. 7; House, ii. 522, 523, 558; ministers, ii. 176, 252, 283, 368.
- "Cong. Dictionary," i. 332.
- Congregational and Presbyterian polity, i. 375.
- Congregationalism, i. 1, 2, 92, 233, 284, 365, 462; ii. 7, 91, 251, 283, 307, 569, 579.
- "Congregationalist, The," i. 365; ii. 59, 569.
- Congregationalists and Presbyterians, ii. 237.
- Congress in New York in 1690, i. 281.
- Conscience, ecclesiastical, ii. 577, 578.
- Consociation, ii. 382, 424, 425.
- Constitutional Convention, ii. 203, 204.
- "Continental Journal," ii. 137, 187, 194, 211.
- Contract for sale abrogated, ii. 546.
- Controversy, Cumming and Crosswell, ii. 62, 63.
- Convention, i. 362, 473, 495, 533, 534, 535, 537; ii. 5, 8, 91, 479; of Congregational ministers, ii. 380; sermon, i. 362, 466, 498, 537; ii. 392, 472.
- Cook, Charles S., ii. 561.
- Cook, Sarah ? i. 399.
- Cooke, Elisha, i. 282, 297, 313, 322, 323, 329.
- Cooke, Elizabeth, i. 329.
- Cooke, Parsons, ii. 572.
- Cooke, Richard, i. 15, 43, 56, 80, 111, 128, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163.
- Cooley, Timothy M., ii. 381.
- Coolidge, John, i. 62, 67.
- Coombs, Elizabeth, i. 211.
- Cooper, Judith (Sewall), i. 378.
- Cooper, Samuel, i. 569, 570; ii. 102, 107, 143, 147, 174, 186, 204, 228, 229, 361.
- Cooper, William, i. 312, 328, 374, 377, 379, 384, 388, 401, 407, 410, 423, 443, 444, 461, 480, 483, 500, 517, 525, 534, 536, 552, 593; ii. 8, 49, 50, 90.
- Cooper, William, ii. 23, 172.
- Copeland, Ephraim, i. 562; ii. 192, 267, 273.
- Copley, John Singleton, ii. 124, 141, 145, 150, 152.
- Copp, David, i. 329.
- Corbet, Miles, i. 121.
- Cornelius, Elias, ii. 398, 461, 468.
- Cornwallis, Lord, ii. 211.
- Corwin, George, i. 345.
- Corwin, Jonathan, i. 107, 284, 285, 286.
- Cotton, John (1st ch.), i. 1, 3, 4, 125, 326, 329, 332, 359; ii. 489.
- Cotton, John, i. 181.
- Cotton, John (Plymouth), i. 182, 264; (Newton), i. 382, 555.
- Cotton, Josiah, i. 428, 453, 460, 466, 470, 476, 480, 485, 488.
- Cotton, Rowland, i. 345, 366.
- Cotton, Seaborn, i. 109, 204, 272.
- Cotton, Thomas, i. 188, 460.
- Council, i. 25, 27, 57, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 255, 284, 431, 296, 297, 312, 408, 411, 412, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 482, 483, 526, 543, 585, 586, 591, 592, 594, 597, 601, 602; ii. 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 169, 170, 171, 208, 465 to 472, 477, 478, 482, 483, 484.
- Council of Magistrates, i. 141, 142, 144.
- Councils, i. 257, 365; ii. 140, 381, 422, 424, 475, 559, 569.
- Coverly, Samuel, ii. 267, 273, 274, 277, 281, 298, 305, 311, 319, 323, 344, 347, 348, 355, 357, 362, 363, 364, 365, 371, 372, 374, 377, 378, 386, 391, 392, 397, 401, 404, 410, 411, 420, 435, 445, 454, 461, 483.
- Cowdin, John, ii. 527.
- Cowper, William, i. 560; ii. 25, 51.
- Cox, Abiah (Cleveland), ii. 484.
- Cox, Margaret, i. 293.
- Cox, Samuel Hanson, ii. 444, 484.
- Crane, Cephas B., ii. 576.
- Cranfield, Edward, i. 251.
- Creed Commission, ii. 557.

- Crewe, Sir Randulphe, ii. 536.  
*Crocker, Josiah*, i. 544; ii. 17, 27, 38, 45, 50.  
 Crocker, Uriel, ii. 473, 505, 508, 544.  
 Cross-examination, ii. 91, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575.  
*Croswell, Andrew*, i. 538, 542, 588, 590, 591, 592, 593; ii. 14, 62, 63, 97, 129, 143, 230, 343.  
 Crown Point, ii. 26.  
 Crowne, William, i. 131.  
*Cumming, Alexander*, ii. 16, 46, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 61, 62, 69, 71, 72, 79, 85, 86, 124, 144, 145, 168, 182, 203, 430, 491, 555; bibliography, 597, 598.  
 Cumming, Elizabeth (Goldthwaite), ii. 61, 124.  
 Cunnabell, John, i. 209.  
 Cunningham, Elizabeth (Duchess of Argyll), i. 438.  
 Cunningham, Nathaniel, i. 319, 438, 577, 600; ii. 3.  
 Cunningham, Ruth (Edwards), i. 438.  
 Cunningham, Sarah (Kilby), i. 438.  
 Cunningham, Timothy, i. 438; ii. 393.  
 Curtis, Benjamin Robbins, ii. 541.  
*Curtis, John*, i. 593.  
 Cushing, Andrew, ii. 561.  
*Cushing, Caleb*, i. 553.  
 Cushing, Charles, ii. 305.  
 Cushing, Deborah (Fletcher), i. 569.  
*Cushing, Job*, i. 601.  
 Cushing, Jonathan, ii. 237, 238.  
 Cushing, Mary (Bromfield), i. 569.  
 Cushing, Thomas, i. 568.  
 Cushing, Thomas, i. 341, 450, 474, 487, 562, 567, 568, 569, 584.  
 Cushing, Thomas, i. 463, 467, 470, 484, 486; ii. 19, 25, 37, 47, 53, 61, 78, 80, 82, 94, 95, 108, 112, 121, 123, 124, 126, 131, 135, 138, 144, 151, 157, 159, 160, 168, 170, 173, 175, 191, 205, 206, 225, 228, 242, 246.  
 Cushman, Robert, i. 181.  
 Cushman, Thomas, i. 182.  
*Cutler, Elijah*, ii. 561.  
 Cutler, John, ii. 487.  
 Cutler, John, ii. 487.  
 Cutler, Mary (Winslow), ii. 487.  
 Cutler, Phebe (Ward, Cutler), ii. 487.  
 Cutler, Pliny, ii. 378, 379, 386, 392, 401, 410, 411, 420, 425, 438, 445, 446, 461, 463, 478, 486, 487, 500, 504, 508.  
*Cutler, Timothy*, i. 409.  
 Dabney, Charles, ii. 133, 134, 139, 179, 295.  
 Dafforne, Mary, i. 429.  
*Daggett, Naphthali*, ii. 150.  
 Dalrymple, William, ii. 121.  
 Dalton, Tristram, ii. 47, 226.  
*Dana, Daniel*, ii. 76, 405.  
*Dana, Joseph*, ii. 76.  
*Dana, Josiah*, ii. 78, 79.  
 Dana, Richard Henry, 2d, ii. 520.  
*Dana, Samuel*, ii. 66, 76.  
*Dane, Francis*, i. 62, 67, 150, 239.  
*Danforth, John*, i. 317, 334, 369, 370, 415.  
 Danforth, Mary (Bromfield), i. 477.  
*Danforth, Samuel*, i. 27, 54, 68, 83, 150.  
 Danforth, Thomas, i. 27, 77, 97, 98, 107, 135, 144, 145, 159, 183, 189, 206, 290.  
*Daillé, Peter*, i. 482.  
 Daniel, Simon, i. 209.  
 Dartmouth College, i. 525; ii. 22.  
 Dartmouth, Earl of, ii. 102.  
 Dartmouth tea-ship, ii. 151, 153.  
*Davenport, Addington*, i. 443.  
 Davenport, George Henry, ii. 561.  
 Davenport, Henry, ii. 505.  
*Davenport, James*, i. 529, 530, 531, 532, 538, 545, 556, 561, 589, 593, 594, 597.  
 Davenport, John, ii. 443.  
*Davenport, John*, i. 5, 6, 10, 11, 13, 16, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 37, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 60, 62, 63, 80, 81, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 91, 93, 125, 145, 163, 165, 166, 167; ii. 489.  
 Davenport, John, Jr., i. 33, 81.  
 Davenport, Nathaniel, i. 209.  
 Davis, —, ii. 435.  
 Davis, Benjamin, i. 236, 252, 253, 266, 270, 275, 302, 312, 316.  
 Davis, Caleb, ii. 343.  
 Davis, George P., ii. 562.  
 Davis, Hannah, i. 459.  
 Davis, Huldah (Symmes), i. 114, 165, 168.  
 Davis, Huldah (Raynsford), i. 236.  
 Davis, Joanna, i. 202.  
 Davis, John, i. 137.  
 Davis, John, ii. 268, 326.  
 Davis, Joseph, i. 28, 51, 113, 119, 144, 148.  
 Davis (Major), ii. 228.  
 Davis, Margaret (Pyncheon), i. 114, 459.  
 Davis, Mary (Frost), i. 236.  
 Davis, Nicholas, i. 399.  
 Davis, Ruth (Royce), i. 236.  
 Davis, Samuel, ii. 418, 420, 445, 454, 462, 463, 500.  
 Davis, Sarah (Chamberlain), i. 119.  
 Davis, Thomas, ii. 268.  
 Davis, William, i. 24, 28, 32, 42, 43, 44, 51, 54, 56, 57, 63, 107, 113, 132, 133, 134, 140, 142, 143, 144, 146, 148, 154, 155, 156, 206, 208, 212, 319.  
 Davy, Humphrey, i. 111.  
 Davy, Lady, i. 337.  
 Dawes, Abigail (Waters), ii. 396.  
 Dawes, Ambrose, i. 120, 141; ii. 174, 233.  
 Dawes, Elizabeth, ii. 258.  
 Dawes, Hannah (Morse), i. 236.  
 Dawes, Israel Putnam, ii. 174.  
 Dawes, Jonathan, i. 236.  
 Dawes, Mary (Webster), i. 236.  
 Dawes, Mehitabel (May), ii. 174.  
 Dawes, Rebecca (Marshall), i. 236.  
 Dawes, Rebecca (Homes), ii. 395.  
 Dawes, Sarah, ii. 394.

- Dawes, Story, i. 482.  
 Dawes, Susanna (Mills), i. 119, 165, 168, 202.  
 Dawes, Thomas, i. 130, 131.  
 Dawes, Thomas, i. 319; ii. 74, 94, 125, 130, 133, 135, 136, 151, 170, 175, 190, 193, 194, 201, 203, 213, 215, 229, 233, 234, 242, 254, 256, 258, 266, 267, 268, 271, 272, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 281, 296, 299, 300, 302, 305, 309, 310, 311, 314, 315, 316, 317, 319, 324, 336, 337, 338, 343, 394, 395, 409.  
 Dawes, Thomas, Jr., ii. 227, 233, 258, 277, 281, 284, 349, 408, 481.  
 Dawes, William, i. 51, 113, 119, 144, 148; ii. 174, 233.  
 Dawes, William, ii. 174.  
 Dawes, William, Jr., ii. 174, 395.  
 Deacons, i. 46, 47, 48, 49, 51; of Third Church, i. 294, 388, 371, 396, 397, 492; ii. 69, 233, 388, 399, 400, 486; accounts of, i. 398, 403, 405, 409, 567, 580.  
 Dean, John Ward, i. 432.  
 Dean, Major, ii. 475.  
 Deblois, Gilbert, ii. 179.  
 Deblois, Stephen, i. 130.  
 Decade, "The Woeful," 1690-1700, i. 281.  
 Decker, Israel, ii. 482.  
 Dedham case, ii. 455, 456, 477, 479; church, i. 72, 78.  
 Deed, declarative, i. 273, 274, 275.  
 Deed, Mrs. Mary Norton's, i. 133, 134, 135, 214, 283.  
 Deming, John, ii. 112, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 201, 229, 233, 238, 245, 251, 255, 259, 262.  
 Deming, Samuel, ii. 82.  
 Deming, Sarah, ii. 233.  
 Denison, Daniel, i. 77, 144, 145, 208, 393.  
 Denison, John N., ii. 561.  
 Denison, William, i. 393.  
 Dennie, Thomas, ii. 581.  
 Denny, Daniel, i. 397.  
 Denny, Deborah (Prince), i. 397.  
 Denny, Samuel, i. 397.  
 Depreciation of the currency, ii. 202.  
 Deputies, i. 94, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103, 107, 110, 111.  
 Dewer, Thomas, i. 190.  
 Dexter, Aaron, ii. 240, 411.  
 Dexter, Franklin Bowditch, i. 12.  
 Dexter, Henry Martyn, ii. 521, 569, 570.  
 Dickinson, Timothy, ii. 363.  
 Dickinson, Charles Albert, ii. 562.  
 Dickinson, M. Fayette, Jr., ii.  
 Dinsdale, William, i. 218, 458.  
 Diplomas, i. 458; ii. 147.  
 Discussions and divisions, i. 526, 553.  
 Dissent from First Church, reasons of, i. 16, 17, 18.  
 Dissenting brethren, i. 11, 12, 13, 14, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 63, 72 to 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 91, 93, 102, 247.  
 Dissenting churches of London, i. 186.  
 Dods, Marcus, ii. 551.  
 Doddridge, Philip, ii. 472.  
 Dolbeare, Benjamin, ii. 3, 19, 53, 54, 55, 74, 137, 144, 145, 151, 317.  
 Dolbeare, Elizabeth, ii. 54.  
 Dolbeare, Hannah, ii. 53.  
 "Dorchester Church Records," i. 166.  
 Dorr, Ebenezer, ii. 319, 321.  
 Dorr, Elizabeth, ii. 449.  
 Drake, Samuel Gardner, i. 130, 439, 452, 460, 461, 467, 468, 480; ii. 12, 42, 44, 50, 190.  
 Draper, —, i. 312, 399.  
 Driscoll, John, ii. 418.  
 Drought, i. 371, 600; ii. 66.  
 Drown, Shem, i. 455.  
 Drown, Thomas, i. 282.  
 Dudleian Lecture, ii. 307.  
 Dudley, Anne (Bradstreet), i. 239.  
 Dudley, Joseph, i. 247, 249, 262, 264, 265, 269, 325, 326, 343, 349, 390, 395, 525.  
 Dudley, Mary (Townsend), i. 255, 337, 370.  
 Dudley, Paul, i. 370, 371, 422.  
 Dudley, Thomas, i. 4, 72.  
 Due, Robert, i. 419.  
 Duel, first in Boston, i. 432, 433.  
 Dummer, Jeremiah, i. 316, 328, 334, 347.  
 Dummer, Richard, i. 129.  
 Dummer, William, i. 410, 411, 478, 502.  
 Dunbar, David, i. 454, 522.  
 Dunbar, Samuel, ii. 18, 170.  
 Duncalf, Samuel, ii. 193, 194.  
 Duncan, Nathaniel, i. 218.  
 Dunn, James B., ii. 549.  
 Dunne, George, E., ii. 562.  
 Dunster, Henry, i. 124; ii. 19, 32, 36.  
 Dunton, John, i. 256, 339, 432.  
 Durant, John, i. 435.  
 Durell, Capt., i. 468.  
 Duryea, Joseph Tuthill, ii. 86, 561.  
 Dwight, Robert O., ii. 482.  
 Dwight, Severo Edwards, ii. 339, 397, 405, 407, 415, 416, 424, 427, 428, 429, 431, 432, 438, 445, 461, 464, 477, 478, 484.  
 Dwight, Timothy, i. 573; ii. 317, 324, 326, 351.  
 Dyer, Giles, i. 345.  
 Earthquake, i. 412, 423, 502; ii. 21, 406.  
 Easter, i. 268; ii. 14.  
 Easton, John, Jr., i. 219.  
 Eaton, Asa, ii. 407.  
 Eaton, Joseph, ii. 272, 323.  
 Eaton, Theophilus, i. 5, 6.  
 Eckley, Joseph, ii. 113, 134, 179, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 214, 216, 217, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 228, 238, 240, 242, 244, 248, 250, 255, 260, 261,



- 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 279, 280, 281, 287, 289, 295, 297, 299, 301, 303, 304, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 316, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 326, 329, 332, 333, 334, 336, 342, 347, 348, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 363, 364, 376, 402, 423, 424, 428, 430, 453; Church records by, ii. 203, 204, 208, 209, 210, 212, 215, 224, 228, 229, 231, 233, 234, 235, 236, 239, 243, 244, 245, 250, 251, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 261, 262, 263, 268, 273, 274, 275, 280, 281, 284, 288, 295, 298, 302, 305, 306, 307, 309, 318, 319, 320, 321, 222, 324, 340; paper on rights of church members, ii. 290, 291, 292, 293, 294; bibliography, 598-600.
- Eckley, Sarah (Jeffries), ii. 194, 364.  
 Eckley, Thomas, ii. 190.  
 Eckley, Thomas Jeffries, 361.  
 Eclogue on Mr. Cumming, ii. 72.  
 Eddy, Caleb, i. 461.  
 Edes, Benjamin, ii. 178.  
 Edes & Gill, ii. 59.  
 Edes, Henry Herbert, ii. 120.  
 Education Society, ii. 414, 436.  
*Edwards, Jonathan*, i. 457, 495, 500, 512, 513, 556, 590; ii. 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 16, 29, 30, 262.  
*Edwards, Jonathan, Jr.*, ii. 125.  
*Edwards, Justin*, ii. 461, 484, 489.  
*Edwards, Timothy*, i. 315.  
*Eels, Nathaniel*, i. 335, 354, 355, 495, 533, 536, 538, 557.  
 Eleazar, an Indian, i. 230.  
 Election sermons, i. 9, 93, 94, 347, 359, 403, 406, 451, 473, 476, 580; ii. 303, 380, 392, 472, 473.  
 Election week, i. 362; ii. 298, 379.  
 Elegy, ii. 434, 436.  
 Eleventh Church in Boston, i. 589.  
*Eliot, Andrew*, i. 528, 532, 536; ii. 2, 12, 47, 53, 126, 127, 143, 147, 175, 176, 186, 195, 203, 223, 237, 238, 269, 361.  
*Eliot, Andrew, Jr.*, ii. 204.  
 Eliot, Asaph, i. 209, 505.  
 Eliot, Ephraim, ii. 20, 175, 186, 196.  
 Eliot, Jacob, i. 11, 28, 29, 48, 49, 51, 113, 115, 133, 134, 140, 144, 147, 148, 153, 160, 202, 209, 214, 215, 216, 223, 228, 251, 252, 255, 257, 267, 273, 274, 275, 276, 283, 284, 293, 294, 318.  
*Eliot, John*, i. 27, 54, 68, 204, 232, 251, 264, 425; ii. 19, 345.  
*Eliot, John*, ii. 101, 203, 377.  
 Eliot, Joseph, i. 236, 318.  
 Eliot, Mary (Powell, Wilcox), i. 115, 165, 168.  
 Eliot, Mary, i. 370.  
 Eliot, Samuel, i. 368; ii. 240.  
 Eliot, Samuel, ii. 364.  
 Eliot, Silence (Baker), i. 318.  
 Elliott, Thomas, ii. 480.  
 Ellis, Arthur Blake, i. 49, 52, 72, 243, 256, 579, 581; ii. 20.  
*Ellis, George Edward*, i. 217, 218, 344, 352, 444; ii. 294, 576.  
*Ellis, John M.*, ii. 484.  
*Ellis, Jonathan*, i. 591.  
*Ellis, Rufus*, ii. 223, 224, 236, 264, 328, 377, 549, 576.  
*Elmer, Daniel*, i. 497.  
 Embargo Act, ii. 333, 335, 371.  
*Emerson, Brown*, ii. 446, 461, 484.  
*Emerson, Joseph*, i. 551; ii. 77.  
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, ii. 77.  
*Emerson, William*, i. 245, 352; ii. 296, 327, 328, 360.  
*Emerson, William*, ii. 76, 77, 270.  
*Emerson, —*, ii. 459, 461.  
 Emery, John, i. 405, 456.  
*Emery, Samuel Hopkins*, i. 21, 36.  
 Emmons, Benjamin, i. 399.  
*Emmons, Nathaniel*, ii. 265, 268, 283, 298, 425.  
 Emmons, Samuel, ii. 259.  
 Endicott, John, i. 4, 56, 131, 190.  
 Enlistments at the Old South, ii. 516.  
 Entertainment of councils, ii. 57, 59, 60, 85, 576.  
 Epes, Daniel, i. 401.  
 Episcopacy, ii. 218.  
 Episcopal Church, i. 243; parishes, ii. 303.  
 Equity, Bill in, ii. 541, 542.  
*Erskine, John*, ii. 7, 16.  
 "Essays," Macaulay's, i. 572.  
 "Essex County, Contributions to Eccles. History of," i. 6.  
 Essex Street Church, ii. 417, 477, 478, 479.  
 Estabrook, Abigail (Willard), i. 236.  
*Estabrook, Benjamin*, i. 300.  
*Estabrook, Joseph*, i. 62, 67, 300.  
*Evans, Israel*, ii. 250, 263.  
 Evarts, Jeremiah, ii. 370, 415, 446, 477.  
 Evening lecture, i. 513; services, ii. 451.  
 Evered, John, *alias* Webb, i. 218.  
 Everett, Edward, ii. 205, 215, 361, 377, 411.  
*Everett, Moses*, ii. 215, 377.  
*Everett, Oliver*, ii. 215.  
 Everill, James, i. 42, 43, 80, 93, 159, 160, 161, 163, 168.  
 Ewer, Charles, ii. 236.  
 Examination by Council, ii. 569, 570.  
 Excommunication, i. 509.  
 Expedition against Louisburg, i. 562.  
 Expenditures, ii. 311, 445.  
 Eyre, Bethiah (Walley), i. 378.  
 Eyre, John, i. 236, 279, 302, 316.  
 Eyre, Katharine (Brattle), i. 236.  
 Fac-simile, i. 11, 189, 244, 330.  
 Faneuil, Andrew, ii. 488.  
 Faneuil, Benjamin, Jr., ii. 251.  
 Faneuil Hall, ii. 92, 120, 152, 156, 254.  
 Faneuil, Peter, i. 433; ii. 488.  
 Farnsworth, Ezra, ii. 561.  
 Fast, i. 29, 88, 106, 107, 147, 167, 200,

- 230, 233, 239, 249, 252, 268, 298, 299, 302, 317, 341, 347, 352, 354, 369, 370, 373, 384, 388, 409, 423, 437, 467, 480, 491, 497, 502, 562, 575, 578, 599; ii. 156, 173; sermon, ii. 12.
- Fay, Solomon Payson*, ii. 561.
- Fay, Warren*, ii. 442, 461, 466, 478, 491.
- Fayerweather, Ann, ii. 18.
- Fayerweather, Hannah (Eliot, Clark), ii. 18.
- Fayerweather, Hannah (Waldo), ii. 18.
- Fayerweather, Thomas, ii. 55, 74, 150.
- Federal Street Church, ii. 233, 235, 326, 341.
- Fellowship or dictation, ii. 557.
- Felt, Joseph Barlow*, i. 9, 16, 23, 72, 103, 304; ii. 238, 444.
- Fenn, William Henry*, ii. 547, 549, 562.
- Fenno, Hannah, ii. 98.
- Fenno, Hannah, ii. 98.
- Fenno, Samuel, ii. 98.
- Ferneley, Catherine, i. 121.
- Fields, Joseph, ii. 361.
- Fifield, Mary (Thurston), ii. 248.
- Fifth Cong. Church, or New North, i. 372, 587.
- Fillebrown, Thomas, i. 595.
- Finley, Samuel*, ii. 88.
- Finney, Alfred*, ii. 413.
- Fire, i. 230, 280, 350, 351, 354, 467, 520; ii. 50, 51, 52, 228, 239, 240, 259, 263, 386, 528.
- First Baptist Church, Boston, i. 4.
- First Church in Boston, i. 3, 4, 5, 10, 25, 29, 36, 47, 48, 49, 52, 74, 128, 175, 176, 196, 233, 243, 244, 351, 359, 421; ii. 20, 186, 327, 328, 541.
- "First Church Records," i. 195.
- "First Church in Hartford," i. 95.
- First Presbyterian Church, ii. 480.
- Fisher, Daniel, i. 68, 111.
- Fisher, Joshua, i. 68, 111.
- Fisk, David, i. 300.
- Fisk, Ezra*, ii. 351.
- Fisk, Moses*, i. 313, 317, 334.
- Fisk, Pliny*, ii. 413, 414, 438, 439.
- Fisk, Samuel*, i. 379, 391, 395, 401, 457, 470, 471, 473, 584; ii. 72, 229, 470.
- Fisk, Thomas, i. 62, 67.
- Fiske, John, ii. 247.
- Fiske, Daniel Taggart*, i. 6.
- Fitch, Charles*, ii. 484.
- Fitch, Fabez*, i. 303, 304, 324.
- Fitch, James*, i. 304.
- Fitch, John, i. 476.
- Fitch, Samuel, ii. 82.
- Fitch, Thomas, i. 319, 329, 337, 346, 355, 360, 363, 368, 370, 398, 401, 405, 408, 417, 436, 441, 443, 452, 456, 463, 476, 477; ii. 18, 19, 155.
- Fitz, Arthur G.*, ii. 562.
- Flag-raising at the Old South, ii. 514, 515.
- Fleet, Elizabeth (Goose), ii. 21.
- Fleet, Mary, ii. 21, 26, 40, 50, 52, 66, 283.
- Fleet, Thomas, ii. 21.
- Flint, Henry, i. 345, 350, 354, 368, 414.
- Flynt, Josiah*, i. 107, 108, 221.
- Foot, Henry Wilder*, i. 261, 272, 363, 489, 505, 524; ii. 15, 188, 374.
- Forbes, James, ii. 15.
- Foreign Mission Society, ii. 370.
- Form on admission of members, i. 309.
- Foster, Hopestill, i. 27.
- Foster, Isaac, i. 230.
- Foster, James, ii. 198, 311, 355.
- Foster, John, i. 313, 323, 343, 350, 353, 491.
- Foster, Joseph, ii. 344, 386.
- Foster, Seth, i. 584.
- Foster, Thomas, i. 353, 409, 544, 600.
- Founders of Third Church, i. 113; brief biographies of, i. 114 to 122.
- Fowler, Bancroft*, ii. 298.
- Fox, Fabez*, i. 300.
- Foxcroft, Anna (Coney), i. 390.
- Foxcroft, Francis, i. 278, 390, 392, 521.
- Foxcroft, Thomas*, i. 319, 374, 390, 406, 421, 439, 451, 482, 501, 536, 577, 580, 593; ii. 5, 8, 30, 31, 99, 302.
- Foye, John, i. 263, 431.
- Foye, William, i. 391, 428, 430, 431, 474, 487, 562.
- Francis, Convers*, i. 408; ii. 460.
- Franklin, Abiah (Folger), i. 330.
- Franklin, Benjamin, i. 330, 412; ii. 22, 395, 525.
- Franklin, Benjamin, i. 420.
- Franklin, James, i. 412.
- Franklin, Josiah, i. 330, 331, 345, 392, 396, 420.
- Franklin, Katharine, i. 420.
- Frary, Abigail (Arnold), i. 236.
- Frary, Hannah (Eliot), i. 118, 165, 168, 318.
- Frary, Hannah (Walker, Belcher), i. 236, 277.
- Frary, Mary (Allen, Greenwood), i. 118.
- Frary, Mehetabel (Lilly), i. 236, 278.
- Frary, Theophilus, i. 11, 28, 51, 113, 118, 144, 148, 202, 209, 228, 252, 254, 257, 266, 267, 271, 275, 283, 284, 294, 298, 302, 314, 315, 318, 319, 390, 431.
- Frazier, Moses, ii. 214.
- Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, i. 571.
- Freeman, James*, ii. 217, 296, 368, 430.
- Freeman Jonathan, ii. 53.
- Freeman-Place Chapel, ii. 524.
- French, Alma (Huntington), ii. 375.
- French, Almira (Dane), ii. 375.
- French, Benjamin, ii. 375, 445, 454.
- French Church, i. 482, 597; ii. 54.
- French fleet, i. 572.
- French and Indian War, ii. 26.
- French, Jonathan*, ii. 170, 376, 492.
- French, Jonathan, ii. 379, 400, 500, 505.
- Frey, John, i. 62, 67, 239.
- Friday evening prayer-meeting, ii. 288.
- Frost, Edward, i. 27.
- Frost, —*, ii. 482.

- Frost, Rufus S., ii. 562.  
*Frothingham, Nathaniel Langdon*, i. 579.  
 Fund, i. 480, 487, 490, 492, 493, 494.  
 Funds, ii. 274, 279, 347, 349, 379.  
 Funeral, i. 337, 380; ii. 356, 358, 429, 430, 491; sermon, ii. 180, 181, 182, 431, 432.  
 Funerals, expenses at, ii. 85, 86.
- Gage, Thomas, ii. 156, 173.  
 Galleries, i. 453.  
 Gallison, John, ii. 441, 442.  
 Gallop, Benjamin, i. 280.  
 Gallop, John, i. 136.  
 Galpin, Katharine, i. 407.  
 Gannett, Anne, i. 214.  
 Gardiner, Sylvester, ii. 15.  
*Gardner, Joseph*, i. 498.  
 Gardner, Newport, ii. 484.  
 Gay, Ebenezer, ii. 18.  
 Gedney, Bartholomew, i. 269, 286.  
*Gee, Joshua*, i. 314, 452, 459, 474, 498, 507, 525, 526, 536, 557, 582, 593; ii. 8.  
 General Court, i. 94, 99 to 104, 106, 232, 233, 251, 311, 312, 323, 333, 515; ii. 74, 205.  
 "General Court Records," i. 107, 109, 110, 167.  
 George, John, i. 373.  
 Gerrish, John, i. 355, 399.  
*Gerrish, Joseph*, i. 366, 440.  
 Gerrish, Mary (Sewall), i. 440.  
 Gerrish, Samuel, i. 319, 323, 391, 399, 415, 418, 440.  
 Gerrish, Sarah (Coney), i. 440; ii. 69.  
 Gerrish, William, i. 209, 254.  
 Gerry, Elbridge, ii. 372.  
 Gibbins, John, ii. 15.  
 Gibbon, Henry, i. 461.  
 Gibbons, Edward, i. 129, 136.  
 Gibbs, Benjamin, i. 28, 51, 113, 116, 140, 141, 143, 144, 148, 189, 208, 212, 247.  
*Gibbs, Henry*, i. 408, 450.  
 Gibbs, Mary (Shrimpton, Sewall), i. 327, 398.  
 Gibbs, Robert, i. 327, 405.  
 Gilbert, Rachel, i. 407.  
*Gile*, —, ii. 415, 461.  
 Gill, Moses, ii. 74, 138, 141.  
 Gill, Obadiah, i. 300.  
 Gill, Sarah (Prince), ii. 161.  
 Gillam, Abigail (Mason), i. 236.  
 Gillam, Benjamin, i. 129, 209.  
 Gillam, Hannah (Savage), i. 361.  
 Gilman, John, i. 522.  
 "Gleaner Articles," ii. 260.  
 Gledstone, James Paterson, i. 510.  
 Goffe, Daniel, i. 428, 474; ii. 61, 311.  
 Goldthwaite, Ezekiel, ii. 61, 158.  
 Good Friday, i. 266; ii. 14.  
 Goodell, Abner Cheney, Jr., i. 586.  
*Goodell, William*, ii. 459.  
 Gooding, John, i. 342.  
 Goodwin, Daniel, Jr., i. 447.  
 Goodwin, Nathaniel, i. 450.
- Gookin, Daniel, i. 27, 77, 144, 145, 159, 191, 335, 464.  
*Gookin, Nathaniel*, i. 343, 345.  
*Goold, Ebenezer*, i. 497.  
*Gordon, Adoniram Judson*, ii. 549.  
 Gordon, Catherine, ii. 553.  
 Gordon, George, ii. 553.  
*Gordon, George Angier*, i. 365; ii. 550, 553, 554, 555, 558, 560, 562 to 568, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 577, 578; bibliography, 600-602.  
*Gordon, William*, ii. 174, 198, 201, 219, 244, 253, 255.  
 Gore, Christopher, ii. 380, 381.  
*Goss, Thomas*, ii. 83.  
*Gould, George Henry*, ii. 549.  
 Granary, The, ii. 343.  
 Grants to ministers, ii. 260, 262, 400, 426, 485, 486.  
 Grantees in Mrs. Norton's deeds, i. 133, 134, 140, 214, 215, 216.  
*Graves, Allen*, ii. 405.  
 Graves, Thomas, i. 188, 238, 366.  
 Gray, Deborah (Stillman), ii. 255.  
*Gray, Ellis*, i. 537; ii. 16.  
 Gray, Harrison, ii. 205.  
*Gray, James M.*, ii. 549.  
 Gray, Joseph Henry, ii. 552, 557.  
*Gray, Thomas*, ii. 53, 255, 324, 326, 503.  
 Gray, William, ii. 363, 372, 405, 411.  
 Great Awakening, The, i. 500, 511, 525, 532, 546, 548, 555.  
 Grecian, Dorcas, i. 270.  
 Green, The, i. 129, 130, 136, 137.  
 Green, Bartholomew, i. 228, 328, 396, 417, 462, 467; ii. 38.  
 Green, Benjamin, ii. 370.  
 Green, Elizabeth (Brattle), i. 459.  
 Green, Jane (Tappan), i. 467.  
*Green, John Richard*, i. 200, 559; ii. 27.  
*Green, Joseph*, i. 366.  
 Green, Samuel, i. 462.  
*Green, Samuel*, ii. 461, 467, 480, 484.  
 Green, Samuel Abbot, ii. 430.  
 Green Street Church, ii. 413, 482.  
 Greene, Gardner, ii. 481.  
 Greene, W. Cohoon, ii. 561.  
 Greenleaf, John, i. 135.  
 Greenleaf, John, ii. 82.  
 Greenough, Elizabeth (Rainsford), i. 235.  
*Greenough, William*, ii. 366, 442.  
*Greenwood, Francis William Pitt*, i. 272.  
 Greenwood, Nathaniel, ii. 19, 54.  
 Greenwood, Samuel, ii. 121.  
 Gresham, Sir Thomas, i. 121.  
 Grice, John, i. 353.  
*Gridley, Elnathan*, ii. 483.  
 Gridley, Hannah (Deming), i. 565.  
 Gridley, Jeremiah, ii. 56.  
 Gridley, John, i. 539.  
 Gridley, Richard, i. 559; ii. 97, 98, 259.  
*Griffin, Edward Dorr*, ii. 343, 346, 365, 366, 367, 368, 370, 376, 385.  
*Griswold, Alexander Viets*, ii. 437.  
 Groton attacked by Indians, i. 226, 298.

- Grubb, Thomas, i. 81, 93.  
 "Guesses at Truth," ii. 551.  
 Gulliver, John, ii. 480.
- Hackett, Rebecca, i. 214.  
 Hadley, Memorial from, i. 95, 96.  
 Haines, John, i. 62, 87, 89, 150, 204.  
 Hale, David, Jr., ii. 480.  
*Hale, Edward Everett*, ii. 240.  
*Hale, Enoch*, ii. 351, 381.  
*Hale, James*, i. 428.  
*Hale, John*, i. 62, 87, 89, 150, 204.  
 Half-way Covenant, i. 9, 11, 112, 247; ii. 103, 158, 195, 201, 455.  
 Hall, Captain, ii. 151, 152.  
*Hall, David*, ii. 9.  
*Hall, Gordon*, ii. 369.  
 Hall, Hugh, i. 482.  
 Hall, James M. W., ii. 561.  
 Hall, John, i. 522.  
 Hall, Samuel Whitney, ii. 500.  
 Hallowell, Benjamin, i. 488; ii. 19, 52.  
*Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin*, ii. 561.  
*Hamilton, J. W.*, ii. 549.  
 Hammond, Charles G., ii. 521.  
 Hammond, Lawrence, i. 238.  
 Hancock, John, i. 473, 482, 483; ii. 74, 92, 121, 149, 150, 155, 172, 173, 191, 205, 206, 233, 242, 246, 256, 539.  
 Hancock, Lydia (Henchman), ii. 38.  
 Hancock, Thomas, ii. 38.  
 Handel and Haydn Society, ii. 405, 447.  
 Hanover, or Bowdoin, Street Church, ii. 482, 483.  
 Harding, Richard, i. 135, 136.  
 Hardy, Alpheus, ii. 533, 552, 557.  
*Hare, Augustus William*, ii. 551.  
 Harper, Alice, i. 202.  
 Harris, Edward Doubleday, i. 505.  
 Harris, Isaac, ii. 353, 354.  
 Harris, James, ii. 344.  
 Harris, Jonathan, ii. 321, 325, 326, 349, 355, 358.  
 Harris, Rebecca, i. 254.  
*Harris, Thaddeus Mason*, ii. 292, 303, 330, 332, 430.  
 Hartford, First Church in, i. 95.  
 Harvard College, i. 124, 184; president of at head of clergy, i. 185; graduates, i. 188; in Chauncy's administration, i. 189; contributions for, i. 189, 308, 321, 343, 350, 413, 416, 480, 554, 560; ii. 30, 70, 74, 86, 122, 150, 461, 472.  
 Harvey, Rebecca, i. 397.  
 Hastings, Deacon, Watertown Church, i. 159.  
 Hastings, Walter, i. 300.  
 Hathorne, John, i. 284, 285, 286, 313.  
 Hathorne, William, i. 79, 91.  
*Haven, Samuel*, ii. 98, 170, 288.  
 Hawley, Joseph, ii. 9.  
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, i. 282.  
 Hayden, Ebenezer, i. 209.  
 Hayden, William, ii. 327.  
 Hayward, John, i. 216, 223.
- Hazard, Ebenezer, ii. 219, 220, 239, 248, 250, 254, 269.  
*Helyer, Jonathan*, i. 544.  
*Hemmenway, Daniel*, ii. 459.  
*Hemmenway, Moses*, ii. 47.  
 Henchman, Daniel, i. 120, 135, 208.  
 Henchman, Daniel, 228, 319, 396, 405, 411, 423, 428, 436, 440, 441, 467, 472, 482, 484, 491, 492, 508, 576, 594; ii. 2, 12, 17, 19, 37, 38, 52, 69, 70, 73.  
 Henshaw, Joshua, ii. 121.  
*Herrick, Samuel Edward*, ii. 561, 577.  
*Herring, Thomas*, Abp. of Canterbury, i. 489.  
 Hewes, Abigail, ii. 154.  
 Hewes, George, ii. 154.  
 Hewes, George Robert Twelves, ii. 154, 257.  
 Hickling, William, i. 592.  
*Higginson, John*, i. 2, 62, 68, 87, 89, 91, 92, 109, 125, 150, 204, 284, 286, 317.  
 Higginson, John, Jr., i. 91.  
 Higginson, Martha (Salisbury), ii. 285.  
 Higginson, Sarah (Wharton), i. 256.  
 Hill, Charles W., ii. 561.  
 Hill, Hamilton Andrews, ii. 552, 557.  
 Hill, Henry, i. 377.  
 Hill, Henry, ii. 240.  
 Hill, James, i. 120, 190, 228, 258, 288, 294, 302, 314, 327, 347, 355, 363, 371.  
 Hill, John, i. 286.  
 Hill, Valentine, i. 32.  
 Hills, Joseph, i. 89.  
 Hillsborough, Lord, ii. 148.  
 Hilton, William, ii. 527.  
 Hinckley, John, ii. 196, 197.  
 Hinckley, Thomas, i. 261, 264.  
*Hinsdell, Ebenezer*, i. 464.  
 Hirst, Grove, i. 312, 389.  
 Hirst, Elizabeth (Chauncy), i. 389.  
 Hirst, Hannah (Balston), i. 389.  
 Hirst, Jane (Davenport), i. 389, 481.  
 Hirst Mary (Pepperrell), i. 389.  
 Hirst, William, i. 389.  
 "Historical Catalogue of the Old South Church," i. 116.  
 "Historical Discourses" (Ware), i. 487, 546.  
 "Historical Notes of the New North Church," ii. 20, 175, 186, 196, 204.  
 "Historical Sermons," i. 245; ii. 422, 423.  
 "Historical Sketch of the Congregational Churches in Mass.," i. 2, 237, 251, 334, 335, 365, 375, 402, 529; ii. 8, 31, 230, 234, 237, 250, 252, 268, 283, 382.  
 "Historical Sketch of Watertown," i. 408.  
 "History of American Literature," i. 331, 339, 462, 560; ii. 9, 42.  
 "History and Antiquities of Boston," i. 330, 350, 439, 452, 460, 461, 467, 468; ii. 12, 42, 44, 50.  
 "History of the County of Berkshire," ii. 158.



- "History of the Church in Brattle Street," i. 571, 582.
- "History of the First Church in Boston," i. 49, 52, 72, 243, 245, 256, 579, 581; ii. 20, 224, 236, 264, 328, 377, 442.
- "History of the First Church in Charlestown," i. 302.
- "History of the First Church in Hartford," i. 95, 230, 566.
- "History of Groton," i. 226.
- "History of the Harvard Church, Charlestown," ii. 120.
- "History of Harvard University," i. 184, 185, 186, 189, 310, 320, 324, 353, 415; ii. 150.
- "History of King's Chapel," i. 273.
- "History of Massachusetts," i. 88, 103, 453, 522, 524; ii. 375.
- "History of Medfield," i. 303; of Medford, ii. 126.
- "History of New England," i. 11, 139, 454, 465, 516. *See* Palfrey.
- "History of Newbury," i. 543.
- "History of the Old South Church in Boston in Four Sermons," i. 12, 530, 547; ii. 42, 158, 224, 225, 236, 289, 295, 360, 490.
- "History of the Presbyterian Church," ii. 47.
- "History of the Second Church," i. 320, 403, 452, 488, 527; ii. 16, 91, 149, 187, 390.
- "History of the Town of Shrewsbury," i. 602.
- Hitchcock, Enos*, ii. 122, 123.
- Hoadley, Loammi Ives*, ii. 459, 482.
- Hoar, Bridget, i. 188.
- Hoar, Leonard*, i. 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 214, 215, 413, 443.
- Hoar, Samuel, ii. 332.
- Hobart, Gershom*, i. 226, 313.
- Hobart, Jeremiah*, i. 183.
- Hobart, Joshua*, i. 183.
- Hobart, Nehemiah*, i. 334, 336.
- Hobart, Peter*, i. 204.
- Hobby, Sir Charles, i. 283.
- Hobby, Lady, i. 337.
- Hobby, William, i. 534; ii. 8.
- Holbrook, Abiah? ii. 19.
- Holbrook, Charles L., ii. 516.
- Holbrook, John, i. 160.
- Holden, Samuel, i. 454, 489, 521.
- Holland, Ann? i. 576, 582.
- Holland, Henry W., ii. 174.
- Holland, John, ii. 311, 323, 326.
- Holley, Horace*, ii. 240, 339, 423.
- Hollingshead, —, i. 81.
- Hollis Street Church, i. 461; ii. 239, 240, 244, 339, 420, 421, 423.
- Hollis, Thomas, ii. 47, 53.
- Holmes, Abiel*, i. 11; ii. 284, 302, 341, 366, 411, 436, 442, 460, 461, 467, 480.
- Holmes, Henry, ii. 342.
- Holmes, Oliver Wendell, ii. 179, 387.
- Holmes, Theodore F.*, ii. 562.
- Holton, William, i. 96, 111.
- Holyday, Sir Leonard, i. 183.
- Holyoke, Edward*, i. 336, 350, 354, 366, 382, 476, 480, 507, 537, 554, 555; ii. 47.
- Holyoke, Samuel, i. 428.
- Homer, Andrew, ii. 358, 374.
- Homer, George, ii. 514, 520.
- Homer, Henry, ii. 268.
- Homer, Jonathan*, ii. 366.
- Homer, William, ii. 125, 130.
- Homes, William, ii. 37, 133, 267, 270, 273, 277, 281, 295, 297, 298, 310, 311, 312, 314, 315, 319, 321, 323, 324, 342, 344, 348, 355, 357, 365, 374, 376, 377, 378, 386, 392, 395, 399, 408, 411, 420, 421, 428, 435, 445, 452, 454, 461, 462.
- Hooke, William*, i. 20, 36.
- Hooker, Asahel*, ii. 317, 324.
- Hooker, John*, ii. 143, 180, 181.
- Hooper, William*, i. 481, 482, 578; ii. 302, 471.
- Hopkins, Samuel*, ii. 92, 143, 225, 284.
- Horton, Sarah, i. 435.
- Horton, Simon*, ii. 201.
- Houchin, Elizabeth, i. 56.
- Houchin, Jeremiah, i. 56, 57, 117, 128.
- Houghton, Elizabeth, ii. 261.
- Houghton, Jesse, ii. 261.
- Houston, John, ii. 462, 463.
- Howe, Ivory*, ii. 14, 87, 89.
- Howard Benevolent Society, ii. 405.
- Howard, Simeon*, ii. 137, 143, 204, 269, 301, 304.
- Howe, Edward, ii. 259.
- Howe, John*, i. 126, 260; ii. 123.
- Howe, Joseph*, ii. 86, 150, 186.
- Howe, Sir William, ii. 177, 185.
- Hubbard, Anne (Leverett), i. 346.
- Hubbard, Elizabeth, i. 286.
- Hubbard, Jeremiah*, i. 204.
- Hubbard, John, i. 346.
- Hubbard, John*, i. 216, 304, 335.
- Hubbard, L. P. ii. 562.
- Hubbard, Mary (Jackson), ii. 150.
- Hubbard, Thankful (Leonard), ii. 103.
- Hubbard, Thomas, i. 228, 329, 450, 474, 487, 492, 491, 498, 583, 594, 597, 601; ii. 15, 16, 19, 23, 25, 26, 28, 39, 51, 64, 65, 69, 73, 74, 75, 78, 83, 94, 95, 121, 125, 131, 134, 135, 144, 150, 151, 177, 301, 304.
- Hubbard, William*, i. 2, 62, 67, 109, 150, 204.
- Hudson, William, i. 218.
- Hull, Hannah (Sewall), i. 213, 236.
- Hull, John, i. 9, 24, 28, 41, 43, 50, 51, 56, 57, 63, 107, 113, 114, 122, 133, 134, 142, 143, 144, 147, 148, 182, 189, 198, 202, 208, 215, 216, 218, 222, 223, 224, 233, 247, 248, 319, 425, 429; ii. 70, 404, 541; diary of, i. 90, 91, 139, 147, 148, 183, 187, 188, 212, 220, 231.
- Hull, Judith (Quincy), i. 114, 165, 168, 169, 202, 251; ii. 404.
- Humphrey, James, i. 62, 67.

- Hunt, Elisha, ii. 426, 482.  
 Hunt, John, i. 450, 463, 484, 545, 562, 567; ii. 55.  
 Hunt, John, ii. 132.  
*Hunt, John*, ii. 87, 132, 135, 136, 137, 138, 141, 142, 143, 144, 152, 155, 156, 160, 163, 169, 170, 175, 179, 180, 181, 182, 187, 189, 190, 201, 209, 266, 308, 357, 375; bibliography, 602, 603.  
 Hunting, Bela, ii. 420, 445, 505.  
 Hunting, Jo: i. 27.  
 Huntington, Alma (French), ii. 375.  
*Huntington, Daniel*, ii. 375, 428, 433, 434, 442, 444, 445, 446, 461, 467, 468, 470.  
 Huntington, Jedediah, ii. 317, 351, 352.  
 Huntington, John, ii. 72.  
*Huntington, John, Jr.*, ii. 72, 86.  
*Huntington, Joseph*, ii. 210.  
*Huntington, Joshua*, ii. 235, 266, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 329, 336, 337, 339, 340, 342, 345, 356, 362, 364, 365, 366, 368, 370, 373, 376, 377, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 386, 389, 393, 395, 397, 399, 400, 404, 405, 406, 408, 411, 412, 413, 415, 416, 417, 418, 420, 421, 422, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 437, 451, 453, 454, 461; bibliography, 603, 604.  
 Huntington, Joshua, Jr., ii. 442.  
 Huntington, Mary Hallam (Saltonstall), ii. 375.  
 Huntington, Selina, Countess of, ii. 102.  
 Huntington, Susan (Mansfield), i. 73; ii. 345, 356, 408, 412, 417, 428, 430, 436, 442, 446, 447; bibliography, 604, 605.  
 Huntton, Daniel T. V., i. 567.  
 Hutchinson, Ann, i. 116, 130, 135.  
 Hutchinson, Edward, i. 80, 82, 93, 111, 128, 159, 160, 161, 162, 208, 284, 577; ii. 150.  
 Hutchinson, Eliakim, i. 380.  
 Hutchinson, Elisha, i. 343, 390, 457; ii. 151.  
 Hutchinson, Faith (Savage), i. 116.  
 Hutchinson, Thomas, i. 88, 97, 102, 103, 107, 231, 250, 288, 290, 318, 319, 351, 453, 478, 522; ii. 26, 81, 138, 146, 149, 151, 153, 155, 156, 157, 158, 177, 206, 372.  
 Hutchinson, William, i. 116.  
 Inches, Henderson, ii. 55, 74, 108, 126, 133, 134, 138, 151, 157, 160, 168, 170.  
 Incorporation proposed, ii. 299; act of, ii. 504, 505, 507, 529.  
 "Independent Chronicle," ii. 202, 208, 214, 232, 245, 260, 280, 285, 287, 343, 353.  
 Indian Bible, i. 114, 264.  
 Indians, i. 207, 208, 210, 212, 298, 441, 457, 464, 477, 548, 549; ii. 10, 241, 251, 350, 352, 413, 417.  
*Ingliss*, —, ii. 443.  
 Installation, i. 591; 55, 57, 59, 84, 85, 229, 238, 244, 245, 250, 270, 339, 365, 366, 416, 424, 483, 484, 501, 511, 557, 560, 477.  
 Installation councils, i. 315; ii. 554.  
 Institutionalism defined, ii. 522.  
 Ipswich churches, i. 585, 586; ii. 238.  
 Ireland, Mary, ii. 83.  
 Ireland, William, i. 532.  
 Itineracy, i. 556, 557.  
 Jackline, Edmund, i. 137.  
 Jackson, Edmund, i. 137.  
 Jackson, Jonathan, i. 120.  
 Jackson, Joseph, i. 595, 598; ii. 3, 4, 12, 13, 17, 19, 25, 28, 39, 51, 66, 72, 74, 95, 121, 124, 125, 131, 151.  
*Jackson, Joseph*, ii. 46, 47, 48, 49, 238, 245, 255.  
 Jackson, Mary, ii. 51.  
 Jackson, Richard, ii. 81.  
 James, John, i. 382.  
 James, the pretender, birth of, i. 272.  
 Jefferson, Thomas, ii. 247, 333.  
 Jeffreys, George (Lord Jeffreys), i. 188.  
 Jeffries David, i. 355, 362, 370, 378, 405, 408.  
 Jeffries, David, i. 378; ii. 70.  
 Jeffries, David, i. 378, 562; ii. 4, 10, 12, 13, 19, 25, 28, 37, 39, 47, 53, 69, 70, 72, 74, 95, 107, 108, 111, 144, 145, 151, 160, 168, 170, 190, 192, 194, 196, 197, 198, 201, 204, 212, 213, 214, 216, 227, 232.  
 Jeffries, Deborah (Lyde), ii. 71, 194.  
 Jeffries, Elizabeth (Usher), ii. 70.  
 Jeffries, Hannah (Winslow), ii. 71, 232.  
 Jeffries, John, ii. 71, 190, 317.  
 Jeffries, Katharine (Eyre, Noyes), i. 378; ii. 71.  
 Jeffries, Sarah (Jaffrey), ii. 71.  
 Jeffries, Walter Lloyd, i. 50, 189.  
 Jellison, Zachariah, ii. 508.  
 Jenkins, Joseph W., ii. 341.  
*Jenks, William*, ii. 407, 412, 413, 415, 416, 436, 437, 438, 446, 450, 451, 452, 457, 461, 462, 464, 467, 478, 482, 484, 501.  
 Jennison, John T., ii. 276.  
*Johns*, —, ii. 370, 371.  
 Johnson, Edward, i. 72, 97, 111, 190.  
 Johnson, Edward Crosby, ii. 517.  
*Johnson, Francis Howe*, ii. 550.  
 Johnson, Isaac, i. 130.  
 Johnson, James, i. 131, 136, 218.  
 Johnson, Joseph? i. 456.  
 Johnson, Dr. Samuel, ii. 157.  
 Johnson, Samuel, ii. 505, 517, 527, 529, 544, 552, 557.  
 Jhonnot, Richard, ii. 238.  
 Jones, Henry H., ii. 508.  
 Joslin, Henry, i. 210, 211, 212.  
 Joyliffe, Anna, i. 270.  
 Joyliffe, John, i. 128, 142, 254, 258, 279.  
 Judd, Roger, i. 304, 305, 306.  
 Judgment of assembly of ministers, i. 203, 204.

- Judson, —*, ii. 170.  
*Judson, Adoniram*, ii. 233.  
*Judson, Adoniram, Jr.*, ii. 351, 369.  
 Keayne, Robert, i. 136.  
*Kemble, John*, i. 266.  
 Keith, George, i. 271.  
*Kellogg, H. Martin*, ii. 560.  
 Kellond, Thomas, i. 373.  
*Ken, Thomas*, Bishop of Bath and Wells, ii. 39.  
*Kendall, James*, ii. 234.  
*Ker, Jacob*, ii. 142.  
 Kilby, Christopher, i. 405; ii. 26.  
 Kilby, John, i. 399; ii. 26.  
 Kimball, Eliphalet, ii. 482.  
 Kimball, Joshua B., ii. 508.  
 Kimball, Lydia, ii. 482.  
 King's Chapel, i. 272, 305, 362, 363, 505, ii. 14, 188, 189, 203, 212, 215, 216, 224, 304, 368, 374.  
 King Charles, "the Martyr," i. 266.  
 King Charles Second, Declaration from, i. 250.  
 King George First, funeral sermon for, i. 421.  
 King Philip's War, i. 207.  
 King, William, ii. 372.  
 Kinney, George Edward Searle, ii. 561.  
*Kirk, Edward Norris*, ii. 86, 496, 521.  
*Kirkland, John Thornton*, ii. 257, 267, 339, 354, 357, 361, 367, 369, 377, 380, 392, 441.  
 Kittredge, Alvah, ii. 482.  
 Kneeland, Bartholomew, ii. 192, 193, 194, 196, 197, 213.  
 Kneeland, Bartholomew, ii. 192.  
 Kneeland, Bartholomew, ii. 192.  
 Kneeland, Hannah, ii. 192.  
 Kneeland, John, ii. 2, 4, 10, 37, 138, 190.  
 Kneeland, Mary, i. 370.  
 Kneeland, Samuel, ii. 37, 38, 51.  
 Kneeland, Sarah, i. 407.  
 Knox, Henry, ii. 38.  
*Kollock, Henry*, ii. 339, 340, 341.  
 Ladd, William, ii. 341.  
 Lafayette, the Marquis de, ii. 191.  
 Lake, Thomas, i. 128, 210, 212.  
 Lamb, George, i. 89.  
*Lamson, Alvan*, ii. 455.  
 Land for meeting-house, ii. 526; sale of, i. 327, 349.  
 Lane, George, i. 410, 474.  
 Lane, George Homer, ii. 527, 529.  
 Lane, John M., ii. 277, 420.  
 Langdon, Benjamin, i. 281.  
*Langdon, Samuel*, i. 520, 570; ii. 122.  
*Lathrop, John*, ii. 86, 91, 102, 126, 142, 157, 177, 186, 187, 229, 238, 255, 296, 302, 330, 339, 356, 358, 359, 363, 380, 385, 390, 397, 503.  
 Lathrop, John, Jr., ii. 354.  
*Laud, William*, Abp. of Canterbury, i. 5.  
*Larson, Deodat*, i. 297.  
 Lay, Benjamin, i. 317.  
*Leavitt, Dudley*, i. 584; ii. 72.  
*Leavitt, William Hayne*, ii. 561.  
 Lecture (Thursday), i. 359, 369, 406.  
 Lectures, i. 502, 508, 509, 517, 518, 529.  
 Lee, Arthur, ii. 148.  
 Lee, John, i. 532.  
 Lee, Lydia (George, Mather), i. 257.  
 Lee, Richard Henry, ii. 173, 226.  
*Lee, Samuel*, i. 257.  
 Legar, Ann, i. 166.  
 Legg, John, i. 328.  
 Legislature, ii. 338.  
*Le Mercier, Andrew*, i. 482.  
*Leonard, Nathaniel*, i. 534, 591.  
 Leonard, Thomas, ii. 103.  
 Letters: Samuel Adams, ii. 148, 206, 207, 286, 287; John Alford, i. 376; John Allin, i. 55, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72; bank official, ii. 380; Dr. Blagden, ii. 517; Samuel Blair, ii. 104, 105, 106, 107, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118; Mrs. Blair, ii. 108; King Charles Second, i. 259; church in Andover, i. 239; of Boston, i. 14, 15, 59, 60, 80, 150, 157, 158, 159, 179, 180, 198, 199, 246; church of Charlestown, i. 152, 237, 238; of New Haven, i. 19, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36; Plymouth Church, i. 181, 182; John Collins, i. 187; Andrew Croswell, i. 595, 596; correspondent of Centinel, i. 464, 465, 466, 467; Council, i. 58, 59, 61, 62, 144; Samuel Danforth, i. 54; John Davenport, i. 18, 19, 21, 22; Dissenting brethren, i. 13, 37, 53, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78; Joseph Eckley, i. 198, 199, 200; Elders, i. 88; John Eliot, i. 55, 264; Governor Bellingham, i. 79, 146; President Hoar, i. 183; Hollis Street Church, ii. 421; Joshua Huntington, ii. 322, 421; Mrs. Huntington, ii. 346, 447; Cotton Mather, i. 324; Increase Mather, i. 322; the Mathers, i. 344; Ministers, i. 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 149, 186, 366; Francis Parkman, ii. 368, 369; E. Pemberton, i. 310, 351; Deborah Prince, i. 547, 548, 549; Edmund Randolph, i. 261; Mrs. Quincy, ii. 334; Ephraim Savage, i. 361; Judge Sewall, i. 324, 345, 426; South Church, i. 541, 542, 545, 592, 593, 594; ii. 109, 110, 111, 139, 140, 317, 454, 473; Dr. Sprague, ii. 475; Mr. Stearns, ii. 494, 495; Nicholas Street, i. 19, 20, 33, 36, 44, 45; Mr. Thacher, i. 210; Third Church, i. 147, 151, 153, 154, 155, 170, 171, 172, 173, 177, 178, 196, 197, 198, 244, 245; Mr. Wheelpley, ii. 443; Francis Willoughby, i. 104, 105, 106; Dr. Wisner, ii. 458, 459, 491; Women of First Church, i. 164, 168, 201, 202.  
 Letter Book of Governor Bradford, ii. 44; of Judge Sewall, i. 460.  
 Letters Missive, i. 421; ii. 421, 556, 557, 558, 559, 568, 569, 570.

- "Letters from New England," i. 432.  
 Leverett, John, i. 16, 23, 25, 42, 60, 79, 82, 91, 131, 132, 141, 187, 190, 191, 206, 223, 230.  
*Leverett, John*, i. 310, 335, 336, 343, 349, 380, 401, 411, 413, 416.  
 Leverett, Elizabeth (Salisbury), ii. 285.  
 Lewis, Abigail (Dudson, Kilcup), i. 431.  
 Lewis, Ezekiel, i. 335, 371, 380, 388, 405, 408, 422, 428, 430, 436, 469, 474, 486, 487, 491, 516, 541, 562, 567, 575, 576, 583, 597; ii. 15, 55, 133.  
 Lewis, Mary, i. 286.  
 Lewis, Mary (Brading), i. 431.  
 Lewis, William, i. 430.  
 Lexington, church at, i. 300.  
 Libby, James B., ii. 562.  
 Liberty Tree, ii. 81, 177.  
 Library, ii. 365, 374.  
 Lidget, Charles, i. 278.  
 Lidget Peter, i. 212.  
 "Life of Samuel Adams," ii. 3, 148, 153, 154, 156, 157, 160, 172, 173, 177, 202, 205, 206, 207, 246, 248, 257, 287.  
 "Life and Character of the Rev. Benjamin Colman," i. 416, 458; ii. 252.  
 "Life and Paintings of Copley," ii. 141.  
 "Life of James Otis," ii. 56.  
 "Life of the Rev. John Rodgers," ii. 176.  
 "Life and Times of the Rev. George Whitefield," i. 510, 511.  
 "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," i. 139.  
 Lilley, Edward, i. 277.  
 Lilley, Mehetabel (Frary), i. 236, 278.  
 Lillie, Catherine P. A., ii. 280.  
 Lillie, John Sweetser, ii. 280, 353.  
 Lincoln, Abraham, ii. 513, 520.  
 Lincoln, Benjamin, ii. 246.  
 Lincoln, Ezra, ii. 479.  
 Lincoln, Levi, ii. 332, 504.  
 Lindal, Timothy, i. 401.  
 Liscomb, Humphrey, i. 263.  
 Lisle, Lady Alice, i. 188.  
 Lisle, John, i. 188.  
 Locke Family, genealogy of, ii. 47.  
*Locke, Samuel*, ii. 46, 47, 147.  
*Loder, John*, i. 4.  
 London Missionary Society, ii. 350.  
 London Packet lost, i. 377.  
 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, i. 574, 575.  
 Longfellow, Stephen, ii. 401.  
 Lord, Joseph, i. 522.  
 Lord, —, ii. 374.  
*Lord, Benjamin*, ii. 72.  
 Lord's Supper, The, i. 46, 49, 56, 57, 84, 329, 369, 372, 384, 388; ii. 217, 234, 376, 405, 414, 489, 525.  
 Loring, Daniel, i. 450.  
 Loring, Isaac, i. 327, 461.  
 Loring, Israel, ii. 10.  
 Loring, James, ii. 382, 392.  
 Loring, Jonathan, i. 450, 585, 601; ii. 2.  
 Loring, Josiah, ii. 374.  
 Lothrop, Loring, ii. 508, 524.  
*Lothrop, Samuel Kirkland*, i. 570, 571, 581.  
 Lottery, ii. 240.  
 Loudoun, Earl of, ii. 26.  
 Louisburg, capture of, i. 562, 563, 564, 565, 567, 572.  
 Love, William Richie, i. 539.  
 Lovell, James, ii. 149.  
 Lovejoy, Josiah B., ii. 482.  
*Lowell, Charles*, i. 482, 542, 579; ii. 222, 302, 304, 305, 308, 322, 326, 338, 360, 408, 424, 430, 461, 464, 467, 468, 470, 471, 474, 475, 476, 511.  
 Lowell, James Russell, i. 220, 284.  
*Lowell, John*, i. 542; ii. 16, 302.  
 Lowell, John, ii. 130, 302, 381.  
 Lowell Street Chapel, i. 513.  
*Lowth, Robert*, Bishop of Oxford; of London, ii. 183.  
 Loyalists and patriots, ii. 157.  
 Lloyd, Dr. James, ii. 397.  
 Lloyd, James, ii. 371.  
 Lucas, —, ii. 170.  
 Lusher, Eliezer, i. 27, 79, 91, 175.  
 Lyde, Byfield, i. 454; ii. 82, 138.  
 Lyde, Mary (Belcher), i. 454.  
 Lyde, Mary Belcher, i. 454.  
*Lyman, Joseph*, ii. 351, 381, 436.  
 Lynde, Benjamin, i. 285, 313, 401, 478, 516, 522; ii. 26, 155.  
 Lynde, Benjamin, Jr., i. 472, 492.  
 "Lynde Diaries," i. 492; ii. 28, 52, 61.  
 Lynde, Joseph, i. 238.  
 Lynde, Mariana, i. 371.  
 Lynde, Mary (Bowles), i. 492.  
 Lynde, Thomas, i. 62, 67, 160.  
*Lyon, Richard*, ii. 19, 36.  
 Macaulay, Thomas Babington, i. 272, 571; ii. 156.  
*Maccarty, Thaddeus*, i. 536.  
 McClellan, George B., ii. 516.  
*MacClintock, Samuel*, ii. 238.  
 McClure, Thomas, ii. 352.  
 McCulloch, William, ii. 2.  
 MacDonald, Edward, ii. 430.  
*McEwen, Abel*, ii. 324.  
*McKenzie, Alexander*, ii. 561, 577.  
 McLellan, Israel, ii. 410, 420, 462, 474.  
 McNeill, William, ii. 259.  
*McSparan, James*, i. 488, 489.  
*McWhorter, Alexander*, ii. 123, 124, 132, 365.  
 Madison, James, ii. 333.  
 Magistrates, i. 77, 79, 91, 94, 95, 98, 99, 100, 128.  
 "Magnalia," i. 7, 8, 121, 165, 230, 247, 298, 334.  
 Manifesto of Brattle Street Church, i. 311, 313.  
 Manly, John, ii. 249.  
 Manly, William, i. 209, 459.



- Manning, Jacob, ii. 509.  
*Manning, Jacob Merrill*, i. 353; ii. 71, 178, 188, 198, 225, 248, 249, 288, 508, 509, 510, 512, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 522, 525, 526, 528, 532, 534, 536, 546, 547, 548, 549, 551, 552, 553, 559; bibliography, 605-608.  
 March fifth, 1775, ii. 172.  
 Marion, John, i. 329.  
 Marsh, David, ii. 123.  
*Marsh, John*, ii. 122, 123.  
*Marsh, Joseph*, i. 360.  
 Marshall, Benjamin, i. 277.  
 Marshall, John, i. 429.  
 Marshall, Rebecca (Dawes), i. 236, 277.  
 Marshall, Richard, i. 131.  
 Marshall, Thomas, i. 131, 218; ii. 94.  
*Marshman, James*, ii. 459.  
*Martyn, Henry*, ii. 288, 351.  
 Mason, Abigail (Gillam), i. 236.  
 Mason, Arthur, i. 326.  
 Mason, Benjamin, ii. 129, 258.  
 Mason, David, i. 282.  
 Mason, Elizabeth (Scollay), ii. 129, 258.  
 Mason, George H., ii. 208.  
 Mason, Hugh, i. 60, 62, 67, 159.  
 Mason, Jeremiah, ii. 505, 506.  
 Mason, Joanna (Breck, Perry), i. 202, 236.  
 Mason, Jonathan, ii. 37, 52, 74, 79, 95, 108, 121, 126, 128, 130, 133, 135, 138, 144, 151, 160, 168, 170, 175, 190, 195, 197, 201, 202, 212, 213, 214, 238, 254, 256, 258, 261, 262, 265, 266, 337, 441.  
 Mason, Jonathan, Jr., ii. 130, 213.  
*Mason, John M.*, ii. 443.  
 Mason, Mary (Norton), i. 221.  
 Mason, Mary (Vans), i. 175, 265, 397, 420, 442, 573; ii. 265.  
 Mason, Miriam (Clark), ii. 129, 265.  
 Mason, Miriam (Phillips), ii. 129.  
 "Massachusetts Archives," i. 46, 94, 95, 96, 97, 102, 104, 106, 107, 116, 213, 218; ii. 68.  
 Massachusetts Bank, ii. 130, 325, 384; teller of, ii. 388.  
 Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, ii. 354.  
 Massachusetts Congregationalism, ii. 168, 424.  
 Massachusetts Gazette, ii. 129, 137, 170, 186, 236, 265.  
 Massachusetts, General Association of, ii. 281, 282, 283, 351, 381, 382.  
 "Massachusetts Hist. Soc.," i. 14, 57, 84, 86, 183, 198, 282, 382, 383, 546; ii. 175, 269, 384, 490, 530, 531; collections of, i. 5, 11, 116, 344, 558; ii. 44.  
 Massachusetts Legislature, ii. 202.  
 Massachusetts Missionary Society, ii. 268.  
 "Massachusetts Spy," ii. 126.  
 Massasoit, i. 206.  
*Mather, Cotton*, i. 3, 8, 10, 90, 93, 114, 122, 123, 124, 129, 131, 184, 186, 218, 219, 229, 232, 247, 251, 268, 279, 284, 289, 296, 313, 314, 317, 320, 323, 324, 334, 337, 344, 349, 353, 354, 360, 364, 366, 367, 368, 371, 372, 373, 374, 379, 380, 381, 382, 384, 388, 393, 394, 395, 396, 400, 406, 408, 409, 410, 411, 414, 420, 421, 422, 424, 458, 501; ii. 57, 203, 350, 381, 395, 503, 569.  
*Mather, Increase*, i. 2, 5, 9, 10, 83, 87, 91, 150, 192, 200, 232, 234, 250, 251, 258, 261, 265, 267, 270, 276, 279, 280, 290, 296, 299, 300, 308, 309, 313, 315, 320, 322, 323, 324, 333, 334, 336, 337, 342, 343, 344, 351, 353, 354, 358, 362, 363, 364, 366, 367, 368, 372, 374, 380, 381, 384, 385, 390, 393, 394, 395, 396, 402, 406, 409, 410, 411, 501, 502, 592; ii. 168, 203.  
 Mather, Lydia (Lee, George), i. 373.  
*Mather, Nathaniel*, i. 186.  
*Mather, Richard*, i. 10, 27, 59, 60, 62, 90, 91, 120, 166; ii. 19, 203.  
*Mather, Samuel*, i. 91, 166.  
*Mather, Samuel*, i. 459, 526, 527, 536; ii. 55, 84, 85, 97, 128, 143, 147, 175, 186, 187, 201, 203, 219, 220, 222, 230.  
 Mather, Sarah (Cotton), i. 120, 166, 370.  
*Mathers, The (Increase and Cotton)*, i. 308, 318, 344, 348, 425; ii. 503.  
 "Mather Papers," i. 278, 285.  
*Mathews, Samuel Sherborne*, ii. 561.  
 Maxwell, John, i. 324.  
 May, Samuel, ii. 174, 421.  
 May meetings, i. 362.  
 Mayflower, The, i. 3, 181.  
*Mayhew, Experience*, i. 417, 459, 578.  
*Mayhew, Jonathan*, i. 569, 578, 579, 580; ii. 29, 147, 302, 304.  
 Maylem, Ann, i. 462.  
 Maylem, Hannah, i. 461, 462.  
 Maylem, John, i. 462.  
 Maylem, Joseph, i. 461.  
 Maynard, Elias, ii. 482.  
 Maynard, Joanna, ii. 482.  
*Mayo, John*, i. 9, 16.  
 Mead, Charles, ii. 562.  
*Meade, William*, ii. 436, 437.  
 Means, Charlotte Abigail (Johnson), ii. 505.  
 Means, James, ii. 500, 505.  
*Means, James Howard*, i. 166; ii. 330, 505, 532, 547, 562.  
 Meeting-house, i. 128, 129, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 143, 145, 146, 153, 253, 258, 265, 266, 267, 271, 281, 282, 298, 359, 377, 399, 408, 410, 421, 423, 424, 426, 427, 429, 432, 439, 440, 449, 450, 451, 527, 600; ii. 14, 84, 138, 225, 238, 281, 297, 299, 300, 363, 375, 378, 379, 385, 398, 409, 418, 507, 529, 530, 544, 547; steeple, ii. 507. See Old South Meeting-house.  
 Melledge, James, ii. 417, 477.  
 Mellows, John, i. 120.

- Membership, ii. 103, 196.  
 "Memoir of W. E. Channing," ii. 284, 285, 333.  
 "Memoir of Life of Eliza S. M. Quincy," ii. 371.  
 "Memoirs of the late Mrs. Susan Huntington," ii. 346, 417, 442.  
 "Memoirs of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward," i. 432.  
 Memorial, i. 50, 95, 96, 108, 109, 232.  
 "Memorial Biographies," ii. 285, 303, 304.  
 "Memorial History of Boston," i. 124, 250, 284, 344, 460, 581; ii. 20, 24, 32, 54, 81, 85, 98, 154, 155, 218, 334, 335, 411.  
 Memorial tablets, i. 444; ii. 287.  
 Mendon Association, ii. 283.  
 Meredith, Robert R., ii. 561.  
 Merrifield, John, i. 366.  
 Merrill, Moses, i. 486; ii. 552.  
 Merriman, William Edward, ii. 562, 577.  
 Messenger, Ebenezer, i. 482.  
 Metacomet, or Philip, i. 206.  
 Milburn, William? i. 279.  
 Mildmay, Sir Henry, i. 183.  
 Miles, Sarah, i. 219.  
 Military titles, i. 390.  
 Miller, Samuel, ii. 167, 176, 443, 451, 461.  
 Mills, Anne, i. 436.  
 Mills, Henry, i. 436.  
 Mills, Samuel F., ii. 351, 476.  
 Miner, Alonzo Ames, ii. 98, 520, 549.  
 Ministers, testimony of, i. 84; declaration of in case of James Davenport, i. 530.  
 Minott, Stephen, ii. 135.  
 Missionaries ordained, ii. 369, 405, 437, 477, 482, 483, 484, 490.  
 Missionary charge, i. 465; society, ii. 483; spirit, ii. 240; work, ii. 67.  
 Mitchell, Jonathan, i. 9, 10, 27, 319.  
 Moffat, Thomas, i. 429.  
 Molineux, William, ii. 121.  
 Monckton, Colonel, ii. 26.  
 Monk, Elizabeth, i. 293.  
 Monk, George, i. 308, 318.  
 Montcalm, Marquis de, ii. 26.  
 Monthly concert of prayer, ii. 414, 439.  
 "Monthly Register," ii. 366.  
 Moody, Eliezer, i. 202.  
 Moody Joseph, i. 279.  
 Moody, Joshua, i. 251, 258, 267, 268, 278, 299, 324, 335, 393, 406.  
 Moody, Major, i. 412.  
 Moody, Samuel, i. 374, 412; ii. 77.  
 Moore, George Henry, i. 317; ii. 208.  
 Moore, Jacob Bailey, i. 522.  
 Moore, Katharine (Snow), ii. 397.  
 Moore, Samuel, ii. 397.  
 Moorhead, John, i. 536; ii. 236.  
 More & Roulstone, ii. 134.  
 "More Wonders of the Invisible World," i. 286.  
 Morgan, Grace, i. 373.  
 Morris, Lewis, i. 524.  
 Morse, Captain, i. 335.  
 Morse, Elizabeth (Bosworth), i. 119.  
 Morse, Elizabeth (Eustis), i. 236.  
 Morse, Hannah (Dawes), i. 236.  
 Morse, Jedidiah, ii. 245, 296, 299, 302, 318, 326, 341, 370, 381, 405, 416, 424, 430, 442.  
 Morse, John, i. 113, 119, 209, 247.  
 Morse, Joseph, i. 335.  
 Morse, Mary? i. 576, 582.  
 Morss, Anthony S., ii. 561.  
 Morton, Charles, i. 258, 299, 304.  
 Morton, Mrs., ii. 267.  
 Mosley, Samuel, i. 208.  
 Mount Vernon Church, ii. 521.  
 Mulford, Elisha, ii. 576.  
 Mulliken, Miss, ii. 174.  
 Mumford, George, i. 489.  
 Murdock, —, ii. 439.  
 Murray, John, ii. 97, 194, 218, 219, 220, 230.  
 Names, Lists of, i. 27, 28, 51, 62, 67, 68, 77, 87, 89, 96, 109, 111, 113, 144, 145, 148, 150, 165, 168, 202, 204, 286, 296, 348, 388, 399, 553; ii. 67, 68, 74, 231, 232, 241, 266, 314, 318, 450, 452, 481, 561, 562.  
 Napoleon's abdication, ii. 380.  
 National Council, 1865, ii. 521, 522.  
 Needham, William, i. 266, 272.  
 Negus, Benjamin, i. 51, 93.  
 Negus, Jonathan, i. 136.  
 Negus, Mary, i. 52, 171.  
 Neill, William, ii. 140.  
 New Brick Church, i. 328; ii. 19, 39, 126, 148, 177, 187, 503.  
 "New England Chronology," i. 479, 492.  
 New England Colonies, i. 258; "Congregationalism," i. 1, 2, 92, 284, 435, 472; ii. 341.  
 "New England Hist. and Gen. Register," i. 166, 209, 280, 319, 411; ii. 21, 52, 75, 175, 290.  
 New England Hist. Gen. Society, ii. 303, 304.  
 "New England Courant," i. 410.  
 New England Library, ii. 43, 44, 68, 382.  
 New England Tract Society, ii. 380, 446.  
 New Haven, i. 6, 16, 19, 20, 22, 29, 72, 81, 88.  
 New Jersey "Archives," i. 524; college of, ii. 16, 17, 21, 28.  
 New North Church, or New Brick, i. 400, 401, 402, 410, 411, 487, 506, 528; ii. 2, 19, 20, 126, 143, 175, 176, 195, 201, 203, 304, 367, 377.  
 New South Church, i. 377, 379, 395, 506; ii. 127, 143, 150, 201, 215, 251, 257, 267, 357, 377, 540.  
 Newbury, troubles in, i. 542, 543.  
 Newcastle, Duke of, i. 454, 523.  
 Newell, Jeremiah G., ii. 527.  
 Newell, Montgomery, ii. 500.

- Newell, Samuel*, ii. 351, 369.  
*Newell, Timothy*, ii. 177.  
*Newgate, John*, i. 218.  
*Newman, Antipas*, i. 62, 67, 109, 150.  
*Newman, Gaven Brown*, ii. 94.  
*Newman, John*, ii. 94.  
*Newman, Noah*, i. 221.  
*Newman, Samuel Phillips*, ii. 446.  
*Newman, Sarah*, ii. 94.  
*Newport*, i. 498, 543, 544.  
 "News Letter," i. 350, 462, 469, 478, 492; ii. 54, 55.  
*Newton, John*, ii. 402.  
*Nichols, John*, ii. 405.  
*Nicholson, Sir Francis*, i. 345, 372.  
*North, Frederick, Lord*, ii. 63.  
*North American Review*, i. 387; ii. 536.  
*Northampton*, address at, ii. 9; memorial, i. 95, 96; church, ii. 4, 6.  
*Norton, John*, i. 4, 11, 121, 122, 131, 132; ii. 178, 505.  
*Norton, John*, i. 221.  
*Norton, Mary (Ferneley)*, i. 117, 121, 132, 133, 134, 135, 140, 143, 202, 214, 216, 220, 221, 222, 224; ii. 178, 274, 294, 539, 541.  
*Nott, Samuel, Jr.*, ii. 351, 369, 461, 464, 467.  
*Nowell, Samuel*, i. 114.  
*Nowell, Samuel*, i. 230, 243.  
*Noyes, Daniel*, ii. 480.  
*Noyes, Joseph*, i. 546.  
*Noyes, Nicholas*, i. 284, 286, 353.  
*Noyes, Oliver*, i. 319, 335.  
*Nye, Philip*, i. 4.  
  
*Oakes, Josiah*, i. 336.  
*Oakes, Urian*, i. 185, 192, 193, 194, 195, 233, 238, 243.  
*Old Brick (or First) Church*, i. 359, 437, 582; ii. 186, 327, 328.  
*Old and New Style*, ii. 11.  
*Old North Church*, i. 582; ii. 39, 49, 125, 142, 177, 187, 190, 201, 503.  
 "Old Plate, Ecclesiastical, etc." (J. H. Buck), i. 212.  
*Old South Chapels*, ii. 524, 525, 531.  
*Old South Charity School*, ii. 419.  
*Old South Church*, ii. 3, 4, 12, 104, 139, 140, 188, 189, 235, 359, 385, 399, 415; ii. 43, 64, 75, 80, 83, 86, 87, 113, 120, 126, 134, 142, 147, 154, 155, 157, 168, 170, 173, 175, 179, 181, 188, 189, 198, 203, 209, 212, 215, 217, 224, 229, 233, 237, 239, 242, 247, 250, 262, 285, 290, 302, 304, 309, 320, 325, 328, 341, 342, 343, 362, 382, 383, 386, 388, 393, 413, 414, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 438, 450, 455, 460, 470, 472, 473, 474, 475, 478, 480, 482, 484, 487, 490, 491, 496, 500, 502, 503, 504, 514, 518, 523, 533, 536, 537, 538, 541, 543, 545, 546, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 576, 580. And see *South Church*; see *Third Church*.  
*Old South Council*, ii. 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576.  
*Old South Meeting-house*, ii. 92, 93, 120, 127, 149, 151, 152, 153, 157, 172, 177, 178, 179, 185, 189, 213, 214, 224, 226, 228, 229, 256, 266, 283, 300, 328, 334, 344, 353, 363, 385, 513, 516, 520, 521, 525, 526, 528, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 537, 538, 539, 545, 546, 547; and see *Meeting-house*.  
*Old South Society in Boston*, the corporate name, ii. 504.  
*Old South Steeple*, ii. 64, 93, 125.  
*Old State House*, i. 319, 360; ii. 212, 215, 224, 539.  
*Oliver, Abigail (Boardman)*, ii. 239.  
*Oliver, Andrew*, i. 433, 460, 488, 544, 583, 599; ii. 12, 19, 21, 25, 26, 28, 32, 37, 43, 52, 53, 55, 64, 65, 69, 74, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 87, 94, 95, 103, 121, 125, 132, 134, 135, 138, 144, 155, 238, 352.  
*Oliver, Andrew, Jr.*, ii. 19, 52, 74, 153, 193, 238, 239, 254, 255, 259, 274, 277.  
*Oliver, Andrew*, ii. 238, 239, 274, 277, 298, 305, 352.  
*Oliver, Andrew*, ii. 238, 239.  
*Oliver, Daniel*, i. 236, 316, 360, 363, 370, 371, 383, 398, 405, 407, 408, 409, 413, 428, 429, 430, 432, 436, 443, 459; ii. 18, 155, 238.  
*Oliver, Daniel, Jr.*, i. 460.  
*Oliver, Elizabeth (Brattle)*, i. 236, 284, 461, 473.  
*Oliver, Fitch Edward*, ii. 155.  
*Oliver, Griselda (Waldo)*, ii. 29.  
*Oliver, James*, i. 15, 128, 142.  
*Oliver, James*, i. 236.  
*Oliver, John*, i. 136.  
*Oliver, Mary (Fitch)*, i. 477; ii. 238.  
*Oliver, Mary (Clarke)*, ii. 238.  
*Oliver, Mary (Sanford)*, ii. 103.  
*Oliver, Mary (Lynde)*, ii. 52, 238.  
*Oliver, Nathaniel*, i. 236, 252, 253, 266, 275, 279, 302, 312, 328, 384.  
*Oliver, Peter*, i. 28, 51, 60, 113, 115, 128, 131, 133, 134, 140, 141, 142, 144, 147, 148, 167; ii. 155.  
*Oliver, Peter*, i. 319, 384; ii. 238.  
*Oliver, Susanna (Boyer)*, ii. 238.  
*Oliver, Thomas*, i. 115, 130.  
*Olivier, or Oliver, Anthoine*, ii. 238.  
*Olivier, Andrew*, ii. 238.  
*Olivier, Mary*, ii. 238.  
*Oliphant, David*, ii. 461.  
*Ordinations*, i. 40, 41, 125, 237, 251, 272, 276, 299, 300, 315, 364, 366, 368, 389, 394, 402, 420, 421, 441, 459, 464, 477, 481, 498, 528, 544, 570, 578, 582, 585, 597; ii. 18, 21, 49, 66, 72, 131, 132, 201, 203, 215, 229, 233, 237, 255, 257, 268, 283, 284, 295, 296, 298, 302, 308, 325, 326, 329, 357, 361, 370, 375, 376, 377, 405, 411, 413, 463, 464, 467, 472, 476, 477, 482, 483, 489, 490, 510, 515, 516.  
*Organ*, ii. 229, 446, 480, 481.

- Organized benevolence, i. 495.  
 Osborn, John, i. 405, 407, 432, 476, 482, 484, 516, 575, 597; ii. 19, 32, 52, 53, 61, 69, 78, 79, 82, 94, 150, 178.  
*Osgood, David*, ii. 245, 284, 332, 365, 367, 380, 459, 460, 461, 464, 465, 472, 475.  
*Osgood, J. C.*, ii. 562.  
*Otis, Harrison Gray*, ii. 381.  
*Otis, Ruth (Cunningham)*, i. 438.  
 Overseers of seats in meeting-house, i. 307, 308, 360, 361, 370, 398, 405, 407.  
*Owen, John*, i. 4, 5, 14, 18, 186.  
*Oxenbridge, John*, i. 80, 95, 165, 168, 169, 173, 174, 190, 200, 243.  
*Oxenbridge, Theodora (Thacher)*, i. 174.  
*Packard, Edward Newman*, ii. 341, 561.  
 Paige, Colonel, i. 384.  
 Pain, William, ii. 421.  
 Paine, Moses, i. 209, 258.  
 Paine, Thomas, i. 597, 600.  
*Palfrey, John Gorham*, i. 4, 11, 234, 263, 265, 453, 454, 516, 521, 524, 570; ii. 411.  
*Palfrey's History*, i. 205, 206, 207, 233, 270, 454, 465, 524.  
 Palmer, Henry, i. 62, 67.  
 Pamphlets, i. 321, 348; ii. 218, 219, 220, 221, 222.  
 "Panoplist," ii. 414, 416, 427, 433, 439.  
 Paper-Mill, the first in N. Eng., ii. 38.  
 "Parentator," i. 268.  
*Park, Edwards Amasa*, ii. 511, 512, 560.  
 Park Street Church, ii. 339, 341, 342, 343, 405, 411, 414, 437, 438, 478, 479, 561.  
*Parke, William*, i. 27, 68, 97.  
 Parker, Eliphalet, i. 65, 69.  
 Parker, Isaac, ii. 411, 479.  
 Parker, John, ii. 481.  
 Parker, Nathan, ii. 417, 477, 478, 479.  
 Parker, Richard, i. 129.  
*Parker, Samuel*, ii. 132, 217.  
*Parker, Stephen*, i. 464.  
*Parkman, Ebenezer*, i. 529, 536; ii. 8, 16.  
*Parkman, Francis*, ii. 367, 377.  
*Parks, Leighton*, ii. 549.  
*Parris, Samuel*, i. 296, 297.  
 Parsonage, i. 130, 131, 214, 215, 328, 329, 347, 369, 370, 397, 463, 467, 488, 491, 544, 562; ii. 61, 65, 95, 122, 133, 134, 135, 136, 144, 178, 202, 266, 271, 308, 309, 310, 328, 342, 347, 348, 355, 373, 375, 378, 398, 411, 418, 505, 560.  
*Parsons, Jonathan*, i. 512, 543; ii. 128.  
*Parsons, Levi*, ii. 405, 414, 438, 439.  
*Parsons, Theophilus*, ii. 272, 273, 505, 506.  
*Partridge, Ralph*, i. 125.  
 Partridge, Richard, i. 521.  
 Partridge, William, i. 303, 410.  
 Pastors, support of, i. 452, 474, 475, 482, 484, 486, 497, 498, 580; vote of, i. 533.  
 Pateshall, Robert? i. 212.  
*Patrick, Henry Johnson*, ii. 562.  
*Payson, Edward*, i. 296.  
*Payson, Joseph*, i. 461.  
*Payson, Phillips*, i. 433; ii. 32, 171, 405.  
*Payson, Samuel R.*, ii. 557.  
 Peabody, —, i. 327.  
*Peabody, Andrew Preston*, ii. 411, 496, 497, 498, 501, 502, 576.  
*Peabody, Oliver*, i. 441; ii. 13, 16.  
 Peace of Ghent, ii. 385; of Paris, ii. 67, 226, 228.  
 Peace Society, ii. 408.  
 Pease, John, i. 28.  
 Pease, Mary, i. 280.  
 Pease, Samuel, i. 280.  
 Peck, Thomas, i. 396, 462.  
 Peck, Thomas Handaside, i. 592.  
 Peirce, Ann (Lathrop), ii. 409.  
 Peirce, Joseph, ii. 191, 192, 193, 197, 266, 272, 273, 277, 278, 281, 297, 298, 305, 311, 323, 344, 346, 348, 349, 356, 357, 362, 363, 364, 365, 374, 376, 377, 378, 379, 383, 386, 387, 392, 393, 394, 399, 400, 401, 404, 409.  
 Pemberton, Benjamin, i. 236; ii. 53.  
*Pemberton, Ebenezer*, i. 226, 227, 228, 303, 304, 310, 312, 314, 315, 317, 318, 319, 328, 329, 337, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 362, 363, 364, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 378, 379, 380, 381, 392; bibliography, 608-612.  
*Pemberton, Ebenezer, Jr. (New Brick Church)*, i. 328, 420, 492, 581; ii. 16, 26, 31, 46, 49, 55, 57, 72, 84, 85, 91, 128, 143, 144, 147, 148, 149, 150, 175, 178, 187, 203, 265, 348, 430, 442, 503.  
 Pemberton, Ebenezer, 3d, ii. 16, 125, 187.  
 Pemberton, Elizabeth (Whitwell), ii. 187.  
 Pemberton, James, i. 28, 51, 113, 119, 148, 301, 430, 436, 440, 441, 460, 492; ii. 442.  
 Pemberton, Joseph, i. 236.  
 Pemberton, Mary (Breame), i. 236.  
 Pemberton, Mary (Clark, Campbell, Lloyd), i. 319, 393, 397.  
 Pemberton, Richard, i. 492.  
 Pemberton, Samuel, i. 492; ii. 74, 80, 121.  
 Pemberton, Sarah, i. 119, 165, 168, 199, 202; ii. 442.  
 Pemberton, Susanna (Bethune), ii. 53.  
 Pemberton, Thomas, i. 11, 139; ii. 208.  
 Penn, James, i. 12, 15, 19, 25, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 36, 41, 42, 43, 51, 52, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62, 63, 73, 74, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 87, 88, 131, 132, 145, 159, 165, 168, 169, 170, 173, 180, 200, 218.  
 Pepperrell, Mary (Hirst), i. 565.  
 Pepperrell, Sir William, i. 563, 565, 567, 571; ii. 31.  
 Perkins, Augustus Thorndike, ii. 141, 145.  
 Perkins, Thomas H., ii. 364.  
 Perry, Dorothy (Powell), i. 119.



- Perry, Seth, i. 28, 51, 113, 119, 144, 148, 208.  
 Peryer, George, i. 131.  
 Peters, ii. 102.  
 Pettee, Nathaniel, Jr., ii. 482.  
 Pews in meeting-house, i. 253, 255, 308, 376, 398, 399, 405, 429, 436, 441, 447, 448, 449, 456, 482, 484, 485, 486, 532, 562, 567, 583, 600; ii. 66, 87, 88, 95, 151, 197, 213, 216, 225, 226, 227, 238, 261, 262, 264, 268, 276, 277, 279, 290, 296, 300, 312, 320, 329, 345, 375, 376, 391, 409, 418, 426, 445; proprietors of, ii. 474.  
 Phelps, Abner, ii. 484.  
 Philip, conference with, i. 206; raid on Swanzev, i. 207.  
*Philip, Robert*, i. 511, 512.  
 Phillips, Abigail (Bromfield), ii. 29, 75, 289.  
 Phillips Academy, Exeter, ii. 289.  
*Phillips, Alonso*, ii. 467.  
 Phillips, Edward, ii. 258, 344, 355, 356, 374, 378, 386, 387, 392, 393, 394, 399, 401, 410, 418, 420, 435, 438, 445, 454, 482, 484, 487.  
*Phillips, George*, i. 125, 432.  
 Phillips, Gillam, i. 433; ii. 38.  
 Phillips, Hannah (Gillam), i. 432.  
 Phillips, Henry, i. 208, 218, 432.  
 Phillips, John, i. 238; ii. 23, 289, 381.  
 Phillips, John Charles, ii. 213.  
 Phillips, Mrs. John Charles (Welch), ii. 474.  
 Phillips, Jonathan, i. 581; ii. 285, 326, 401, 488.  
 Phillips, Marie (Faneuil), i. 433.  
 Phillips, Mary (Salisbury), ii. 401, 487.  
 Phillips, Miriam (Mason), ii. 348, 481.  
 Phillips, Rebecca (Salisbury), ii. 285.  
*Phillips, Samuel*, i. 62, 67, 87, 89, 109, 150, 159, 183, 204, 221, 296, 408; ii. 75.  
 Phillips, Hon. Samuel, i. 328, 346, 361, 362, 363, 371, 432; ii. 257, 289.  
 Phillips, Theresa (Henshaw), ii. 487.  
 Phillips, William, Senr., i. 581; ii. 19, 25, 29, 37, 39, 47, 51, 53, 65, 66, 74, 75, 95, 107, 108, 110, 119, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 130, 132, 134, 135, 138, 151, 157, 160, 168, 170, 175, 191, 192, 196, 197, 200, 201, 212, 213, 214, 225, 228, 255, 256, 267, 278, 281, 289.  
 Phillips, William, Jr., ii. 75, 151, 175, 192, 194, 197, 254, 255, 257, 258, 259, 266, 272, 273, 281, 285, 290, 297, 298, 299, 302, 305, 311, 312, 315, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 328, 329, 337, 343, 344, 348, 354, 355, 357, 362, 363, 364, 365, 370, 372, 373, 374, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 382, 385, 386, 391, 392, 398, 399, 400, 404, 407, 409, 410, 411, 415, 418, 420, 421, 426, 428, 435, 436, 437, 438, 442, 445, 446, 447, 449, 450, 452, 454, 460, 461, 462, 463, 466, 470, 474, 483, 485, 487, 488.  
 Phips, Lady (Sergeant), i. 283; ii. 331.  
 Phips, Spencer, i. 478, 479, 508, 523; ii. 331.  
 Phips, Sir William, i. 271, 280, 281, 286, 393.  
*Pickering, Theophilus*, i. 585.  
 Pickering, Timothy, ii. 380.  
 Pickins, James, ii. 420.  
 Pickman, Benjamin, ii. 28.  
*Pierce, John*, i. 539; ii. 21, 50, 330.  
*Pierce, Richard*, i. 514, 518.  
 Pierpont, Benjamin, ii. 134, 139, 179.  
*Pierpont, John*, ii. 420, 421, 424, 425.  
*Pierpont, Jonathan*, i. 334, 337.  
 Pierpont, Robert, ii. 153, 157, 175.  
*Pike, James*, ii. 238.  
 Pillsbury, William, i. 115.  
 Pinchon, John, i. 77, 145.  
 Pinckney, Thomas, ii. 247.  
 Pine Street Church, ii. 488, 489.  
 Pirates taken, 1689, i. 280.  
 Pitkin, Timothy, ii. 380.  
 Pitts, John, i. 447.  
 Plan of Church land, ii. 138.  
*Plumb, Albert Hale*, ii. 561, 573, 574, 575.  
 Plumer, Avery, ii. 524, 527, 544, 555, 557, 576.  
 Plymouth Church, i. 181; Colony, i. 207, 208; ii. 44.  
 Pokanokets, i. 206.  
 Pollard, Anne, i. 418.  
 Pollard, Benjamin, i. 561.  
 Pollard, William, i. 209.  
*Pomroy, Augustus*, ii. 484.  
*Pomroy, Benjamin*, i. 593.  
 Pond, Margaret, i. 293.  
 Poole, William F., i. 284.  
*Popkin, John Snelling*, ii. 268, 283.  
 Porter, Abel, i. 57.  
*Porter, Ebenezer*, ii. 413, 429, 430.  
*Porter, Edward Collins*, ii. 562.  
*Porter, Edward Griffin*, i. 160; ii. 154, 287, 354.  
*Porter, Eliphalet*, ii. 303, 330, 339, 430.  
*Porter, John*, i. 591.  
*Porter, Samuel*, ii. 47.  
 "Post Boy and Advertiser," ii. 237.  
 Potter, Luke, i. 62, 67.  
*Potter, Nathaniel*, ii. 21, 48, 86.  
 Powell, Jeremiah, ii. 225.  
 Powell, Sarah (Bromfield), ii. 225.  
 Pownall, Thomas, ii. 26, 31, 50, 207.  
 Powning, Henry, i. 218.  
 Pratt, Sereno Brainerd, ii. 561.  
 Prayer meeting, ii. 395, 396.  
 "Prentice — Prentiss Family," ii. 120.  
*Prentiss, Joshua*, ii. 120.  
 Prentiss, Mary (Scollay), ii. 120.  
 Prentiss, Nathaniel S., ii. 480.  
 Prentice, Thomas, i. 208.  
*Prentice, Thomas*, i. 496, 530, 536; ii. 411.  
*Prentice, Thomas*, ii. 120.

- Presbyterian Church, ii. 168, 251; ordination, ii. 307.  
 Presbyterianism, i. 375; ii. 103, 230.  
 Presbyterians and Congregationalists, ii. 46.  
 Presbyterians of Middle States, ii. 367.  
*Prescott, Benjamin*, i. 354.  
 Prescott, Dr., —, ii. 174.  
 Presents received by Dr. Eckley, ii. 260, 261.  
 Price, Ezekiel, ii. 175, 198, 239; diary, ii. 259.  
*Price, Roger*, i. 523.  
 Price, Walter, i. 62.  
 Prince, Deborah, i. 503, 547, 549, 552.  
 Prince, John, i. 386.  
 Prince Library, i. 264; ii. 62, 133, 294, 373, 383, 384.  
 Prince, Mary (Thacher), i. 548.  
 Prince, Mercy (Hinckley), i. 386.  
 Prince, Samuel, i. 386.  
 Prince, Sarah (Gill), ii. 44.  
 Prince, Thomas, Gov. Plymouth, i. 181.  
*Prince, Thomas*, i. 131, 228, 231, 235, 339, 341, 374, 378, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 401, 406, 409, 413, 414, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 422, 423, 428, 434, 439, 443, 444, 449, 451, 452, 454, 455, 457, 459, 460, 467, 468, 469, 473, 479, 482, 483, 485, 491, 494, 499, 501, 502, 503, 505, 506, 512, 516, 517, 518, 525, 529, 530, 534, 536, 540, 542, 548, 551, 552, 557, 558, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 568, 569, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 577, 581, 590, 593, 596, 600, 601; ii. 56, 18, 22, 26, 31, 32, 33, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 64, 70, 72, 144, 178, 182, 187, 203, 233, 269, 302, 394, 395, 430, 520; bibliography, 612-630.  
 Prince, Thomas, Jr. i. 520.  
 Prince, Thomas? i. 456.  
 Proctor, John C., ii. 561.  
 Proctor, Nathaniel, i. 592, 595.  
 Property, conveyance of, ii. 544; details of, ii. 312, 315, 391, 398, 409, 411.  
 Proposals of 1705, ii. 252, 259, 381.  
 Protest of Governor and Magistrates, i. 79; of South Church, i. 593.  
 Prout, Timothy, i. 409, 422, 436, 486, 583.  
 Province House, i. 282, 283.  
 Provincial Congress, ii. 184.  
*Provoost, Samuel*, ii. 217.  
 Psalmody, ii. 276.  
 Psalms, versions of, ii. 19, 20, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 233.  
 Puffer, Reuben, ii. 363.  
 Pulpit, ii. 225, 321, 322, 329.  
 Pulsifer, David, i. 398; ii. 299.  
 Pulsifer, Royal M., ii. 544.  
 Purchis, Oliver, i. 111.  
 "Puritan Age and Rule in Mass.," i. 218.  
 Puritans and Charles First, ii. 156.  
 Putnam, Ann, i. 286.  
 Putnam, Joseph, i. 297.  
 Putnam, Mary Traill Spence, ii. 303.  
 Pynchon, Joseph, ii. 53.  
 Pynchon, Mary, ii. 53.  
 Pynchon, Mary (Eliot), ii. 53.  
 Pynchon, William, i. 113, 319.  
 Quakers, i. 217, 218, 219, 252.  
 Qualifications for Communion, ii. 4, 5.  
 Quarterly charity lecture, ii. 231.  
 Quebec, i. 281; ii. 50; capture of, ii. 27; and Montreal, ii. 27.  
 Queen, birthday of, i. 257.  
 Questions and proposals, i. 331, 332, 334, 374, 376.  
 Quincy, Abigail (Phillips), ii. 266.  
 Quincy, Anna (Shepard), i. 115.  
 Quincy, Daniel, i. 115, 223, 236.  
 Quincy, Edmund, i. 114, 478; ii. 70, 122.  
 Quincy, Edmund, ii. 530, 531.  
 Quincy, Eliza Susan, ii. 225, 234, 371.  
 Quincy, Hannah (Sturgis), ii. 267.  
 Quincy, Josiah, ii. 267.  
 Quincy, Josiah, Jr. (the patriot), ii. 153, 266, 267, 317.  
 Quincy, Josiah (Pres. H. C.), i. 184, 188, 189, 262, 280, 320, 324, 353, 358, 415; ii. 47, 70, 86, 87, 150, 255, 260, 266, 334, 371.  
 Quincy, Judith (Hull), i. 114.  
 "Quo Warranto," i. 249, 250.  
 Quorum of Eccles. Council, i. 159.  
 "Rambles in Old Boston," i. 160.  
 Rand, Samuel, i. 405, 435.  
 Randall, Elizabeth (Wells), ii. 256.  
 Randall, John, ii. 256.  
 Randolph, Edward, i. 93, 243, 249, 250, 261, 263, 265, 266, 270, 271, 279, 338.  
 Randolph, Mrs., i. 263.  
*Ratcliffe, Robert*, i. 262, 268, 269, 270, 272, 278.  
 Ravenscroft, Samuel, i. 361.  
 Rawson, Ann (Glover), i. 166.  
 Rawson, Edward, i. 28, 41, 50, 56, 57, 95, 97, 100, 107, 113, 115, 116, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 140, 142, 144, 148, 208, 214, 215, 216, 223, 243, 261, 273, 274, 275, 276.  
*Rawson, Grindall*, i. 236, 538.  
 Rawson, John, i. 236.  
 Rawson, Margaret (Wilson), i. 116.  
 Rawson, Rachel, i. 116, 165, 168, 202.  
 Rawson, William, i. 236.  
 Raynsford, David, i. 209.  
 Raynsford, Edward, i. 25, 29, 49, 51, 113, 114, 115, 128, 133, 134, 142, 144, 147, 148, 151, 153, 159, 160, 163, 202, 213, 214, 216, 233, 241, 242.  
 Raynsford, Elizabeth, i. 165, 168, 202.  
 Raynsford, Elizabeth (Greenough), i. 235.  
 Raynsford, Mary, i. 235.  
 Raynsford, Sir Richard, i. 114.  
 Raynsford, Solomon, i. 135, 235.  
 Reconciliation, i. 243.

- "Records First Church in Charlestown," i. 122.  
 Reed, William, ii. 436.  
*Relly, James*, ii. 97, 221.  
 Remington, Jonathan, i. 300.  
 Report on Mr. Bacon's preaching, ii. 160, 161, 162, 163.  
 Retrenchment, ii. 85.  
 Revenue Act, ii. 85.  
 Revere, Paul, ii. 154, 173, 174.  
 Revival of religious interest, ii. 29, 288, 502, 513; results of, i. 519, 534, 547, 548.  
 Revolution of 1689, i. 279.  
 Reynolds, Nathaniel, i. 281.  
*Rice, Luther*, ii. 369.  
 Richards, John, i. 107, 128, 142, 213, 247, 249, 261, 286.  
 Richardson, Amos, i. 130, 131.  
 Richardson, Jeffery, ii. 259.  
*Richardson, John*, i. 185.  
 Richardson, William Fox, ii. 561.  
 Rights of the Churches, i. 333.  
*Ripley, Ezra*, ii. 270, 392.  
*Robbins, Chandler*, i. 320, 400, 403, 411, 452, 488, 527; ii. 16, 91, 148, 149, 187, 390, 503, 504.  
*Robbins, Chandler*, ii. 234.  
 Robbins, Edward H., ii. 337.  
*Robbins, Nathaniel*, ii. 132.  
 Robie, Thomas, i. 366.  
*Robinson, Charles*, ii. 429.  
*Robinson, John*, i. 312.  
 Rock, Elizabeth (Wilson, Danforth), i. 368.  
 Rock, Elizabeth (Coggan), i. 117, 165, 168, 202.  
 Rock, Joseph, i. 28, 51, 113, 117, 140, 141, 143, 144, 148.  
 Rock, Mary (Wilson, Danforth), i. 117.  
*Rockwood, Otis*, ii. 459, 461.  
 Rogers, Charles E., ii. 561.  
 Rogers, George, ii. 480.  
 Rogers, Jacob, ii. 562.  
*Rogers, John*, i. 304, 525, 534, 586.  
*Rogers, Nathaniel*, i. 586.  
*Rogers, William Matticks*, ii. 501.  
*Rogerson, Robert*, ii. 21.  
 Rope walks, ii. 259, 260.  
 Ropes, Joseph Samuel, ii. 561.  
 Ropes, William, ii. 480.  
 Rotch, Francis, ii. 152, 153.  
 Roulstone & More, ii. 134.  
 Round Marsh, now public garden, ii. 260.  
 Rouse, Martha, i. 582, 598.  
 Rowe, John, ii. 75, 153.  
*Rowlandson, Joseph*, i. 62, 67, 204, 210.  
 Rowlandson, Mary, i. 209, 210.  
 "Roxbury Church Records," i. 67, 92, 93, 122, 159, 167.  
 Royall, Elizabeth, i. 505.  
 Royall, Isaac, i. 505.  
 Ruling Elders, i. 241, 242.  
 Rumney Marsh, now Chelsea, i. 377.  
 Rush, Jacob, ii. 125.  
*Russell, John*, i. 95, 96, 97, 190.  
 Russell, Noadiah, i. 160.  
 Russell, Richard, i. 77, 144, 145, 212, 313.  
*Sabine, James*, ii. 416, 417, 478.  
 Sabine, Lorenzo, ii. 155.  
*Sacheverel, Henry*, i. 571.  
 Sacrament, The, i. 163, 268, 270, 305, 329; ii. 438.  
 Saffin, John, i. 313, 317.  
 Salary, ii. 82, 137, 245, 320, 323, 453.  
 Salem, Church at, i. 467, 468, 470, 481; ii. 229; Witchcraft, i. 297.  
 "Salem Church Records," i. 91, 92.  
 Salem Street Church, ii. 488, 489, 500.  
 Salisbury, Abigail Salisbury (Phillips), ii. 496.  
 Salisbury, Abigail Truman Snow, ii. 411.  
 Salisbury, Benjamin, ii. 52.  
 Salisbury, Daniel Waldo, ii. 576.  
 Salisbury, Edward Elbridge, i. 353; ii. 258, 401, 443, 496, 497.  
 Salisbury, Elizabeth (Sewall), ii. 258, 402, 404.  
 Salisbury, Elizabeth Martha (Woolsey), ii. 403.  
 Salisbury, Josiah, ii. 70, 258, 285, 326, 393, 394, 401, 402, 403, 406, 407, 412, 415, 418, 437, 438, 445, 447, 450, 452, 454, 459, 460, 462, 475, 477, 478, 481, 485.  
 Salisbury, Martha (Saunders), ii. 29, 258.  
 Salisbury, Nicholas, ii. 29, 258.  
 Salisbury, Rebecca (Waldo), ii. 29.  
 Salisbury, Samuel, ii. 70, 238, 239, 251, 254, 255, 257, 258, 259, 277, 278, 281, 295, 297, 298, 299, 302, 305, 311, 312, 315, 317, 319, 321, 323, 324, 325, 329, 343, 349, 357, 363, 365, 370, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 386, 387, 392, 399, 401, 404, 410, 411, 420, 421, 428, 445, 576.  
 Salisbury, Samuel, Jr., ii. 576.  
 Salisbury, Stephen, ii. 258.  
 Salter, Æneas, i. 354.  
 Salter, Anne, i. 373.  
 Salter, James, i. 373.  
 Salter, Malachi, Jr., i. 567.  
 Salter, Mary, i. 119, 165, 168, 202.  
 Salter, William, i. 28, 51, 113, 119, 144, 148, 218, 247.  
 Saltonstall, Gurdon, i. 357.  
 Saltonstall, Mary (Clark), i. 357, 358.  
 Saltonstall, Nathaniel, i. 286.  
 Sampson, George R., ii. 508.  
 Sanders, Orren S., ii. 561.  
*Sandeman, Robert*, ii. 98.  
 Sanderson, Robert, i. 49.  
 Sanford, John, i. 28, 116, 119, 120, 144, 148, 298.  
 Sanford, Sarah, i. 120, 298.  
 Saunders, Josiah, ii. 258.  
 Saunders, Rebecca (Elbridge), ii. 258.

- Sausaman, i. 207.  
*Sanger, Ralph*, ii. 298, 303.  
 Savage, Benjamin, i. 361.  
 Savage, Ebenezer, i. 361.  
 Savage Ephraim, i. 266, 281, 303, 319, 340, 350, 360, 422, 423, 429, 456.  
 Savage, Faith, i. 370.  
 Savage, Habijah, i. 319, 360, 388, 405.  
 Savage, Habijah, 2d, i. 361.  
 Savage, Hannah (Phillips), i. 328, 362.  
 Savage, James, i. 117, 190, 298.  
 Savage, Mary (Symmes), i. 165, 168, 202.  
 Savage, Mary (Thacher), i. 236.  
 Savage, Perez, i. 209, 361.  
 Savage, Sarah (Higginson), i. 91.  
 Savage, Thomas, i. 28, 43, 51, 56, 63, 91, 107, 113, 116, 117, 128, 133, 134, 140, 144, 146, 147, 148, 151, 154, 155, 156, 160, 170, 208, 209, 214, 215, 216, 218, 233, 242, 319, 341, 391; ii. 541.  
 Savage, Thomas, Jr., i. 116, 209, 318, 355, 361.  
 Scarcity of grain, 1713, i. 369.  
 Schism approaching, ii. 355.  
 Scollay, John, i. 545, 583; ii. 11, 13, 17, 19, 28, 39, 51, 53, 72, 74, 108, 126, 132, 138, 151, 154, 157, 168, 170, 171, 175, 188, 189, 192, 197, 201, 203, 206, 207, 215, 229, 234, 242, 252.  
 Scollay, John, Jr., i. 175.  
 Scollay, Mary (Prentiss), ii. 252.  
 Scollay, Mercy, ii. 171, 252.  
 Scollay, Priscilla (Melvill), ii. 252.  
 Scollay, William, ii. 238, 251, 254, 255, 259, 274, 277, 281, 298, 305, 349, 361.  
 Scotch families, i. 583; Presbyterians, ii. 236.  
 Scottow, Elizabeth, i. 116.  
 Scottow, Joshua, i. 11, 12, 28, 51, 58, 113, 116, 133, 134, 137, 140, 144, 148, 154, 155, 156, 170, 198, 202, 210, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 254, 258, 273, 274, 275, 276, 283, 288, 395, 442.  
 Scottow, Lydia, (Gibbs, Checkley, Colman), i. 116.  
 Scottow, Lydia i. 116, 165, 166, 202.  
 Scottow, Rebecca, i. 116.  
 Scottow, Sarah, i. 116.  
 Scottow, Thomas, i. 116.  
 Scriptures, public reading of, i. 326, 481.  
 Scudder, Charles, ii. 480.  
*Scudder, John*, ii. 413.  
*Seabury, Samuel*, ii. 217.  
 Search, Anna, i. 277.  
 Search, John, i. 168.  
*Searing, James*, i. 498.  
 Searle, Daniel, i. 23.  
*Searle, Jonathan*, ii. 143, 171.  
 Sears, Alexander, i. 372.  
 Sears, Rebecca, i. 372.  
 Seaters, i. 485, 486, 567, 583, 600; ii. 25, 68, 137. See Overseers.  
 Seats, ii. 138.  
*Seecombe, Joseph*, i. 432, 464.  
 Second (or North) Church, i. 3, 16, 55, 154, 251, 268, 372, 411, 467, 526; ii. 187, 230, 303.  
 "Second Church Records," ii. 177.  
*Seelye, Julius Hawley*, ii. 509.  
 Selby, William, ii. 225.  
 Selectmen, i. 128, 142, 369.  
 Selfridge, Thomas Oliver, i. 328.  
 "Selling of Joseph," i. 316.  
 Sentence of excommunication, i. 585.  
 Separatists, i. 539, 542, 546, 570.  
 September Gale, 1815, ii. 387.  
*Sergeant, John*, i. 477; ii. 10.  
 Sergeant, Peter, i. 107, 279, 282, 283, 285, 286, 302, 307, 313, 315, 343, 346, 348, 349, 355, 357, 360, 363, 364, 368, 369.  
 Serle, Ephraim, i. 190.  
 Sessions, Horace, ii. 484.  
 Seven Years War; The, ii. 26.  
*Sever, Nicholas*, i. 385.  
 Sewall, Abigail (Tilly), i. 396.  
*Sewall, Charles Chauncy*, ii. 126.  
 Sewall, David, ii. 47.  
 Sewall, Elizabeth (Quincy), ii. 70, 123, 134, 404.  
 Sewall, Elizabeth (Walley), i. 363, 569; ii. 99, 404.  
 Sewall, Hannah (Hull), i. 213, 236, 389; ii. 404.  
 Sewall, Jonathan, i. 432.  
*Sewall, Joseph*, i. 228, 319, 326, 335, 336, 337, 339, 347, 348, 359, 352, 353, 354, 355, 357, 358, 359, 362, 363, 366, 367, 370, 373, 378, 381, 383, 385, 387, 388, 391, 397, 398, 401, 411, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 423, 424, 430, 435, 444, 449, 450, 451, 459, 461, 463, 464, 465, 466, 468, 478, 480, 495, 501, 505, 514, 515, 516, 518, 519, 528, 531, 534, 536, 552, 581, 588, 593, 596; ii. 8, 18, 26, 28, 41, 43, 50, 53, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 65, 67, 68, 70, 72, 81, 85, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 112, 122, 144, 178, 187, 203, 236, 287, 302, 348, 394, 404; diaries and records, i. 336, 337, 342, 343, 364, 367, 368, 370, 371, 373, 374, 389, 405, 406, 409, 410, 413, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 443, 447, 448, 449, 452, 453, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 461, 462, 463, 467, 469, 470, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 486, 487, 488, 490, 491, 494, 496, 497, 498, 499, 507, 508, 511, 515, 521, 528, 532, 533, 537, 538, 544, 546, 562, 566, 568, 575, 576, 577, 378, 583, 584, 585, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602; ii. 3, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 37, 38, 39, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 65, 66, 69, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 89; bibliography, 630-637.  
 Sewall, Mary (Shrimpton, Gibbs), i. 407.



- Sewall, Rebecca, i. 444.  
 Sewall, Samuel, i. 11, 107, 114, 132, 188, 202, 213, 214, 223, 225, 251, 255, 257, 258, 264, 266, 272, 275, 281, 282, 283, 285, 286, 288, 290, 291, 292, 293, 297, 298, 302, 303, 305, 312, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 321, 323, 324, 327, 329, 334, 336, 342, 344, 345, 347, 348, 349, 350, 353, 356, 360, 362, 368, 369, 370, 372, 373, 376, 377, 379, 380, 384, 389, 392, 396, 401, 404, 406, 407, 411, 423, 425, 426, 432, 441, 442, 443, 444, 464; ii. 18, 29, 70, 287, 404, 533, 534; "Sewall's diaries," i. 212, 213, 218, 221, 225, 236, 237, 238, 247, 248, 251, 252, 253, 254, 256, 257, 260, 263, 267, 268, 269, 270, 272, 277, 281, 282, 284, 288, 293, 294, 296, 298, 299, 300, 302, 303, 307, 313, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 321, 323, 324, 327, 328, 329, 334, 335, 336, 337, 342, 345, 346, 347, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 366, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 377, 378, 379, 382, 384, 388, 390, 391, 392, 393, 396, 400, 401, 404, 406, 407, 408, 411, 412, 413, 416, 418, 419, 431.  
 Sewall, Samuel, Jr., i. 337, 415, 444, 525.  
 Sewall, Samuel, 3d (Deacon Sewall), i. 373; ii. 69, 72, 74, 99, 111, 122, 123, 125, 126, 134, 348, 404, 430.  
 Sewall, Samuel, 4th, ii. 70.  
 Sewall, Samuel (of Burlington), i. 336.  
 Sewall, Samuel, i. 442; ii. 126, 361, 430.  
 Sewall, Stephen, i. 492; ii. 23, 26.  
 "Sewall Letter Book," i. 191, 460.  
 "Sewall Papers," i. 107, 120, 182, 225, 255, 362, 393, 394, 444.  
 Seymour, MacNeil, ii. 463.  
 Sharp, Daniel, ii. 376.  
 Shattuck, Lemuel, i. 483.  
 Shaw, Lemuel, ii. 296.  
 Shawmut Council, 1886, ii. 578.  
 Shays' Rebellion, ii. 231, 246.  
 Sheaffe, Elizabeth (Gibbs, Corwin), i. 285.  
 Sheaffe, Jacob, i. 229.  
 Sheaffe, Joseph, i. 398.  
 Sheaffe, Margaret (Thacher), i. 125, 168, 213.  
 Sheaffe, Mehetabel, i. 212, 399.  
 Sheaffe, Sampson, i. 212, 398, 399.  
 Shepard, —, i. 284.  
 Shepard, Thomas, i. 236, 238, 507.  
 Shepard, Thomas, 2d, i. 62, 67, 87, 89, 91, 109, 150, 153, 160, 161, 162, 163, 193, 236, 237, 238.  
 Shepard, Thomas, 3d, i. 237, 238.  
 Sherburne, Joseph, i. 563, 564.  
 Sherman, Abigail (Willard), i. 226.  
 Sherman, John, i. 62, 67, 87, 109, 150, 193.  
 Sherrer, Mrs. (Wharton), i. 399.  
 Shippen, Edward, i. 272.  
 Shippen William, ii. 95.  
 Shirley, William, i. 523, 573; ii. 31, 46.  
 "Short History of the English People," i. 260, 556; ii. 27.  
 Short, Matthew, i. 428.  
 Shove, George, i. 221.  
 Shurtleff, Nathaniel Bradstreet, ii. 260, 340.  
 Shurtleff, William, i. 335, 551.  
 Shute, Samuel, i. 283, 410, 432.  
 Sibley, John Langdon, i. 188.  
 Simpkins, John, ii. 411.  
 Simpson, Benjamin, i. 495.  
 Simpson, Deborah, i. 366.  
 Simpson, Holmes, ii. 74.  
 Simpson, Isaac P., ii. 379, 474.  
 Simpson, John, i. 498; ii. 76.  
 Simpson, Jonathan, i. 228, 462, 492; ii. 10, 53, 69, 70, 73.  
 Simpson, Lucretia, ii. 74.  
 Simpson, Mary, i. 419.  
 Simpson, Mary? i. 576.  
 Simson, Savil, i. 281, 282.  
 Singer, Elizabeth (Rowe), i. 311.  
 Singing, ii. 299, 306, 354, 378, 385, 391, 418; at South Braintree, i. 412.  
 Skelton, Samuel, i. 125.  
 Skilman, Isaac, ii. 176.  
 Skinner, Thomas Harvey, ii. 489.  
 Slave trade, ii. 253.  
 Slavery, ii. 253.  
 Smallpox, i. 327, 406, 407, 441, 501, 502; ii. 11, 75, 254.  
 Smedley, John, i. 62, 67.  
 Smibert, John, i. 450, 482.  
 Smith, Isaac, ii. 176, 241.  
 Smith, Josiah, i. 500.  
 Smith, Mary, i. 255.  
 Smith, Richard, ii. 129.  
 Smith, Samuel, i. 96, 111.  
 Smith, Thomas, i. 543.  
 Snow, Thomas, i. 218.  
 Snow-storm, i. 159, 380, 381, 382; ii. 560.  
 Society for propagating Christian knowledge, i. 488; ii. 240, 241, 290.  
 Society for propagation of the Gospel, ii. 10, 299, 301, 352, 481.  
 Soldiers in King Philip's war, i. 209.  
 Soley, John, ii. 138, 140.  
 Somes, Elizabeth (Dawes), ii. 249.  
 Somes, Nehemiah, ii. 192, 193, 195, 238, 239, 249, 250, 251, 254, 255, 259, 277, 281, 297, 298, 305, 308, 311, 321, 323, 326, 344, 349, 355, 356.  
 South Braintree, Council at, i. 412.  
 South Church, i. 140, 326, 341, 348, 351, 354, 355, 357, 358, 359, 391, 395, 413, 425, 427, 436, 441, 442, 461, 471, 472, 493, 495, 504, 508, 510, 519, 521, 527, 562, 582, 592, 594, 596, 597; ii. 8, 20, 22, 29, 76, 84, 87, 89, 94, 97, 109, 121, 123, 132, 135, 139, 155, 317.  
 South Cong. Society, ii. 240.  
 South Kingston lands, i. 488, 489, 491.  
 South Row, Boston, ii. 278.  
 Southack, Cyprian, i. 282.

- Southgate, Dorcas, i. 397.  
 Southgate, Elizabeth, i. 397.  
 Southgate, James, i. 397.  
 Southgate, Margaret, i. 397.  
 Southgate, Richard, i. 397.  
*Sparhawk, John*, i. 472.  
*Sparhawk, Nathaniel*, i. 431.  
*Spaulding, Joshua*, ii. 229.  
*Spaulding, Levi*, ii. 413.  
 Spence, Harriet Brackett (Lowell), i. 583.  
*Spencer, Elihu*, i. 598.  
 "Spirit of the Pilgrims," ii. 369.  
*Sprague, William Buell*, ii. 84, 92, 102, 123, 132, 140, 141, 143, 179, 234, 237, 250, 303, 311, 322, 340, 362, 385, 433, 448, 460, 461, 475.  
 Spring Lane, i. 130; ii. 135, 382, 411.  
*Spring, Samuel*, ii. 351, 369, 405.  
 Stamp Act, ii. 80.  
 Stanbury, Arthur J., ii. 460.  
 Staniford, John, i. 504.  
 State Convention, 1798, ii. 268.  
 State House Commission, ii. 337.  
*Stearns, Josiah*, ii. 492.  
 Stearns, Richard Hall, ii. 557.  
*Stearns, Samuel*, ii. 492.  
*Stearns, Samuel Horatio*, ii. 87, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499; bibliography, 637, 638.  
*Stearns, William Augustus*, ii. 492, 501, 511.  
 Steel, John, ii. 75.  
 Steeple, Old South, ii. 507.  
 Stevens, Ebenezer, ii. 190, 440.  
*Stevens, Joseph*, i. 354, 355, 356, 368, 407; ii. 296.  
*Stiles, Ezra*, i. 12, 376, 498; ii. 49, 284.  
*Stillman, Samuel*, ii. 229, 289.  
 Stillson, William, i. 62, 67.  
 Stipend, 1748, i. 583.  
 Stocker, Ebenezer, ii. 364.  
 Stoddard, Anthony, i. 18, 43, 56, 57, 82, 95, 111, 128, 146, 169, 190, 218.  
 Stoddard, Anthony, 2d, i. 405, 436, 441, 463, 470, 474, 482, 484, 487, 491, 498, 521, 542, 562, 567, 575.  
 Stoddard, Charles, i. 43; ii. 500, 504, 508, 521, 524, 531, 534, 535, 550.  
*Stoddard, Charles Augustus*, ii. 502, 528, 550, 562.  
 Stoddard, David, i. 342.  
 Stoddard, Martha (Belcher), i. 342.  
 Stoddard, Mary (Symmes, Savage), i. 117.  
 Stoddard, Simeon, i. 43, 282, 302, 327, 329, 343, 346, 363, 364, 443, 455; ii. 150.  
 Stoddard, Simeon, i. 342.  
*Stoddard, Solomon*, i. 43, 252, 374, 425, 507; ii. 4, 6, 9, 534.  
*Stone, Andrew L.*, ii. 521.  
*Stone, Nathaniel*, i. 403.  
 Stone, Samuel, i. 300.  
*Stone, Nathan*, ii. 170.  
 Stone Chapel, ii. 203, 380, 430; see King's Chapel.  
*Storer, Seth*, i. 408.  
 Stores on land of Old South, ii. 276, 279, 300, 301.  
 Storm, and wreck off Cape Ann, i. 124; of snow, i. 380, 381, 382; ii. 560; of thunder and lightning, i. 529.  
 Storrs, Harriet (Moore), ii. 396, 397.  
*Storrs, Richard Salter*, ii. 351, 396, 397, 405, 446, 461, 477, 478.  
 Story, Joseph, ii. 384, 401, 442.  
 Story, William, i. 539.  
 Stoves in the meeting-house, ii. 137, 226.  
 Stoughton, Elizabeth, i. 166.  
 Stoughton, William, i. 83, 107, 183, 261, 264, 269, 281, 282, 285, 286, 293, 313, 319, 408.  
*Stowe, Calvin Ellis*, ii. 496.  
*Street, Nicholas*, i. 12, 20, 31, 33, 36, 44, 45, 81, 83.  
 Streeter, Luman, ii. 399.  
 Strong, Caleb, ii. 132, 372, 392.  
*Stuart, Moses*, ii. 413, 442, 464, 467.  
 Studley, William, ii. 52.  
*Studley, William S.*, ii. 520.  
*Sturgeon, Robert*, i. 408.  
 Sturgis, Russell, ii. 268.  
*Sturtevant, Julian Monson*, ii. 521.  
 Subscriptions, i. 189, 295, 388, 463; ii. 266.  
 "Sudbury Records MSS.," ii. 11.  
 Sullivan, George, ii. 391.  
 Sullivan, James, ii. 242, 287, 302.  
 Sullivan, William, ii. 381.  
 Sumner, Hannah, i. 277.  
 Sumner, Increase, i. 191; ii. 141.  
 Sumptuary legislation, ii. 58.  
 Sunday school, ii. 406, 507.  
 Support of ministry, i. 452, 474, 475, 482, 484, 486, 497, 498, 580.  
 Supreme Court decisions, ii. 532, 542.  
 Swan, Reuben, ii. 561.  
 Sweetser, Catharine, ii. 280.  
 Sweetser, John, ii. 138, 153, 157, 193, 196, 201, 238, 249, 250, 251, 254, 255, 259, 273, 274, 276, 277, 279, 280, 281, 349.  
 Sweetser, John, Jr., ii. 140.  
 Swett, Elizabeth, ii. 98.  
 Swett, Mary, ii. 98.  
 Swett, William, ii. 98.  
*Swift, Elisha Pope*, ii. 405.  
 Symmes, John, i. 562; ii. 11, 17, 28, 55, 75.  
*Symmes, Timothy*, i. 593.  
*Symmes, Zechariah*, i. 87, 114, 117, 150, 153, 236.  
 Symonds, Samuel, i. 79, 91.  
 Synod of 1662, i. 9; of 1679 (the Reforming Synod), i. 231, 232, 233, 234.  
 Synods, councils, consociations, etc., i. 403.  
*Taft, Moses*, ii. 194.

- Tailer, William, i. 302, 352, 370, 400, 443.  
*Tappan, David*, ii. 257, 284, 332, 472.  
*Tappan, David* (Augusta), ii. 436.  
 Tappan, John, i. 28, 51, 119, 144, 148.  
 Tappan, John, ii. 480.  
 Tappan, Mary (Avery), i. 120, 165, 168, 202.  
*Tarbox, Increase Niles*, ii. 32, 33, 562, 577.  
*Taylor, Jeremy*, i. 260.  
 Taylor, John, i. 454.  
 Taylor, Rebecca (Stoughton), i. 166, 265.  
 Taylor, Richard, i. 60, 327.  
 Taylor, Royal, ii. 75.  
 Taylor, William, i. 166, 567, 600; and see Tailer.  
*Taylor, William M.*, ii. 71, 510, 518, 546, 549.  
 Tea, East India Co.'s, ii. 151; destruction of, ii. 154; ships, ii. 151, 152, 153, 154.  
*Temple, Daniel*, ii. 477.  
*Tennent, Gilbert*, i. 508, 516, 517, 519, 559, 597; ii. 17, 395.  
*Tennent, William*, ii. 46.  
 Tenney, Samuel, ii. 500.  
 Terms of membership, i. 435; of communion, ii. 95, 96, 111, 112, 113, 195, 541.  
 Test: character rather than creed, ii. 90.  
 Testimony of seventeen ministers, i. 84, 85, 86, 87.  
*Thacher, Anthony*, i. 123, 124.  
 Thacher, Elizabeth (Partridge), i. 124, 125.  
 Thacher, Elizabeth, i. 211.  
 Thacher, John, i. 211.  
 Thacher, Margaret (Webb, Sheaffe), i. 120, 125, 168, 202, 230, 285.  
 Thacher, Mary (Savage), i. 236, 338, 361.  
 Thacher, Mary (Prince), i. 548, 591.  
 Thacher, Oxenbridge, i. 174, 399, 544, 562, 585, 598, 601; ii. 19, 37, 56, 64, 123.  
 Thacher, Oxenbridge, Jr., ii. 3, 123, 286.  
 Thacher, Paul, i. 211.  
*Thacher, Peter* (of Attleborough), i. 598.  
 Thacher, Peter, i. 123, 125, 210; ii. 576.  
 Thacher, Peter, ii. 298.  
*Thacher, Peter* (of Malden, and Brattle St.), ii. 68, 122, 123, 131, 132, 173, 222, 229, 238, 241, 248, 255, 270, 284, 286, 295, 301.  
*Thacher, Peter* (of England), i. 123.  
 Thacher, Peter (of Florida), i. 180.  
*Thacher, Peter* (of Middleborough), i. 548, 591.  
*Thacher, Peter* (of Milton), i. 123, 174, 210, 230, 233, 234, 242, 246, 247, 249, 276, 338, 356, 374, 401, 402, 411, 423; ii. 123.  
*Thacher, Peter* (of Weymouth and Boston), i. 236, 400, 401, 420, 424, 433, 528.  
*Thacher, Ralph*, i. 211.  
*Thacher, Samuel Cooper*, ii. 357, 361.  
 Thacher, Sarah, ii. 286.  
 Thacher, Susanna (Wilkins, Bailey) i. 256.  
*Thacher, Thomas*, i. 9, 17, 43, 47, 81, 84, 109, 122, 123, 124, 125, 128, 147, 148, 151, 157, 158, 159, 161, 162, 163, 173, 178, 180, 182, 193, 198, 210, 211, 212, 213, 219, 221, 228, 229, 230; ii. 1, 123, 143, 236, 361, 500, 560; bibliography, 638, 639.  
 Thacher, Thomas, Jr., 211, 238.  
*Thacher, Thomas* (of Dedham), ii. 286, 363.  
 Thanksgiving day, i. 254, 255, 268, 318, 346, 370, 406, 419, 423, 458, 485, 488, 532, 566, 571, 600; ii. 38, 50, 73, 146, 267, 333; sermon, i. 575, 600, 601.  
 Thatcher, Peter, ii. 505.  
 Thatcher's Island, i. 124.  
*Thayer, Ebenezer*, i. 378.  
*Thayer, Joseph Henry*, ii. 550, 562.  
*Thayer, Nathaniel*, ii. 270.  
 Thayer, Susan, i. 379, 382, 407.  
 Thayer, Ziphion, ii. 192, 198, 238, 251.  
 Thing, Peter, i. 522.  
 Third, or South Church, i. 2, 4, 11, 103, 111, 112, 113 to 122, 126, 127, 128, 140, 143, 147, 148, 154, 155, 164, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 173, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 189, 195, 208, 223, 225, 228, 229, 240, 244, 245, 252, 253, 276, 285, 294, 295, 298, 304, 329, 379, 449; ii. 1, 178, 187, 343, 489, 533, 535, 538, 539, 540, 541; "Narrative," i. 11, 12, 46, 51, 93, 129, 140, 177, 196, 201.  
 Thomas, Benjamin Franklin, ii. 539, 546.  
 Thomas, Sarah, i. 277.  
*Thomas, Reuben*, ii. 561.  
 Thomas (Col.), i. 357.  
*Thompson, Augustus Charles*, ii. 561.  
*Thompson, Joseph Parrish*, ii. 521.  
 Thompson, Thomas, ii. 268.  
 Thornton, Samuel, ii. 402.  
*Thurston, Asa*, ii. 437.  
 Thurston, Benjamin, i. 26, 51, 113, 118, 144, 148, 209, 247; ii. 248, 267.  
 Thurston, Elishua (Walker), i. 165, 168, 203.  
 Thurston, Elizabeth, ii. 341.  
 Thurston, Mehetabel, i. 236, 326.  
*Thurston, Richard B.*, ii. 560.  
 Thurston, William, ii. 297, 298, 315, 318, 319, 320, 321, 323, 324, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343.  
 Thwing, Ann? i. 582.  
*Thwing, Charles Franklin*, ii. 561.  
 Ticknor, Elisha, ii. 284, 341, 357, 374, 376, 378, 391, 392, 399, 411, 414, 421, 473.  
 Ticknor, Elizabeth, ii. 341.  
 Ticknor, George, ii. 284.  
 Tilden, Thomas, ii. 376.  
 Tilden, William S., i. 597.  
*Tillotson, John*, Abp. of Canterbury, i. 507.  
 Tilly, William, i. 390.

- Tilton, Peter, i. 93, 97, 111.  
 Titcomb, Jonathan, ii. 214.  
 Todd, John, ii. 429.  
 Tomb, Old South, i. 337, 355, 429, 430; ii. 128.  
 Tombstone, Anna Quincy's, i. 116.  
 "Topographical Description of Boston," ii. 260.  
 Toppin, Christopher, i. 315, 542.  
 Torrey, Joseph, i. 458, 466, 470, 475, 476, 480, 485, 486, 488, 491, 497.  
 Torrey, Josiah, ii. 48, 170.  
 Torrey, Samuel, i. 62, 67, 81, 87, 109, 150, 160, 161, 162, 163, 202, 221, 250, 276, 296, 299, 313, 315.  
 Torrey, William, i. 95, 97, 102, 104, 107.  
 Tower, William, i. 208.  
 Town meeting, i. 128, 142; ii. 23, 75, 92, 93, 172.  
 "Town Records," i. 190, 337, 354, 457.  
 Townsend, Ann, ii. 98.  
 Townsend, Jonathan, i. 597.  
 Townsend, Mary (Hubbard), ii. 150.  
 Townsend, Mehetabel, ii. 98.  
 Townsend, Penn, i. 298, 313, 316, 343, 344, 400, 401, 406; ii. 29.  
 Townsend, Shippie, ii. 97, 98, 127, 222.  
 Townsend, Solomon, i. 412.  
 Townsend, William Blair, i. 150.  
 Townshend, Charles, ii. 85.  
 Tracy, Joseph, i. 511, 555.  
 Traill, John, i. 532, 583.  
 Traill, Mary, i. 583.  
 Traill, Mary (Spence), i. 583.  
 Traill, Mary (Whipple), i. 583.  
 Traill, Robert, i. 583.  
 Trask, William B., i. 165.  
 Treadwell, John, ii. 351, 352.  
 Treasurer's accounts, ii. 45, 151, 278, 325.  
 Treat, Abigail (Willard, Estabrook), i. 236.  
 Treat, Samuel, i. 236.  
 Treat, Selah Burr, i. 465.  
 Trench, Richard Chenevix, Abp. of Dublin, i. 367; ii. 580.  
 Trewsdale, Mary, i. 118, 318.  
 Trewsdale, Richard, i. 32, 42, 49, 50, 51, 113, 117, 131, 133, 134, 214, 247.  
 Trott, George, ii. 261.  
 Trumbull, Benjamin, i. 88, 532.  
 Trumbull, Nathaniel, ii. 482.  
 Trumbull, —, ii. 190.  
 Tucker, William Jewett, ii. 554, 555, 562, 577.  
 Tuckerman, Joseph, ii. 284, 402, 403.  
 Tudor, John, i. 488.  
 Tudor, William, ii. 56.  
 Tuesday evening service, ii. 295.  
 Tufts, John, i. 378.  
 Turell, Ebenezer, i. 415, 458, 555; ii. 16.  
 Turner, William, i. 209.  
 Tuttle, Richard, i. 136.  
 "Two Discourses," by Dr. Ware, i. 251, 373, 459, 526, 537, 585; ii. 91.  
 Twombly, Alexander Stevenson, ii. 561.  
 "Twice Told Tales," i. 282.  
 Tyler, Hannah, ii. 341.  
 Tyler, John Eugene, ii. 339, 341, 342.  
 Tyler, Moses Coit, i. 331, 558, 559; ii. 9, 42.  
 Tyler, Royal, ii. 170, 301.  
 Tyng, Bethia (Wharton), i. 256.  
 Tyng, Deliverance, i. 22.  
 Tyng, Dudley Atkins, ii. 302.  
 Tyng, Edward, i. 15, 18, 23, 32, 56, 79, 91, 131, 136, 141, 146, 230.  
 Tyng, Eunice (Willard), i. 23, 226.  
 Tyng, John? i. 583; ii. 19.  
 Tyng, William, i. 129, 160.  
 Union Church, Boston, ii. 479.  
 Union Merchants' Exchange, ii. 528, 529.  
 Union prayer-meeting, ii. 478.  
 Universalist church, ii. 97, 218, 230.  
 Upham, Charles Wentworth, i. 296.  
 Upham, William, i. 211.  
 Uranus, allusion to, ii. 254.  
 Usher, Bridget (Hoar), i. 114.  
 Usher, Elizabeth (Symmes), i. 114, 165.  
 Usher, Hezekiah, i. 28, 40, 51, 56, 60, 82, 107, 113, 114, 128, 132, 133, 134, 140, 142, 144, 148, 155, 195, 198, 209, 212, 214, 218, 263.  
 Usher, Hezekiah, Jr., i. 114, 188, 285.  
 Usher, John, i. 229.  
 Usher, Mary (Alford, Nowell), i. 114.  
 Vans, Hugh, i. 463, 484, 531, 583, 601; ii. 175.  
 Vans, Mary (Pemberton), i. 531.  
 Vans, Mary (Mason) ii. 175.  
 Vassall, Leonard, ii. 150.  
 Veazie, Samuel, i. 209.  
 Vestry, ii. 379, 382, 392, 393, 399, 405.  
 Vetch, Samuel, i. 345.  
 Vinal, William, i. 570.  
 "Vindication of the Government of New England Churches," i. 2, 375; "of New England," i. 280.  
 Vinton, Josiah, Jr., ii. 314, 315, 316.  
 Vose, Thomas, ii. 417, 418, 426, 428, 438, 461, 463, 486, 500.  
 Vryling, Mrs. i. 455.  
 Vyal, Nathaniel, i. 498.  
 Wadsworth, Benjamin, i. 299, 313, 317, 336, 337, 341, 342, 343, 350, 352, 353, 354, 355, 358, 359, 364, 366, 367, 369, 370, 371, 373, 379, 380, 384, 388, 394, 395, 396, 400, 409, 410, 411, 414, 415, 480, 501; ii. 225.  
 Wadsworth, Lewis, i. 523.  
 Wadsworth, Recompense, i. 378.  
 Wager, Sir Charles, i. 521.  
 Walcott, Mary, i. 286.  
 Walderne, Richard, i. 97, 111.  
 Waldron, William, i. 411, 412; ii. 20, 503.



- Wales, Ebenezer, ii. 135, 214.  
 Walker, Benjamin, i. 267, 438, 439, 455, 457; ii. 236.  
 Walker, Ezekiel? i. 583.  
*Walker, George Leon*, i. 95, 230, 566.  
 Walker, Hannah (Frary, Belcher), i. 236.  
 Walker, Isaac, i. 277, 532; ii. 2, 10, 12, 13, 19, 25, 32, 37, 52, 55.  
 Walker, Rebecca, i. 450.  
 Walker, Robert, i. 23, 28, 40, 51, 113, 118, 144, 148, 218, 252; ii. 248.  
*Walker, Samuel*, ii. 461, 468.  
 Walker, Sarah, i. 118, 202.  
*Walker, Zechariah*, i. 118.  
 Walley, Abiel, i. 345, 382, 383; ii. 23.  
 Walley, Bethiah, i. 309.  
 Walley, Elizabeth (Alden), i. 336.  
 Walley, Elizabeth (Appleton), ii. 83.  
 Walley, Hannah (Shove), i. 221.  
 Walley, Henshaw Bates, ii. 213.  
 Walley, John, i. 107, 281, 282, 296, 297, 302, 307, 308, 313, 314, 323, 329, 341, 346, 353, 370; ii. 534.  
 Walley, John, Jr., i. 399; ii. 352.  
*Walley, John, 3d*, i. 569, 586, 587; ii. 52, 83, 130.  
 Walley, Margaret, i. 382.  
 Walley, Miriam (Phillips), ii. 407.  
 Walley, Samuel Hall, ii. 302, 351, 352, 407, 408, 461, 462, 487, 500.  
 Walley, Samuel Hurd, i. 353; ii. 504, 516, 523, 527, 529, 531, 532, 534.  
*Walley, Thomas*, i. 353.  
*Walter, Nehemiah*, i. 272, 317, 334, 390, 409, 424, 461, 507, 555; ii. 13.  
 Wamsutta, i. 206.  
 Ward, Andrew Henshaw, i. 602.  
 Ward, Artemas, ii. 380.  
*Ward, Ephraim*, ii. 124, 125, 487.  
*Ward, John*, i. 87, 89, 109, 150.  
 Ward, Joseph, ii. 323, 325, 344, 380.  
*Ward, William*, ii. 459.  
 Wardell, Francis, i. 539.  
 Wardell, Jonathan, i. 539.  
 Wardell, Nathaniel, i. 539, 540, 587, 589, 590.  
*Ware, Henry, Jr.*, i. 251, 313, 403, 411, 459, 487, 526, 537, 582, 584; ii. 17, 39, 91, 391, 411.  
*Ware, Henry, Sen.*, ii. 302, 303, 332, 363, 376, 380, 472.  
 Warren, Benjamin, i. 277.  
 Warren, Elizabeth (Hooton), ii. 171.  
 Warren, Elizabeth (Welles), ii. 151.  
 Warren, James, ii. 205, 242.  
 Warren, John, ii. 171.  
 Warren, Joseph, ii. 121, 149, 171, 172, 174, 177, 190, 539.  
 Warren, Joseph, Jr., ii. 171.  
 Warren, Mary, i. 286.  
 Warren, Sir Peter, i. 571.  
 Washburn, Henry S., ii. 536.  
 Washington, ii. 46, 98, 184, 186, 202, 226, 247; birthday of, ii. 385.  
 Waterhouse, Benjamin, ii. 256, 375.  
 Waters, Abigail (Dawes), i. 573; ii. 394, 397.  
 Waters, Josiah, i. 319; ii. 125, 192, 193, 236, 238, 239, 251, 254, 255, 259, 277, 281, 394, 397.  
 Waters, Josiah, Jr., ii. 195, 213, 397.  
 Waters, Mary (Whitwell), ii. 397.  
*Waterston, Robert Cassie*, ii. 503.  
 Waterston, Mrs. Robert C. (Quincy), ii. 267.  
 Watertown, i. 335, 408.  
*Watts, Isaac*, i. 453; Psalms and Hymns, ii. 19, 20, 32, 36, 233.  
 Watts, Capt., ii. 71.  
 Way, Richard, i. 93.  
*Wayland, Francis*, ii. 449.  
 Wayte, John, i. 111.  
*Webb, Edwin Bonaparte*, ii. 560, 561, 570, 571, 572, 577.  
 Webb, Frances (Bromfield), i. 372.  
 Webb, Henry, i. 120.  
*Webb, John*, i. 372, 373, 374, 378, 379, 380, 384, 388, 400, 401, 406, 410, 441, 461, 469, 487, 498, 501, 509, 517; ii. 2, 5, 8.  
 Webb, Joseph, i. 276.  
*Webber, Samuel*, ii. 361.  
 Webster, Mary (Dawes), i. 236.  
*Webster, Richard*, ii. 47.  
*Webster, Samuel*, ii. 120.  
*Webster, Samuel, Jr.*, ii. 120.  
 Welch, Francis, ii. 355, 358, 363, 365, 374, 378, 385, 386, 391, 392, 399, 410, 418, 419, 420, 435, 436, 447, 453, 454, 462, 463, 474, 500, 505.  
 Welch, Margaret Creese, ii. 449.  
*Weld, Thomas*, ii. 19, 170.  
 Welles, Abigail, or Hannah (Arnold), i. 431.  
 Welles, Abigail, i. 431.  
 Welles, Arnold, i. 431; ii. 95, 144, 145, 151, 171.  
 Welles, Arnold, Jr., ii. 171.  
 Welles, John, ii. 57.  
 Welles, Samuel, i. 428, 430, 431, 474, 487, 491, 542, 544, 569, 575; ii. 11, 12, 14, 21, 26, 53, 69, 72, 74, 75, 255.  
 Welles, Susanna (Jones), i. 431; ii. 171.  
 Welles, Thomas, i. 431, 470.  
 Wells, John, ii. 542.  
 Wells, Thomas, ii. 263.  
 Wells, William Vincent, ii. 3, 148, 153, 154, 156, 157, 160, 172, 173, 177, 205, 207, 246, 247, 248, 256, 257, 287.  
*Welsted, William*, i. 411, 460, 487, 508, 537; ii. 16, 39, 503.  
 Wendell, Elizabeth, i. 525.  
 Wendell, Jacob, i. 521, 525, 577.  
 Wendell, John, i. 508, 525.  
 Wendell, Sarah (Oliver), i. 525.  
 Wentworth, —, i. 423.  
 Wentworth, John, ii. 47.  
 West, Benjamin, ii. 421.  
 West Church, i. 482, 578; ii. 19, 143, 177, 302, 304, 305, 402, 424, 461, 471.

- West, John, i. 270, 271.  
*West, Samuel*, ii. 143, 244, 339, 423.  
*West, Thomas*, ii. 244.  
 Westminster Assembly, i. 375; Confession, ii. 8; Shorter Catechism, ii. 341.  
 Weston, i. 335, 408.  
 Weymouth, i. 78, 400.  
 Wharton, Bethiah, i. 256.  
 Wharton, Richard, i. 191, 255, 256, 399.  
 Wheatley, John, ii. 102.  
 Wheatley, Phillis (Peters), ii. 102, 103, 150, 175.  
 Wheeler, Joseph, i. 299, 306.  
 Wheeler, Mary, i. 435.  
 Wheeler, Timothy, i. 298.  
*Wheelock, Eleazar*, i. 524, 593; ii. 22.  
 Wheelwright, Hannah (Checkley), i. 117.  
*Wheelwright, John*, i. 116, 255.  
 Wheelwright, Lott, ii. 474.  
 Wheelwright, Samuel, i. 11.  
*Whelpley, Philip Melancthon*, ii. 443.  
*Whitaker, Nathaniel*, ii. 230, 381.  
 Whitcomb, James, i. 210.  
 White, Daniel Appleton, i. 92, 284, 435, 472.  
*White, Ebenezer*, i. 374.  
 White, James C., ii. 500.  
 White, John, i. 392, 393, 497.  
*White, John*, i. 374, 466.  
 White, Richard Grant, i. 450.  
 White, Timothy, i. 460, 515, 598.  
 White, William, i. 62, 67.  
*Whitefield, George*, i. 500, 504, 505, 506, 507, 511, 513, 520, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 563, 565, 596; ii. 46, 75, 97, 103, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 132, 395, 430, 503.  
*Whitings, John*, i. 482, 483.  
*Whitings, Samuel*, i. 60, 62, 68, 87, 89, 92, 109, 150, 204.  
*Whiting, Samuel, Jr.*, i. 87, 89, 109, 150.  
 Whitman, Benjamin, ii. 311; 312, 319, 323, 344, 355, 363, 365, 374, 378, 383, 386, 392, 399, 401, 410, 411, 418, 420, 421, 427, 428, 441, 445, 447, 451, 461, 462, 466, 482, 483, 485.  
*Whitman, Elnathan*, i. 566.  
 Whitman, Hannah (Gardner), ii. 446.  
 Whitman, Henry Maurice Lisle, ii. 446.  
 Whitney, Daniel, i. 408.  
 Whitney, John H., ii. 482.  
 Whittier, John Greenleaf, i. 217, 291, 444.  
 Whitwell, Benjamin, ii. 255, 299.  
 Whitwell, Catherine (Scollay), ii. 170.  
 Whitwell, Elizabeth, ii. 397.  
 Whitwell, Elizabeth (Homes), ii. 170.  
 Whitwell, Elizabeth (Swett), ii. 170.  
 Whitwell, Mary (Waters), ii. 170.  
 Whitwell, Rebecca, ii. 66.  
 Whitwell, Samuel, ii. 66, 130, 145, 170, 175, 197, 201, 203, 229, 236, 238, 245, 250, 251, 254, 255, 259, 270.  
 Whitwell, Thomas, ii. 215.  
*Whitwell, William*, ii. 66, 86, 187.  
 Whitwell, William, ii. 66.  
 Whitwell, William, ii. 37, 55, 66, 74, 108, 121, 126, 131, 135, 138, 145, 160, 168, 170, 187, 192, 297, 344, 345, 349, 355, 358, 374, 375, 397.  
*Wibird, Anthony*, ii. 18.  
*Wigglesworth, Edward*, i. 399, 554, 560; ii. 8, 29, 30, 31.  
*Wigglesworth, Michael*, i. 284; ii. 29.  
*Wigglesworth, Samuel*, i. 534.  
*Wight, Ebenezer*, ii. 186, 201, 239, 243.  
 Wightman, Joseph M., ii. 516.  
 Wier, Robert, ii. 285.  
 Wild, Abraham, ii. 281, 297, 298, 305, 311, 319, 323, 325, 344, 349, 355, 358, 363, 374, 378, 386, 392, 399, 410, 420, 445, 454.  
 Wild, Abraham, Jr., ii. 281.  
*Wild, Edmund*, i. 183.  
 Wilkes, Sir Francis, i. 458.  
 Wilkins, Richard, 323, 324.  
 Willard, Abigail (Sherman), i. 226; ii. 430, 434.  
 Willard, Abigail (Estabrook, Treat), i. 236, 294.  
 Willard, Elizabeth (Alden), i. 236.  
 Willard, Eunice (Tyng), i. 226, 228, 235, 288, 295, 326, 337, 346, 397, 400.  
*Willard, Joseph*, Pres. H. C., ii. 122, 211, 282, 284.  
*Willard, Joseph* (Mendon), ii. 122.  
 Willard, Josiah, i. 294, 325, 327, 390, 401, 428, 436, 443, 467, 468, 486, 491, 492, 504, 507, 510, 520, 523, 525, 542, 575, 576, 586, 590, 597, 601; ii. 2, 12, 19, 28.  
 Willard, Richard, i. 294.  
*Willard, Samuel*, i. 23, 130, 212, 213, 226, 227, 228, 233, 242, 245, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 257, 265, 268, 272, 276, 284, 285, 289, 290, 294, 295, 296, 297, 299, 302, 303, 308, 313, 315, 316, 319, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 328, 329, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 341, 351, 408, 413; ii. 101, 122, 144, 178, 287, 430, 500; bibliography, 640-652.  
*Willard, Samuel*, ii. 122.  
*Willard, Sidney*, ii. 401.  
 Willard, Simon, i. 60, 62, 67, 77, 144, 145, 212, 335.  
 William and Mary, i. 272; accession of, i. 280.  
 William III., ii. 374.  
 Williams, Abigail, i. 286.  
 Williams, Ann, i. 419.  
 Williams, Jonathan, i. 577; ii. 152.  
 Williams, Mary (Oliver, Shrimpton), i. 419.  
 Williams, Nathaniel, i. 218, 228, 294, 296, 297, 302, 314, 328, 355, 363, 371, 388, 390, 391, 392, 399, 419.  
*Williams, Nathaniel*, i. 400, 407, 416, 419, 422, 470, 485.  
 Williams, Richard, i. 323.  
 Williams, Robert? i. 484.

- Williams, Samuel*, ii. 211.  
*Williams, Sarah* (Wheelwright, Crispe), i. 419.  
*Williams, Sendall*, i. 337, 352, 457.  
*Williams, Solomon*, i. 570.  
*Williams, William*, i. 335, 342, 441, 555.  
*Willis, Jonathan*, i. 577.  
*Willis, Lemuel*, ii. 233.  
*Willis, Nicholas*, i. 137.  
*Willoughby, Bethiah* (Gedney), i. 577.  
*Willoughby, Francis*, i. 79, 81, 91, 104, 105, 106, 144, 191.  
*Willoughby, Francis*, i. 370, 399, 576, 582, 584.  
*Willoughby, Sarah* (Walley, Chauncy), i. 577.  
*Wilmington, Lord*, i. 521.  
*Wilson, John*, i. 204.  
*Wilson, John*, i. 329; ii. 489.  
*Wilson, Margaret*, i. 116.  
*Winchester, Elhanan*, i. 539; ii. 219.  
*Winchester, Elhanan*, i. 539.  
*Wing, Jehosheba* (Davis), i. 117.  
*Wing, John*, i. 51, 113, 117, 144, 148.  
*Winslow, Andrew G.*, ii. 462, 463, 474.  
*Winslow, Edward*, i. 121, 430; ii. 14, 26.  
*Winslow, Edward*, i. 319, 363, 393, 409, 412, 422, 423, 428, 430, 431, 468, 487, 491, 523, 561, 583, 600; ii. 14, 440.  
*Winslow, Elizabeth* (Hutchinson), ii. 14.  
*Winslow, Elizabeth*, ii. 137.  
*Winslow, Hannah* (Moody), i. 430; ii. 14.  
*Winslow, John*, ii. 26.  
*Winslow, John*, i. 181; ii. 14, 440.  
*Winslow, John*, ii. 76.  
*Winslow, John*, i. 319, 433; ii. 124, 125, 138, 144, 190, 254, 267, 271, 274, 276, 277, 279, 281, 296, 297, 298, 299, 301, 305, 310, 311, 319, 321, 323, 325, 329, 343, 344, 346, 348, 349, 354, 355, 358, 393, 373, 374, 375, 377, 378, 379, 384, 386, 387, 391, 392, 398, 399, 405, 409, 410, 418, 420, 427, 433, 439, 440, 441, 445.  
*Winslow, John, Jr.*, ii. 378, 386, 392, 399, 409.  
*Winslow, Joshua*, i. 486, 487, 491, 583; ii. 19, 25, 54, 55, 76, 78, 82, 83, 95, 137, 151.  
*Winslow, Joshua, Jr.*, ii. 137.  
*Winslow, Josiah*, i. 208; ii. 26.  
*Winslow, Mary* (Chilton), i. 181, 430; ii. 14, 440.  
*Winslow, Mary* (Simpson), ii. 76.  
*Winslow, Mary Ann*, ii. 190, 441.  
*Winslow, Miron*, ii. 413.  
*Winter of 1740-41*, i. 516; of 1756-57, ii. 26.  
*Winthrop, Adam*, i. 280.  
*Winthrop, Adam*, 2d, i. 478, 523.  
*Winthrop, Adam*, 3d, i. 433; ii. 53.  
*Winthrop, Fitz-John*, i. 343.  
*Winthrop, John*, i. 3, 4, 89, 129, 137, 138, 139, 462; ii. 178, 505.  
*Winthrop, John* (Conn.), i. 206.  
*Winthrop, Judith*, i. 131, 283.  
*Winthrop, Katharine* (Brattle, Eyre), i. 236, 390, 399, 417, 418.  
*Winthrop, Margaret*, i. 130.  
*Winthrop, Martha* (Wharton), i. 256.  
*Winthrop, Robert Charles*, i. 139; ii. 517.  
*Winthrop, Stephen*, i. 130, 131, 283.  
*Winthrop, Waitstill*, i. 107, 213, 279, 285, 286, 297, 336, 343, 347, 355, 356, 363, 364, 370, 380, 388, 389, 405; ii. 18, 534.  
*Wise, John*, i. 2, 331, 332, 334, 374, 375, 376; ii. 230, 252, 281, 559.  
*Wisner, Benjamin Blydenburg*, i. 12, 36, 93, 111, 139, 234, 352, 451, 530, 547, 573; ii. 41, 42, 44, 79, 143, 158, 176, 178, 224, 225, 233, 236, 250, 262, 288, 289, 295, 345, 360, 362, 422, 424, 430, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 466, 467, 470, 471, 472, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 488, 490, 491, 492, 555, 559; bibliography, 652-655.  
*Wiswall, John*, i. 128, 143, 146, 180, 200, 246.  
*Wiswall, Oliver*, ii. 52, 193.  
*Wiswall, Samuel?* i. 360.  
*Witchcraft*, in New England, i. 284, 285; in Europe, i. 285; theories of, i. 288; Boston Ministers, influence on, i. 289.  
*Witherspoon, John*, ii. 88, 89.  
*Withington, Increase Sumner*, ii. 505.  
*Withrow, John Lindsey*, ii. 366, 561, 572, 573.  
*Woburn Church*, i. 333.  
*"Wonder-working Providence,"* i. 72, 97.  
*Woodbridge, Benjamin*, i. 432.  
*Woodbridge, Dudley*, i. 432.  
*Woodman, Edward*, i. 97.  
*Woodmancy, Elizabeth* (Monk), i. 293.  
*Woods, Leonard*, ii. 381, 436, 442, 446, 459, 467, 474, 478.  
*Woodward, Henry*, ii. 413.  
*Woodye, Richard*, i. 209.  
*Worcester, Noah*, ii. 360, 366, 369, 405, 413, 438, 461.  
*Worcester, Samuel*, ii. 351, 380, 381, 408.  
*Worcester, Samuel A.*, ii. 483.  
*Worster, Samuel*, i. 281.  
*Wotton, Sir Henry*, i. 369.  
*Wright, Deliverance* (Pollard), i. 307.  
*Wright, Francis*, ii. 268, 326.  
*Wright, Lydia*, i. 219.  
*Wright, William Burnet*, ii. 549, 560, 561.  
*Writs of Assistance*, ii. 56.  
*Wyllys, Edward*, i. 276.  
*"Yale Biographies,"* i. 497.  
*Yale College*, i. 560; ii. 86.  
*Young, Thomas*, ii. 153.









# Date Due

~~OCT 18 '50~~

~~OCT 18 '50~~

~~FEB 22 '70~~

~~MAR 31 '77~~



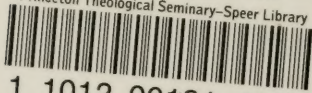
PRINTED IN U. S. A.





BX7150 .B704 H6 v.2  
History of the Old South Church (Third

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00131 4105